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, ETC.

AND EXPLANATORY NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.

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COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME—WITH PORTRAIT AND ENGRAVINGS.

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THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

1. The family from which I am derived is not an ignoble one, but hath descended all along from the Roman and Judean nobility among several people. Is of a different origin, so, with us, to be of the sacerdotal dignity, is an indication of the splendor of a family. Now, I am not only sprung from a sacerdotal family in general, but from the first of the twenty-four classes; 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; say, farther, by my mother I am of the royal blood; for the children of Asa or Assur, 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 predecessors in order. My father’s father was named Simon, with the addition of Phelusi; he lived at the same time with that son of Simon the high priest, who, first of all the high priests, was named Hycanus. This Simon Phelusi had also sons, one of whom was Matthias, called Ephialis; he married the daughter of Jonathan the high priest, which Jonathan was the first of the sons of Asa or Assur, who was high priest, and was the brother of Simon the high priest also. This Matthias was also the son of Matthias, or to be more exact, the son of Joseph, born in the fifth year of the reign of Alexander; his son Matthias was born in the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus; and I was born to Matthias on the first year of the reign of Caius Cesar. I have three sons: Hycanus, the eldest, was born on the fourth year of the reign of Verasion; as was Matthias born on the seventh, and Agrippa on the sixth. Thus have I set down the genealogy of my family, as I have found it described in the public records, and so did advice to those who, if they desired to know me, [of a lower origin.]

2. Now I will add that I am 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 good memory and an accurate mind. Moreover, when I was a child, and about fourteen years of age, I was recommended by all for the love I had to learning; on which account the high priests and principal men of the city came then 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 Sadducees, the second that of the Sadducees, and the third that of the Essenes, as we have frequently told you; for I thought that by this means I might choose the best, if I were once acquainted with them all; so I contented myself with hard fare, and underwent great difficulties, and went through them all. 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 bethed himself in cold water frequently, both by night and by day, in order to preserve his chastity, his resolution, and his will, and continued with him for three years. So when I had accomplished my desires, I returned back to the city, being now nineteen years old, and began to conduct myself according to the rules of the sect of the Pharisees, which is of kin to the sect of the Stoics, as the Greeks call them.

3. But when I was in the twenty-sixth year of my age, it happened that I took a voyage to Rome, and this on the occasion which I shall now describe. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judea, there were certain priests of my acquaintance, and very excellent persons they were whom on a small and triding occasion he had confined and sent to Rome, in order to plead their cause before Cesar. These I was desirous to procure deliverance for, and that especially because I was informed that they were not unmindful of piety towards God even under their afflictions, but supported themselves with figs and nuts. Accordingly I came to Rome.
though it were through a great number of hazards by sea; for, as our ship was drowned in the Adriatic sea, we were in it, being about six hundred in number, 2 swam for our lives till the night; when, upon our land and on our sight of a ship of Cyrenes, 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 got at Puteoli, where the Irishines, who called me Puteolus, I became acquainted with Aliturus, an actor of plays, and much beloved by Nero, but a Jew by birth; through his interest became known to Poppes, Cesar's wife, and took care as some of his people went to treat her there, lest the priests might be set at liberty. And when, besides this favor, I had obtained many presents from Poppes, 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 endeavored to put a stop to these tumultuous persons, and persuaded them to yield to the Romans, and to the robbers, and against whom it was that they were going to fight, and told them that they were inferior to the Romans not only in martial skill, but also in good fortune; and desired them not rashly, and after the most foolish manner, to bring on the danger of the most mischievous upon their country, upon their families, and upon themselves. And this I said with vehement exhortation, because I foresaw that the end of such a war would be most uncertain to them; for I could not persuade them, for the madness of desperate men was quite too hard for me.

5. I was then afraid, lest by insinuating these things so often, I should incur their hatred and the hatred of the future if I were to resemble the robbers, and should run into the danger of being seized by them, and slain; since they were already possessed of Antonius, which was the citadel; so I abode among the high priests and the chief of the Pharisians. But no small dread seized their minds; when we saw the people in arms, while we ourselves knew not what we should do, and were not able to restrain their seditions. However, as the danger was directly upon us, we pretended that we were of the same opinion, and it is to Dutius' credit that he was quiet for the present, and to let the enemy go away, still hoping that Gessius [Florus] would not be 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 fond of the war were so far elevated with this success, that they had hopes of finally conquering the Romans. Of which war another occasion was ministered to them by this: There was a city in the neighboring cities of Syria seised upon by Jews as dwell among them, with their wives and children, and slew them, when they had not the least occasion of complaint against them; for they were no strangers of the province of the revolt from the Romans, nor had they given any marks of hatred or treacherous design towards the Syrians. But what was done by the inhabitants of Scythopolis was the most impious and highly criminal of all; for, when the Jews, their enemies, came upon them from without, they forced them to arms against their own countrymen, which it is unlawful for us to do: and when by their assistance they had joined battle with those that attacked them, and had beaten them, after that victory, which was the Atarne of these their fellow-citizens and confederates, and slew them all, being in number many ten thousands [13,000]. The like miseries were undergone by those Jews that were the inhabitants of some other cities that there were in the Decapolis. I account of these things in the books of the Jewish war. I only mention them now, because I would demonstrate to my readers, that the Jews 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 Ierussa- lem, Gessius, Gurius, the praetor of Syria, and arms in great plenty, and fearing lest they, while they were unprovided with arms, should be in subjection to their enemies, which also came to be the case afterward; and, being informed that all the Jews had not yet revolted from the Romans, but that some part of it was still quiet, they sent me and two other of the priests, who were men of excellent characters, Josar and Judas, in order to persuade the ill men there to lay down their arms, and to return to the Romans, and to give better to have those arms reserved for the most courageous men that the nation had, [than to be kept there;] for that it had been resolved, that those our best men should always have their arms with them, as they were upon a surprise of the country, by reason that the Galileans 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 them, that if there were no small slumber about their country, by reason that the Galileans 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 them, that if there were any, they would wait to see what the Romans would do.

8. When I had therefore received these instructions, I came into Galilee, and found the people in the city in no small alarm about their country, by reason that the Galileans 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 them, that if there were any, they would wait to see what the Romans would do.

9. There were three factions in this city. The first was composed of men of worth and gravity; of these Julius Capellus was the head. Now he, as well as all his companions, Herod the son of Mairs, and Herod the son of Gamalus, and Comp- sus the son of Compus, (for as to Compus' brother Cripius, 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 people would be made quiet; but the second faction, which was of the providers of the revolt from the Romans, nor had they given any marks of hatred or treacherous design towards the neighbor;" and that, ver. 17, "Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;" as well as from the question in the Pentateuch in Pro- phets. See Antig. b. viii. ch. xix. sect. 3.

4 At hath been thought the number of Paul and his companions on ship board, Acta. xxvi. 36, which are 757 in our copies, are too many; whereas we find here that Josephus and his companions, a very few years after, were about 200.
5 See of the War b. ii. ch. xvii. sect. 2.
6 The Jews might collect this unlawfulness of fighting against their brethren from that law of Moses, Lev. xvi. 16 "Thou shalt not stand against the blood of thy
at the third faction, although he pretended to be 
doubtful about going to war, yet was he really 
devious of innovation, as supposing that he should 
gain power to himself by the change of arms. 
He therefore came into the midst of them, and 
eddewarded to inform the multitude. That the 
"city of Tiberias had ever been the capital city of Gal-
lee, and that in the days of Herod the tetrarch, 
who had built it, it had obtained the principal 
place, and that he had ordered that the city 
sand was called Berytos, and that he had given 
Tiberias; that they had not lost this pre-em-
ience even under Agrippa the father, but had 
retained it, until Felix was procurator of Judea.
But he told them, that now they had been so 
opposed to him, that it would be hard for them 
to Agrippa junior; and that upon Sepphoris'
submission of itself to the Romans, that was 
become the capital city of Galilee, and that the 
royal treasury and the archives were now 
removed from them. When he had spoken 
these things, and a great many more against 
Agrippa, in order to provoke the people to a 
revolt, he added, That this was the time for them 
to take arms, and join with the Galileans as 
"against the Jews, which were as a nation, "and was 
"madd, and who would now willingly assis-
t them, out of the hatred they bare to the peo-
ple of Sepphoris, because they preserved their 
"independency to the Romans, and to gathering a 
great army upon his return, it was full of 
"confidence, upon he returned, inform him what 
they had advised was more to their advantage, 
and thus by his craftiness and his fallacies, for 
he was not unskilful in the learning of the Greeks, 
and in dependence on that skill it was, that he 
had sought a way, in order to show them, 
"aiming by this way of haranguing to disguise 
the truth. But as to this man, and how ill were 
sis character and conduct in life, and how he 
and his brother were, in a great measure, the au-
hors of our destruction. I shall give the reader 
an account in the progress of my narration. So 
when Justus had, by his persuasions, prevailed 
with the citizens of Tiberias to take arms, say, 
and had forced a great many so to do against 
the Jews, he marched with them, and moved 
belonged to Gadara and Hippos on fire; which 
villages were situated on the borders of Tiberias, 
and of the region of Scythopolis.
10. And this about the state of Tiberias was now 
even the same for Gischala, its affairs were thus: When 
John, the son of Levi, saw some of his 
citizens much elevated upon their revolt from 
the Romans, he labored to restrain them, and 
entrusted them that they would keep their alle-
giance to them. But he could not gain his pur-
pose, although he did his endeavors to the ut-
most; for the neighboring people of Gadara, 
Gabara, and Sogana, with the Tyrians, got to-
together great arm, and fell upon Gischala, and 
took Gischala by force, and set it on fire; and when 
they had entirely demolished it, they re-
turned home. Upon which John was so enraged, 
that he armed all his men, and joined battle with 
the great arm, and in this manner, and after 
a manner better than before and fortified 
it with walls for its future security.
11. But Gaius persevered in its allegiance to 
the Romans, for the reason following: Philip the 
son of Herod the tetrarch, that same king Agrippa, had been unexpectedly 
expressed when the royal palace at Jerusalem had been 
seized; but as he fled away, had fallen into 
another danger, and that was nothing less than 
by Maccabees being killed by Macabees that were with him; but 
surely, and were then in Jerusalem, hindered the 
robbers from executing their design. So Philip
for ten of the principal men of the senate, and for Capellus the son of Antyllus, and committed the furniture to them, with this charge, that they should part with it to nobody else but to myself. From thence I and my fellow-legates went to Gischala to John, as desirous to know his inten-
sions, and soon saw that he was for innovations, and had a mind to the principality; for he desi-
red me to give him authority to carry off \(\text{a corn which belonged to Caesar,} \) the villas of upper Galilee; and be pretended that he would expend what it came to in building
the walls of his own city. But when I per-
ceived what he endeavored at, and what he had
in his mind, I declined him what he desired to
do; for that I thought either to keep it for the
Romans, or for myself, now I was intrusted with
the public affairs there by the people of Jeru-
alem. But when he was not able to prevail with
me, he bestowed himself to my fellow-legates; for
they had no sagacity in providing for futurity,
and were very ready to take bribes. So he cor-
rupted them with money, to decree that all that
corn which was within his province should be
delivered up to him; while I, who was but only,
outvoted by two, and held my tongue. Then
did John introduce another cunning contrivance of
his; for he said, that those Jews who inhabi-
ted Gischala, and the upper Galileans, were
friend of the king's deputy there, had sent to him to
desire him, that, since they had no oil that was
pure for their use, he would provide a sufficient
quantity of such oil for them, lest they should
die for want of it; they knew he would give
it them. 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 sextaries were
sent from Gischala fourscore sextaries were sold
for four drachmas. So he gave order, that all
the oil which was there should be carried away,
as having my permission, to desire him voluntarily, but only out
of fear of the multitude, since, if I had forbid-
den 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. But when I had dismissed my fellow-le-
gages, and sent them back to Jerusalem, I took
care to have arms provided, and the cities forti-
ded. One day John went to Gischala, and took with him certain Galille-
ans, and set the entire palace on fire, and thought he should get a great deal of money thereby;
because he saw some of the roofs girt with gold.
They also plundered a great deal of the furniture, which belonged to my fellow-legates, and said, that after we had discovered Capellus 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 inhabi-
ted there, and massacred, and set thethers as were
their enemies before the war began.

13. When I understood this state of things, I
was greatly provoked, and went down to Tibe-
rie to Scevola. There I could see all the royal
furniture, to recover all that could be recovered
from such as had plundered it. They consisted of
chandelights made of Corinthian brass; and of
royal tables, and of a great quantity of un-
commonly fine carvings, with my consent. He who
soever came to my hand for the king. So I sent

their arms with their wives and children, and
retired to the castle at Gamala, leaving their
own villages full of all sorts of good things, and
having many ten thousands of cattle therein.—
When Philip was informed of these things, he
also came to the castle of Gamala; and when he was
the mob, the multitude cried aloud, and desired
him to resume the government, and to make an
expedition against Varus, and the Syrians of Ca-
area; for it was reported that they had slain the
king's brother. I say I, for I was in the war with them at length
be prevailed with them. But now, when the
is acquainted with Varus's design, which
was to cut off the Jews of Carea, being many
thousands with their wives and children, and
all in one day, he called to him Erculius Modius,
and sent him to be Varus's successor, as we have
elsewhere related. But still Philip kept posses-
sion of the castle of Gamala, and of the country
adjoining to it, which thereby continued in their
alliance with us; while I, who was but only,
outvoted by two, and held my tongue. Then
did John introduce another cunning contrivance of
his; for he said, that those Jews who inhabi-
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rie to Scevola. There I could see all the royal
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chandelights made of Corinthian brass; and of
royal tables, and of a great quantity of un-
commonly fine carvings, with my consent. He who
soever came to my hand for the king. So I sent
in great anxiety. Yet did I preserve every woman 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 sent them to my kindred at Jerusalem; although, when I had sent the spoils of Tiberias four times, and Gadara once, and when I had subdued and taken John, who often laid treacherous snares for me, I did not punish [with death] the name of the man who was concerned, as the progress of this discourse will show.

And on this account, I suppose, it was that God, who is never unsatisfied with those that do as the Jews ought to do, delivered me still out of the hands of these my enemies, and afterward preserved me when I fell into those many dangers which I shall relate hereafter.

16. Now the multitude of the Galileans had that great kindness for me, and fidelity to me, that they took me, and their wives, and children, whom they 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. But when John said this, a man, who was a customer for me, and who would, I thought, give him leave to come down, and make use of the hot oaths of Tiberias for the recovery of the health of his body. Accordingly, I did not hinder him, and I wrote to John, as to a friend and to a ruler against them; for they said they would avenge my death among them upon them. They also carried the report of what had been done to me to all the Galileans, and eagerly endeavored to irritate them against me, and to stir up among them 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 the Galileans came to me in great numbers, and demanded weapons, and besought me to assault Tiberias, to take it by force, and to demolish it, till it lay even with the ground, and then to make slaves of its inhabitants, with their wives and children. Those that were Josephus's friends also, and had escaped out of Tiberias, gave him the same advice. But I did not comply with them, thinking it a terrible thing to begin a civil war among them: for I thought, that this contention ought not to proceed farther than it did; and I told them that it was not for their own advantage to do what they would have me to do, while the Romans expected no other than that we should be drawn away from our mutual seditions. And by saying this I put a stop to the anger of the Galileans.

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 disposed to changes, and delighting in seditions. But they had to close with the clearly J u t u r u s and his father P i s t u s, that were J u t u r u s and his father P i s t u s, that were nearest for their revolt from me, and their adherence to John. But I came upon them, and prevented them; for a messenger had come to me from the governor 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 thither; for that, if I made any delay, the city would come under another's jurisdiction. Upon the receipt of this letter of Silas, 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; and when I came near to the city which was seated 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 my presence would be hurt to him, and to what I was now sensible he was doing. So in great haste went 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 was sitting down on a certain high seat, in my own chamber, there appeared to me a voice, saying, "Josephus, what would you have me to do?" I entreated them not to be so hasty in their revolt; for that such a change in their behavior would be to their 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 my enemies there; for John had chosen the most trusted and the most learned of them to be about him, out of those thousand that he had with him, and had given them orders, when he sent them, to kill me, having learned 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 I not leaped down from the elevation I stood on and with one of my guards, whose name was 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 came to Tarichæa.

19. Now 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 commander against them; for they said they would avenge my death among them upon them. They also carried the report of what had been done to me to all the Galileans, and eagerly endeavored to irritate them against me, and to stir up among them 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 the Galileans came to me in great numbers, and demanded weapons, and besought me to assault Tiberias, to take it by force, and to demolish it, till it lay even with the ground, and then to make slaves of its inhabitants, with their wives and children. Those that were Josephus's friends also, and had escaped out of Tiberias, gave him the same advice. But I did not comply with them, thinking it a terrible thing to begin a civil war among them: for I thought, that this contention ought not to proceed farther than it did; and I told them that it was not for their own advantage to do what they would have me to do, while the Romans expected no other than that we should be drawn away from our mutual seditions. And by saying this I put a stop to the anger of the Galileans.

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

21. But another great number of the Galileans came together again with their weapons, as knowing the man, how wicked and how sadly perjured he was, and desired me to lead them against him, and promised me that they would not have him for their commander any more. Upon I 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 and prescriptions, in times of danger, to God's blessing, him, and taking care of him, and this on account of his acts 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 prevailed with the multitude of the Galileans to let me set foot upon the Sephoris.

22. 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 to dissuade me from another action to divert them, 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 Tiberias, and promised to give him a golden crown and horse if he would carry with those forces he had with him, which were in number eight hundred, and fight with us. Accordingly he complied with what they desired, upon the promise they had made him, and was deastraous of it. Upon this we were unprepared for him, and knew nothing of his coming beforehand. So he sent to me, and desired that I would give him leave to come and salute me. When I had given him that leave, much did I inwardly dislike this least precaution 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 already approaching, one of those who had deserted 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 to know nothing of his treacherous purpose; so the robbers 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 him and his party to do as they had chosen to do 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 charge of them, when they approached, were not idle, and Jesus came in with a few others; and when I had ordered him to throw down his arms immediately, and told him, that if he refused so to do, he was a dead man, he, seeing armed men standing all around 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 called Jesus to me by himself, and told him, that he did not merit the 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 repent of what he had done, and become a good man. 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 Sephoris, that, if they would not leave off their ungrateful treatment of me, I would punish them sufficiently.

23. At this time it was that two great men, who were under the jurisdiction of the king, [Agrrippa I.] came to me out of the region of Canaonitis, 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 stay among them, I would not permit them to have any force put upon them, but said to them, "Every one ought to worship God according to his own inclinations, and not to be constrained by force; and that these men, who are under the jurisdiction of the king, are not to be treated as those who 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 Sephoris, (and for those of Gabara he supposed that the prosperity was of the same mind with the rest,) which were the greatest cities of Galilee, to revolt from their subjection to me, and to be of his party; and told them that he would command them to come with him. And the men of Sephoris, who belonged to neither of us, because they had chosen to be in subjection to the Romans, they did not comply with his proposal, contrary, that the rest of the Jews were still for obliging all to whom they were bound to become Jews, and were ready to destroy all that would not submit to do so. See sect. 31, and Luke xvi. 34.
and for those of Tiberias, they did not indeed so far comply as to make a revolt from under me, but they agreed to be his friends, while the inhabitants of Gabara did go over to John; and it was Simon that persuaded them so to do; one who in those days was regarded as a particular friend and companion of John. 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 way which those who had not only done ye things ye have done to have I say, but had also lain in wait for a proper opportunity to lay snares for me; and indeed I thereby came into the greatest danger, on the occasion following:  

28. There were some bold Jews among the men of the vanguard who would not abide by this, and said that the wife of Ptolemy, the king's procurator, was to make 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 as sole queen, 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. To prevent this, Simon sent to Tarchesius, with four mules' loading of garments, and other furniture; 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 myself, because I knew them to be illicitly gotten, and it is prohibited by our laws even to spoil car enemies: so I said to those that brought those spoils, that they ought to be kept in order to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem with them, where they had been for many years an Ethiopian Christian, and had received them into the kingdom as soon as I had discovered this command to any other person.

29. Now when all Galilæans were filled with this rumor, that their country was about to be betrayed by me to the Romans, and when all men were exasperated against me, and ready to bring me to punishment, the inhabitants of Tarchesius did also themselves suppose that what the young men said was true, and persuaded my guards and armed men to leave me when I was asleep, and to come to诚意 my Tarchesius, with four mules' loading of garments, and other furniture; 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 myself, because I knew them to be illicitly gotten, and it is prohibited by our laws even to spoil car enemies: so I said to those that brought those spoils, that they ought to be kept in order to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem with them, where they had been for many years an Ethiopian Christian, and had received them into the kingdom as soon as I had discovered this command to any other person.

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30. When now 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 as I know that this city of yours [Tarchesius] 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 which they might not be so angry with me, while yet it was to be expended in building your own walls." Upon my saying this, the people of Tarchesius and the strangers cried out, that they gave me to understand that there was no such thing; although the Galilæans and the people of Tiberias continued in their wrath against me, it seems that there arose a tumult among them, while some threatened to kill me, and some bid me not to regard as it follows in the succeeding verses, which, though he might not read in St. Matthew's gospel, yet might he have read much the same in the Epistle of Esdras or other writers, the history of Josephus, after he was become a Christian, we have already had several examples in this his life, sect. 3, Ch. 10, 11, and shall have many more therein before his conclusion, as well as we have them elsewhere in his latter writings.
THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

them; but when I promised them that I would build them walls at Tiberias, and at other cities that wanted them, they gave credit to what I promised, and returned every one to his own home. So I escaped the forementioned danger, beyond all my hopes, and returned to my own house accommodated 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, came to the house where I abode, in order to set fire on it. When this their insult was told me, I thought it indignant for me to run away, and I resolved myself to do what I must do, and to act with some boldness; so I gave order 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 spoliis:] for I told them they would have no occasion to be angry with 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 such a manner did I put out to them the insolent lie. At which procedure of mine they were greatly affrighted, and in no small consternation, and were afraid that they should themselves be served in the same manner if they stood there: for they supposed that I had in the house more armed men than they had themselves; so they ran away immediately, while I, by the use of this stratagem, escaped this 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. Therefore a petition was made by them, to which they fled for safety: they spoke 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 imaginations, 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 persecuted; I also laughed at the absurdity of those who pretended 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 a while before they returned: after a while, they came again afterward, as irritated by some ill people against the great men: nay, they once made an assault upon the house in which they dwelt at Tiberias, in order to kill them; which when I was informed of, 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 lived, and looked down the doors, and had a trench drawn from their house leading to the lake, and sent for a ship, and embarked therein with them, and sailed to the confines of Hippos; I also paid them the value of their horses, nor in such a flight could I have their horses brought to the sea. I then dismissed them, and begged of them earnestly that they would courageously bear this distress which befell them. I was also myself greatly disheartened that it was necessary for me, if I wished to escape, to go down a road 'that had been led to me to go again into an enemy country; yet did I think it more eligible that if by should perish among the Romans, if it shou to hap-

Here we may observe the vulgar Jews: notion of what is called, but that our Josephus was too wise to give And in this section, as well as sect. 16, and sect. 33, those small vessels that sailed on the sea of Galilee, are called by Josephus Nost, and Hapex, and Neaex, l., plainly, more than in the country that was under my jurisdiction. However, they continued at length and king Agrippa forgave them their offences. And this was the conclusion of what concerned these men.

32. But as for the inhabitants of the city of Tiberias, they wrote to the king, and desired him to send them forces sufficient to be a guard to their 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 give them a guard of ten men, that they might show their power to do: for they had heard that the walls of Tarichaeum were already built: I agreed to their proposal accordingly. And when I had made arrangements for the building, I gave orders to the architects to go to work; but on the third day, when I was gone to Tarichaeum, 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 I ordered a watch to be kept over 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 away my armed men from Tarichaeum to their own cities. Therefore, on the next day, I made a bath; for I would not have the people of Tarichaeum be disturbed on that day] by a multitude of soldiers; and indeed, whenever I sojourned at that city, I never took any particular guard about my own body, because I had had frequent instances of the fidelity its inhabitants bore to me. I had now about me no more than seven armed men, besides some friends, and was doubtful what to do. But I considered that I had not 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 though our necessity should be very great; and if I should permit the people of Tarichaeum, and the strangers with them, to guard the city, I saw that they would not be sufficient for that purpose, and I perceived that I should be obli- gated to deliver the possession of these forces by stratagem, so I immediately placed those my friends of Tarichaeum, on whom I could best confide, at the gates, to watch those very carefully who went out at those gates; I also called to 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 lake full of ships, they supposed that the ships 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 down their walls, and made no motion; and the king, and children, and made acclamations to me, with great commendations; for they imagined that I did not know their former inclinations to have seen ships, so that we need not wonder at our Evangelists, who still call them ships, nor ought we to render them to be anything else, a number of chariots, as the Jews learn from our author elsewhere: Of the War, B. & c. chap. xxx. sect. 8. 
against me;) so they persuaded me to spare the city. But when I was come near enough, I gave order to the masters of the ships to cast anchor a good way off the land, that the people of Tiberias might not perceive that the ships had no men on board, and that, in case the people in one of the ships, and rebuked them for their folly, and that they were so sickle as, without any just occasion in the world, to revolt from their fidelity to me. However, I assured them that on that very day they should have the time to come, if they would send ten of the ring-leaders of the multitude to me; and when they complied readily with this proposal, and sent me the men forementioned, I put them on board a ship, and sent them to Taricheae, and ordered them to be kept in prison.

34. And by this stratagem it was that I gradually got all the senate of Tiberias into my power, and sent them to the city forementioned, with many of the principal men among the populace; and those not fewer in number than the other. But when the multitude saw into what great miseries they had themselves brought, they desired me to send me other captives; and I showed them, that his name was Clitus, a young man, bold and rash in his undertakings. Now, since I thought it not agreeable to piety to put one of my own people to death, and yet found it necessary to punish him, I sent for Iudas, of the same name, to go to him, and cut off one of Clitus's hands; but as he that was ordered to do this was afraid to go out of the ship alone, among so great a multitude, I was not willing that the timoromness of the man should be the cause of the punishment of Tiberias. So I called to Clitus himself, and said to him, "Since thou deservest to lose both thine hands, for thy ingratitude to me, be thou thine own judge as to their removal, and if thou undergo a worse punishment." And when he earnestly begged of me to spare him one of his hands, it was with difficulty that I granted it. So in order to prevent the loss of both his hands, as willingly took his sword, and cut off his own left hand; and this put an end to the sedition.

35. Now the men of Tiberias, after I was gone to Taricheae, perceived what stratagem I had used against them, and they admired how I had put an end to the sedition in like manner, and without the shedding of blood. But now, when I had sent for some of those multitudes of the people of Tiberias out of prison, among whom were Justus and his father Patus, I made them to sup with me, and durst not hold my peace until I saw that I knew the power of the Romans was superior to all others; but did not say so [publicly] because of the robbers. And 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 he 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 they had murdered a man who was a kinsman of Philip, and withal how they had wisely punished Jesus, his brother Justus's sister's husband [with death. When I had said this, they were inquiring, when I would jog and Justus, and all the rest that were in prison, to be loosed out of it, and sent away.

36. But before this it happened that Philip, the son of Jucimus, went out of the city of Gamala upon the following occasion: when Philip had been informed that Varus was put out of his government by king Agrippa, and that Mordius Equilus, a man that was of old his friend and companion, was come to succeed him, he wrote to him, and related what turns of fortune he had had, and desired him to forward the letters he sent to the king and queen. Now when Mordius had received these letters, he was exceeding glad, and sent the letters to the king and queen, who were then about Berytus. But when king Agrippa knew that these letters were false, (for it had been given out, that the Jews had begun a war with the Romans, and that this Philip had been their commander in that war,) he sent some horsemen to conduct Philip to him, and, when he came, he said to him obliquely, and showed him to the Roman commanders, and told them that this was the man of whom the report had gone about as if he had revolted himself. He also bid him take some horsemen with him, and to go quickly to the citadel of Gamala, and to bring out thence all his domestics, and to restore the Babylonians to Batanea again. He also gave him in charge not to take all of them, but that none should be guilty of making any innovation. Accordingly, upon these directions from the king, he made haste to do what he was commanded.

37. Now there was one Joseph, the son of a female slave of the Gentiles, who chanced to be a young man to join with him. He also insolently addressed himself to the principal persons at Gamala, and persuaded them to revolt from the king, and take up arms, and gave them leaves that they should be ready for the sacrifice of their liberty. And some they forced into the service, and those that would not acquiesce in what they had resolved on, they slew. They also slew the sons of the chief men of Galilee, and a brother of Justus of Tiberias, as we have already said. Those of Gamala also wrote to me, desiring me to send them an armed force, and workmen to raise up the wall of their city; and the region of Gaulonitis did also revolt from the king, as far as the village Solyma. I also built a wall about Seleucia and Soganni, which are villages naturally of very great strength. Moreover, I sent messengers in like manner to the several villages of Galilee, though they were very rocky of themselves. Their names are Jannia, and Merot, and Acharabare. I also fortified, in the Lower Town of Galilee, 400,000 talents of stone to build the temple, and a thousand talents to the temple of the Watchers, and the village of Araba, Berosbe, Selamin, Jopata, Caphareboc, and Sigo and Japha, and Mount Tabor." I also laid out a great quantity of corn in these places, and arms withal, that might be for their security afterwards. 38. But the hatred that John, the son of Levi, bore to me, grew now more violent, while he could not bear my prosperity with patience. So he proposed to himself, by all means possible, to make away with me, and built the walls of Geichala, which was the place of his nativity. He then sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan the son of Sisenna, and about a hundred armed men, to Jerusalem, to Simon the son of Gamaliel; in order to procure the collection of the whole multitude of Jerusalem to take from me the government over the Galileans, and to give their suffrages for conferring that authority upon him. This Simon was of the chief family, of the sect of the Pharisees, which are supposed to excel others in the accurate 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

Footnote:
* Part of these fortifications on Mount Tabor may be seen lately by Mr. Maundrell. See his Travels, p. 112.

[This Gamaliel may be the very same that is mentioned by the rabbinic in the Misne in Juchannah and in Porta Mexa, as is observed in the Latin notes. He is mentioned Acts x. 25. Gamaliel 1. who is mentioned Acts x. 24. and at whose feet St. Paul was brought up, Acts xii. 3. See Pride at the year 66.]
THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

them; but when I promised them that I would build them walls at Tiberias, and at other cities that wanted them, they gave credit to what I promised, and returned every one to his own home. So I escaped the forementioned danger, beyond all my hopes, and returned to my own house, accompanied with my friends, and twenty armed men also.

30. However, these robbers and other authors of mischief who were afraid on their own account, lest I should punish them for what they had done, took six hundred armed men, and came to the house where I abode, in order to set it on fire. When this their insult was told me, I thought it best to leave the house for a while, and to resolve to expose myself to danger, and to act with some boldness; so I gave order to shut the doors, and went up into an upper room, and declared that they would soon see of the средств to receive the money [from the spoils] for I told them they would then have no occasion to be angry with me; and when they had sent in one of the boldest men of them all, I had him whipped severely, and said that if any of that hand of his hands should be cut off, and hung about his neck; and in this case was he put out to those that sent him. At which procedure of mine they were greatly affrighted, and in no small consternation, and was afraid that they should be themselves surprized and surprised in like manner, if they stayed there: for they supposed that I had in the house more armed men than they had themselves; so they ran away; and while I, by the use of this stratagem, escaped this their second treachery, design against me.

31. But there were still some that irritated the multitude against me, and said, that those great men that had come to the king ought not to be suffered to live, if they would not change their religion to the religion of those to whom they fled for safety: they spake reproachfully of them also, and said, that they were wizards, &c. such as came to the Romans. Be 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 against them, and took such a course as to make them not be thought ought not to be persecuted; I also laughed at the allegation about witchcraft, and told them that the Romans would not maintain so many ten thousand, if they could overcome their enemies by wizards. Upon hearing this, the people assented for a while; but they returned again afterward, as irritated by some ill people against the great men: yet, they once made an assault upon them, in which they dwelt at Tiberias, in order to kill them; which when I was informed of, I was afraid lest so horrid a crime should take effect, and nobody else would make that city their refuge any more. I therefore came myself, and some others with me, to the house where these great men lived, and locked the doors, and had a trench drawn from their house leading to the lake, and sent for a ship, and embarked therein with them, and sailed to the coast of Tyre; I also paid the value of their horses, nor in such a flight could I have their horses brought to them. I then dismissed them, and begged of them earnestly that they might bear the stress which befell them. I was also myself greatly displeased that I was compelled to expose the; that had led me to go again into an enemy country; yet did I think it more eligible that I should proceed among the Romans, if it show so hap

* Here we may observe the v;clear Jews' notion of what a ship is. For Josephus was now so to give any countenance to it.

In this section, as well as sect. 19, and sect. 33, those men called by Josephus Nasi, and Hades, and Esai, l. p. plainly, pen, that in the country that is under my jurisdiction. However, they espoused at length and king Agrippa forgave them their offences. And this was the conclusion of what concerned these men.

32. But as for the inhabitants of the city of Tiberias, they wrote to the king, and desired him to send them forces sufficient to be a guard to their country; for that they were desirous to come to some place of safety: this was what they said to him. But when I came to them, they desired me to build their walls, as I had promised them to do: for they had heard that the walls of Tarihces were sandy and big: I agreed to these terms, and to the rest of their proposal. And then began the preparation for their entire building, I gave order to the architects to go to work; but on the third day, when I was gone to Tarihces, which was thirty furlongs distant from Tiberias, I learned that 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 lamented, and said that they were not afraid of the king, and in reproaches against me. Hereupon one came running to me and told me what their dispositions were, and that they had resolved to revolt from me; upon hearing which I showed them the forces that I had sent away, and that I sent my armed men from Tarihces to their own houses, because the next day was our Sabbath; for I would not have the people of Tarihces [on that day] to make movements of soldiers; and indeed, whenever I remained at that city, I never took any particular care for a guard about my own body, because I had had frequent instances of the fidelity its inhabitants bore to me; and I had seven armed men, besides some friends, and was doubtful what to do; for to send to recall my own forces I did not think proper, because the present day was almost over, and had those forces been with me, I could not take arms on the next day, because our laws forbid us so to do, even though our necessity should be very great; and if I should permit the people of Tarihces, and the strangers with them, to guard the city, I had indeed said it might not be done for no purpose, and I perceived that I should be obliged to delay my assistance a great while; for I thought with myself that the forces that came from the king would receive men for me, and I should be the master of the city. I considered, therefore, how to get clear of these forces by a stratagem; so I immediately placed those my friends of Tarihces, on whom I could best confide, at the gates, to watch those very carefully who went out at those gates; I also called to 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 lake full of ships, they were in fear what would become of their city, and were greatly terrified, as supposing that the king's men had arrived, and that they should change their minds, and throw down their weapons, and meet me with their wives and children, and made accusations to me, with great commendations; for they imagined that I did not know their former inclinations [to have seen ships, so that we need not wonder at our Evangelists, that they made a great noise about our coming, and that we went in many ships, as some do. Their number was in all 240, as we learn from our author elsewhere; Of the War, b. 6. chap. 21. sect. 8.
against me;) so they persuaded me to spare the city. But when I was come near enough, I gave order to the masters of the ships to cast anchor a good way off the land, that the people of Tiberias might not perceive that the ships and no Eunuch on board; but I went nearer to the people in one of the ships, and rebuked them for their folly, and that they were so fickle as, without any just occasion in the world, to revolt from their fidelity to me. However, I assured that I forgave them, and that it was the time to come, if they would send ten of the ring-leaders of the multitude to me; and when they complied readily with this proposal, and sent me ten of the aforementioned, I put them on board a ship, and sent them to Tarichea, withshire, and ordered them to be kept in prison.

34. And by this stratagem it was that I gradually got all the sone of Tiberias into my power, and sent them to the city, formentioned, with many of the principal men among the populace; and those not fewer in number than the other. But when the multitude saw into what great miseries they had brought themselves, they desired to be delivered to me. And the name of this citizen was Clitus, a young man, bold and rash in his undertakings. Now, since I thought it not agreeable to piety to put one of my own people to death, and yet found it necessary to punish him, I had him taken off the ship, and led to him, and cut off one of Clitus's hands; but as he was ordered to do this was afraid to go out of the ship alone, among so great a multitude, and not to the timor of death, and on the soldier should appear to the multitude of Tiberias. So I called to Clitus himself, and said to him, "Since thou desertest to lose both thine hands, for thy ingratitude to me, be thou thine own executioner, and cut off thee, and be thou undergone a worse punishment." And, when he earnestly begged of me to spare him one of his hands, it was with difficulty that I granted it. So in order to prevent the loss of both his hands, he willingly took his award, and cut off one of his left hand; and this put an end to the sedition.

35. Now the men of Tiberias, after I was gone to Tarichea, perceived what stratagem I had used against them, and they admired how I had put them to their folly foolishly, and killed men of blood. But now, when I had sent for some of those multitudes of the people of Tiberias out of prison, among whom were Justus and his father, and during our supper time I said to them, that I knew the power of the Romans was superior to all others, but did not 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 an 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 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 their education from Simon the son of Gamala, after the departure of Philip, slew Chares, who was a kinsman of Philip, and withal they had wisely punished Jesus, his brother Justus's sister's husband [with death.] When I had said this, I was further reproved for having unjustly ordered Justus, and all the rest that were in prison, to be loosed out of it, and sent away.

36. But before this it happened that Philip, the son of Jacebus, went out of the citadel of Gamala upon the following occasion: when Philip had

be informed that Varus was put cut of his government by king Agrippa, and that Modius Equiculus, a man that was of old his friend and companion, was come to succeed him, he wrote to him, and related what turns of fortune he had had, and desired him to forward the letters he sent to the king and queen. Now when Modius had received these letters, he was exceeding glad, and sent the letters to the king and queen, who were then about Berytus. But when king Agrippa knew that the state was false, (for it had been given out, that the Jews had begun a war with the Romans, and that this Philip had been their commander in that war,) he sent some horsemen to conduct Philip to him, and, when he came, he saluted him, and ordered him to be kept in prison.

37. Now there was one Joseph, the son of a female pharisian, and one of the young men to join with him. He also insolently addressed himself to the principal persons at Gamala, and persuaded them to revolt from the king, and boldly told them that they should, by his means; recover their liberty. And some they forced into the service, and those that would not acquiesce in what they had resolved on, they slew. They also slew Chares, and put the king's name and a brother of Justus of Tiberias, as we have already said. Those of Gamala also wrote to me, desiring me to send them armed force, and workmen to raise up the wall of their city; for I reject not of their request. The region of Gaulonitis also did revolt from the king, as far as the village Solyman. I also built a wall about Seleucia and Soganni, which are villages naturally of very great strength. Moreover, I in like manner over all the villages of Upper Galilee, though they were very rocky of themselves. Their names are Jamnia, and Meroth, and Achabara. I also fortified, in the Lower of Galilee, the cities of Tiberias, Scythopolis, and the villages, the cove of Arbela, Belsohe, Selamin, Jotapata, Capharecor, and Sigo and Japha, and Mount Tabor. I also laid up a great quantity of corn in these places, and arms withal, that might be for their security afterwards.

38. But the hatred that John, the son of Levi, bore to me, grew now more violent, while he could not bear my prosperity with patience. So he proposed to himself, by all means possible, to make away with me, and built the walls of Gechals, which was the place of his nativity. He then sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan the son of Sisenna, and about a hundred armed men, to Jerusalem, to Simon the son of Gamala, in order to persuade him to induce the commonalty of Jerusalem to take from me the government over the Galileans, and to give their suffrages for conferring that authority upon him. This Simon was of the very stock and family, one of his wife's family, of the sect of the Pharisees, which are supposed to excel others in the accurate 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 the

* Part of these fortifications on Mount Tabor may be seen from the other side of the Jordan.

† This Gamaliel may be the very same that is mentioned by the rabbinis in the Manna in Juchann and

in Forta Moena, as is observed in the Lath notes. He might be also the same Gamaliel I., whose name is mentioned Acts v. 34, and at whose feet St. Paul was brought up, Acts xxii. 3. See Frod at the year 466.
THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

them; but when they promised them that I would bring the troops from Tiberias, and the other cities that wanted them, they gave credit to what I promised, and returned every one to his own home. So I escaped the forementioned danger, beyond all my hopes, and returned to my own house, 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, and to make sure that I would not harm them out of revenge, went and came to the house where I abode, in order to set it on fire. When this their insult was told me, I thought it indecent for me to run away, and I resolved to expose myself to danger, and to act with some boldness; so I gave a fire 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 be angry with 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 hang about his neck; and in the next day they set upon him, and they beat him to death. 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 the power was now in Rome, and there were twenty-ed men than they had themselves; so they ran away immediately, while I, by the use of this stratagem, escaped this their second treacherous design.

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, in the midst of those whom the senate fled for 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: and some were brought 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 persecuted; I also laughed at the alarum: I placed a guard over them: and I thought with myself that the forces that came from the king would prevent me, and that I should be driven out of the city. I considered, therefore, how I might return again unstained, and I immediately placed those my friends of Tarichee, on whom I could best confide, at the gates, to watch those very carefully who went out at those gates; I also called to 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 lake full of ships, they were afraid that the king would send his men against them, and were greatly terrified, as supposing that the ships were full of men on board; so they then changed their minds, and threw down their weapons, came to me, and told me the danger, and made acclamations to me, with great commendations; for they imagined that I did not know their former inclinations [to have seen ships, so that we did not wonder at our Evangelists, who still call them ships, nor ought we to render them best, that they were their number was to all, in all, and could learn from our author elsewhere: Of the War, B. ii. chap. xxii. sect. 8.]

pen, than in the country that was under my jurisdiction. However, they espoused at length, and king Agrippa forgave them their offences. And this was the conclusion of what concerned these men.

32. But as for the inhabitants of the city of Tiberias, they wrote to the king, and desired him to send them forces sufficient to be a guard to their 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 also to come over to them, and to give them the advice that the walls of Tarichee were already built: I agreed to their proposal accordingly. And when I had made the report to the king, I sent my letter to the architects to go to work; but on the third day, when I was gone to Tarichee, 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 I made them a message, that they should not use their dispositions, and that they had resolved to revolt from me; upon hearing which news I was very much alarmed; for I had already sent away my armed men from Tarichee to their own places, and the rest that were in the city, I sent home in the same fashion; for I would not have the people of Tarichee be disturbed [on that day] by a multitude of soldiers; and indeed, whenever I sojourned at Tarichee, I took no particular guards 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 not afraid of any of these forces by 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 though our necessity should be very great; and if I should permit the people of Tarichee, and the strangers with them, to guard the city, I saw that they would not be sufficient for that purpose, and I perceived that I should be oblig

Here we may observe the vultur Jew's notion of this, but that our Josephus was too so as to give credit to what I feared, that I ought to have done; I then dismissed them, and begged of them earnestly that they would courageously bear this distress which befell us. I was also myself greatly displeased this tempers, and it at acompanied me that had led me to go again into an enemy country; yet did I think it more eligible if I should par

In this section, as well as sect. 18, and sect 33, those small vessels that sailed on the sea of Galilee, are called by Josephus Nave, and Naare, and Bezer, &c: plainly,
against me;) so they persuaded me to spare the city. But when I was come near enough, I gave order to the masters of the ships to cast anchor a good way off the land, that the people of Tiberias might not perceive that the ships had no master on board; but when they saw the people in one of the ships, and rebuked them for their folly, and that they were so sickle as, without any just occasion in the world, to revolt from their king; however, I desired them that I would entirely forgive them for the time to come, if they would send ten of the ring-leaders of the multitude to me; and when they complied readily with this proposal, and sent me ten of them, I put them on board ship, and sent them away to Tariches, and ordered them to be kept in prison.

34. And by this stratagem it was that I gradually got all the sense of Tiberias into my power, and sent them to the city forementioned, with many of the principal men among the populace; and those not fewer in number than the other. But when the multitude saw into what great miseries they had brought themselves, they desired that they should be instructed what they should do; his name was Clitus, a young man, bold and rash in his undertakings. Now, since I thought it not agreeable to pet one of my own people to take all the care of conducting such and that, I ordered him, I ordered Levi, one of my own guards, to go to him, and cut off one of Clitus's hands; but as he was ordered to do this was afraid to go out of the ship alone, among so great a multitude, and thought that the soldier should appear to the people of Tiberias. So I called to Clitus himself, and said to him, "Since thou deservest to lose both thine hands, for thy ingratitude to me, be thou more obedient; for if thou cut off one of mine, thou undergo a worse punishment." And, when he earnestly begged of me to spare him one of his hands, it was with difficulty that I granted it. So I ordered him to prevent the loss of both his hands, as willingly took his sword, and cut off his own left hand; and this put an end to the sedition.

35. Now the men of Tiberias, after I was gone to Tariches, perceived what stratagem I had used against them, and admired how I had put an end to their foolish sedition, without shedding of blood. But now, when I had sent for some of those multitude of the people of Tiberias out of prison, among whom were Justus and his father Simon, and the son of Simon, and during our summer time I said to them, that I knew the power of the Romans was superior to 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 my absence, had taken him to Jerusalem, and against the authority of the high priests; and after the departure of Philip, slew Chares, who was a kinsman of Philip, and withal how they had wisely punished Jesus, his brother Justus's sister's husband [with death]. When I had said this, he was a great deal of the time sad, and hoped that order Justus, and all the rest that were in prison, to be loosed out of it, and sent away.

36. But before this it happened that Philip, the son of Jucimus, went out of the city of Gamaliel, a son of Silas, a Galilean; and Philip had been informed that Varus was put out of his government, and that Modius Equiculus, a man that was of old his friend and companion, was come to succeed him, he wrote to him, and related what turns of fortune he had had, and desired the letters he sent to the king and queen. Now when Modius had received these letters, he was exceeding glad, and sent the letters to the king and queen, who were there, that Philip might be restored to his place; and, when he was come, he saluted him very obligingly, and showed him to the Roman commandments, and told them that this was the man of whom the report had gone out as if he had revolting from the Romans. He also bid him take some horsemen with him, and to go quickly to the citadel of Gamala, and to bring out thence all his domestics, and to restore the Babylonians to Balas again. He also gave him in charge to take all the censers of gold and silver, which should be guilty of making any innovation. Accordingly, upon these directions from the king, he made haste to do what he was commanded. 37. Now there was once a medical woman, a female physician, who excelled a great many young men to join with him. He also insolently addressed himself to the principal persons at Gamala, and persuaded them to revolt from the king, and drew up a list of all that should be arranged for the soldiers that they should, by his means; recover their liberty. And some they forced into the service, and those that would not acquiesce in what they had resolved on, they slew. They also slew one of Justus's sons, a young man of sixteen years old, and a brother of Justus of Tiberias, as we have already said. Those of Gamala also wrote to me, desiring me to send them an armed force, and workmen to raise up the wall of their city; nor did I reject either of their requests. The region of Gaulonitis also did revolt from the king, as far as the village Solyma. I also built a wall about Selencisa and Sopagani, which are villages naturally of very great strength. Moreover, I in like manner walled several villages of Upper Galilee, though they were very rocky of themselves. Their names are Jamies, and Mereth, and Achabare. I also fortified, in the Lower Galilee, the city of Tiberias, and Bethphage, and the villages, the Care of Arbel, Beros, Selamin, Jotapata, Capharencroc, and Situ, and Mount Tabor.* I also laid out a great quantity of corn in these places, and armed them withal, that might be for their security afterward.

38. But the hatred that John, the son of Levi, bore to me, grew now more violent, while he could not bear my prosperity with patience. So he proposed to himself, by all means possible, to make away with me, and built the walls of Gischala, which was the place of his nativity. He then sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan the son of Sisenna, and about a hundred armed men, with all the forces of the Pharisees, to Jerusalem, in order to persuade him to induce the commonalty of Jerusalem to take from me the government over the Galileans, and to give their suffrages for conferring that authority upon him. This Simon had been a great deal of the time in the king's household, and in the family, of the sect of the Pharisees, which are supposed to excel others in the accurate knowledge of the laws of their country. He was a man of great credit, and capable of managing public affairs by his prudence, when

* Portions of these fortifications on Mount Tabor may be still remaining, and were seen lately by Mr. Maundrell. See his Traveis, p. 119.

† This Gambali may be the same that is mentioned by the rabbi in the Mishna in Jochanan and in Porta Polyana, as is observed in the Latin note. It might be that Gamaliel II., whose grandfather was Gamaliel I. who is mentioned Acts xiv., and at whose feet St. Paul was brought up, Acts xxii. 3. See Fréz at the year 466.
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 recovered, and was able to travel, he persuaded the high priests, Ananus, and Jesus the son of Gamaliel, and some others of the same sedidious faction, to set me down, now I was growing so great, and not to overlook me while I was again running off to the heathen glory; and he said, that it would be for the advantage of the Galileans, if I were deprived of my government there. Ananus also, and his friends, desired them to make no delay about this matter; lest I should get the advantage of what was doing too soon, and should come and make an assault upon the city with a great army. This was the counsel of Simon; but Ananus the high priest demonstrated to this, that this was not a soon 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, but was taking care of my own safety, the Galileans, out of their dread of the consequences of my departure, that they should then be at the mercy of the robbers, sent messengers to all Galilee to persuade Simon to leave them. Whereupon, as soon as they heard it, they got together in great numbers, from all parts, with their wives and children; and this they did, as it appeared to me, not only to prevent the king from leaving, in order of their fear on their own account; for while I stood with them, they supposed that they should suffer no harm. So they all came into the great plain, wherein I lived, the name of which was also Josephus! leave off to afflict thy soul, and put away all fear; for what now grieves thee will render thee very considerable, and in all respects most happy; for thou shalt get over not only their fear, but many others, with great success. However, be not cast down, but remember that thou art to fight with the Romans. When I had seen this dream, I got up with an increased interest and concern for the whole multitude of the Galileans, among whom were the women and children, saw me, they threw themselves down upon their faces and, with tears in their eyes, besought me not to leave them, to send to their enemies to drive them away and permit their country to be injured by them. But when I did not comply with their entertainments, they compelled me to take an oath, that I would stay with them: they also cast abundant reproaches upon the people of Jerusalem, that they would not let their country enjoy peace.

40. Now, when they had given Jonathan and his companions these instructions, they gave them forty thousand [drachmæ] 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, and gave him orders to follow 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 that they should give to the strangers, and when they had complied, and 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 that was given them by Jonathan was this, that if I would voluntarily lay down my arms, they should send me alive to the city Jerusalem; but that in case I opposed them, they

41. Now, as my father wrote me an account of this, (as near as memory can serve,) that council, a friend and companion of mine, told him of it, I was very much troubled, as discovering thereby, that my fellow-citizens proved so ungrateful to me, as out of envy, to give me such a charge of being a traitor. I deeply pressed me also 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 country. Thereupon, I went to the inhabited and open places, and was very sorry, and desired me, with tears in their eyes, not to leave them to be destroyed; so for they thought they should be, if I were deprived of the command over them: but as I did not have their consent, but was taking care of my own safety, the Galileans, out of their dread of the consequences of my departure, that they should then be at the mercy of the robbers, sent messengers to all Galilee to persuade Simon to leave them. Whereupon, as soon as they heard it, they got together in great numbers, from all parts, with their wives and children; and this they did, as it appeared to me, not only to prevent the king from leaving, in order of their fear on their own account; for while I stood with them, they supposed that they should suffer no harm. So they all came into the great plain, wherein I lived, the name of which was also Josephus! leave off to afflict thy soul, and put away all fear; for what now grieves thee will render thee very considerable, and in all respects most happy; for thou shalt get over not only their fear, but many others, with great success. However, be not cast down, but remember that thou art to fight with the Romans. When I had seen this dream, I got up with an increased interest and concern for the whole multitude of the Galileans, among whom were the women and children, saw me, they threw themselves down upon their faces and, with tears in their eyes, besought me not to leave them, to send to their enemies to drive them away and permit their country to be injured by them. But when I did not comply with their entertainments, they compelled me to take an oath, that I would stay with them: they also cast abundant reproaches upon the people of Jerusalem, that they would not let their country enjoy peace.

42. But wonderful it was what a dream I saw that very night: for when I had betaken myself to my bed, as grieved and disturbed at the news that had been written to me, it seemed to me that it was I who was in the eyes of the priests, and a Pharisee also; and Simon, the last of them, was of the youngest of the high priests. These had it given them in charge, that, when they were 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 time. If, however, they asked, if it was because I was well versed in their law, 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 able to show what two of these were priests also.

40. Now, when they had given Jonathan and his companions these instructions, they gave them forty thousand [drachmæ] 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, and gave him orders to follow 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 that they should give to the strangers, and when they had complied, and 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 that was given them by Jonathan was this, that if I would voluntarily lay down my arms, they should send me alive to the city Jerusalem; but that in case I opposed them, they

*This Jonathan is also taken notice of in the Latin notices, in the same that is mentioned by the rabbins in "Fonat,

*This I take to be the first of Josephus's remarkable 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 when Jonathan went to the inhabitants of Gabra, and Tiberias, to send auxiliaries to John.

41. Now, as my father wrote me an account of this, (as near as memory can serve,) that council, a friend and companion of mine, told him of it, I was very much troubled, as discovering thereby, that my fellow-citizens proved so ungrateful to me, as out of envy, to give me such a charge of being a traitor. I deeply pressed me also 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 country. Thereupon, I went to the inhabited and open places, and was very sorry, and desired me, with tears in their eyes, not to leave them to be destroyed; so for they thought they should be, if I were deprived of the command over them: but as I did not have their consent, but was taking care of my own safety, the Galileans, out of their dread of the consequences of my departure, that they should then be at the mercy of the robbers, sent messengers to all Galilee to persuade Simon to leave them. Whereupon, as soon as they heard it, they got together in great numbers, from all parts, with their wives and children; and this they did, as it appeared to me, not only to prevent the king from leaving, in order of their fear on their own account; for while I stood with them, they supposed that they should suffer no harm. So they all came into the great plain, wherein I lived, the name of which was also Josephus! leave off to afflict thy soul, and put away all fear; for what now grieves thee will render thee very considerable, and in all respects most happy; for thou shalt get over not only their fear, but many others, with great success. However, be not cast down, but remember that thou art to fight with the Romans. When I had seen this dream, I got up with an increased interest and concern for the whole multitude of the Galileans, among whom were the women and children, saw me, they threw themselves down upon their faces and, with tears in their eyes, besought me not to leave them, to send to their enemies to drive them away and permit their country to be injured by them. But when I did not comply with their entertainments, they compelled me to take an oath, that I would stay with them: they also cast abundant reproaches upon the people of Jerusalem, that they would not let their country enjoy peace.

43. When I heard this, and saw what sorrow the king was in, I went to him three months, and gave him orders to follow 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 that they should give to the strangers, and when they had complied, and 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 that was given them by Jonathan was this, that if I would voluntarily lay down my arms, they should send me alive to the city Jerusalem; but that in case I opposed them, they
to fight with Placidus, who was come with two cohorts of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, and assure himself of a certain victory. But I sought those villages of Galilee that were near Ptolemais. Upon whose casting up a bank before the city Ptolemais, I also pitched my camp at about the sixtieth song from that village. And now we frequently lighted out our forays as if we would fight, but proceeded no farther than skirmishes at a distance; for when Placidus perceived that I was earnest to come to a battle, he set out on horse, and as I saw him, he was not remise from the neighbourhood of Ptolemais.

44. About this time it was that Jonathan and his fellow-legates came. They were sent, as we have said already, by Simon, and Ananias, the high priest. And Jonathan contended 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 people of Jerusalem, to Josephus, and to those that are with him, to as much as I am able, and as far as I can, to make you distinctly understand that we have heard that John of Gischala hath laid many snares for thee, to rebuke him, and to exhort him to be subject to these hereafter. We are also desirous to learn of thee concerning other matters, 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 will give thee no assistance. Thus it was that they wrote, as expecting one of these two things, either that I should come without armed men, and then they should have me wholly in their power; or, if I came with a great army, they would judge me as a rebellious enemy. Now it was a horseman who brought the letter, a man at other times bold, and one that had served in the army, under the king. It was the second hour of the night that he came, when many were gathered together. 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 salute me me, but held out a letter, and said, "This letter is sent thee by those that are come from Jerusalem. Do thou write an answer to it quickly, for I am obliged to return to them very soon." Now my greatest concern was the safety of the widow of the soldier. But I desired him to sit down and say with us; but when he refused so to do, I held the letter in my hands as I received it, and fell a talking with my guests about other matters. But a few minutes after, I dismissed them, and then 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 opened the letter so that nobody could perceive it; and understanding thereby presently the purport of the writing, I sealed it up again, and appeared as if I had not yet read it, but only held it in my hands I ordered twenty drachmies should be given the soldier for the charges of his journey; and I desirous to look upon the man, who had writ to me, I perceived that he loved money, and that he was to be caught chiefly by that means, and I said to him, "If thou wilt but drink with us, thou shalt have a drachma for every pot that thou drinkest." So I succeeded the proposal, and drank a great deal of wine, in order to get the more money, and was so drunk that at last he could not keep the secrets he was about to tell me, but was at first putting questions to him, viz. that a treacherous design was contrived against me, and that I was doomed to die by those that sent him. When I heard this, I wrote back this answer: "Josephus to Jonathan, and those that are with him, sendeth greeting. Upon the information 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. But I beg of you, as I was bidden to you by those that sent me, not to proceed so far as if we would fight, but proceeded no farther than skirmishes at a distance; for when Placidus perceived that I was earnest to come to a battle, he set out on horse, and as I saw him, he was not remise from the neighbourhood of Ptolemais.

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 characters, and gave them instructions to salute those ambassadors, but to say nothing else 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 conversation might pass between those whom I sent and those that were left 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 as follows: "Jonathan, and those with him, to Josephus, and to those that are with him. We did not wear a day to come to us at the village of Gabroth, on the third day, without any armed men, that we may hear what thou hast to say to the charge of John and his partners. When the city was taken, first they saluted the Galileans whom I sent, and came to Japha, which was the largest village of all Galilee, and encompassed with very strong walls, and had a great number of inhabitants in it. Then the multitude of men with them, and children met them, and exclaimed loudly against them, and desired them to be gone, and not to enjoin them the advantage of an excellent commander. With these clamors Jonathan and his partners were greatly alarmed, they durst not show their anger openly: so they made them no answer, but went to other villages. But still the same clamors met them from all the people, who said, "Nobody should persuade us to have any other commander besides Josephus." So Jonathan and his partners went away from them without success, and came to Sepphoris, the greatest city of all Galilee. Now the men did not but say who this city was, and in its sentiments, met them indeed, but neither praised nor reproached me; and when they were gone down from Sepphoris to Aschich, the people of that place made a clamor against them as the people of Japha, but the Galileans had not been able to contain themselves no longer, but ordered the armed men that were with them to beat those that made the clamor 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 resolved to fight against me, I wrote from Chabolo, with three thousand armed men also, but left in my camp one of my fastest friends, and came to Japha, and was received by the men of the city with great respect, and with great applause being no more than forty furlongs. Whence 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 Galilee. I will write of them, of which you please, excepting Gabara and Gischala; the one of which is John's native city, and the other in confederacy and friendship with him. 46. When I had received this letter, my 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 attack me. John's opinion was, that they should 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
variance with me, and that they should be invit-
ed to come to oppose me as an enemy. He
would also have them send this resolution of
theirs to the city of Jerusalem, that the 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 when this was done, even those Galileans
who were of my party, and went to the desert
out of fear, when John had given them this
social, what he had said was very agreeable to
the rest of them. I was also made acquainted
with these affairs about the third hour of the
night by one Simon, who had belonged to them,
but now deserted them and came over to me,
and told me what they were about: so I perceived
that no time was to be lost. Accordingly I
gave command to Jacob, an armed man of my
guard, whom I esteem'd faithful to me, to take
two hundred men, and to guard the
passages that led from Gabara to Galilee, and
to seize upon the passengers, and send them to me,
especially such as were caught with letters
abroad from any of my friends, with six hundred armed men,
to the borders of Galilee, in order to watch the
roads that led from this country to the city Jer-
usalem, and to cause a change to lay their
letters with letters about them, to keep the
men in bonds upon the place, but to send me the
letters.

47. Whom I had laid these commands upon the
men and their orders, and bade them to take
their arms and bring three days' provision with
them, and be with me the next day. I also part-
et those that were about me into four parts, and
ordained those of them that were most faithful to
me to be a guard upon my body. I also set over
them centurions, and commanded them to take
care that not a soldier which they did not know
should mingle himself among them. Now on the
fifth day following, when I was in Gabaroth, I
found the whole plain that was before the village
full of armed men, who were come out of Gal-
ilee to assist me; many others of the multitude
also, out of the village, ran along with me. But
as soon as I had taken my place, and began to speak to them, I made an accusation
of my friends, with 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 a mind to compose these troubles with their blood. It came to pass, that on the very same day those who were
sent by John with letters, fell among the guards
whom I had appointed to watch the roads; so
the men were themselves kept upon the place,
as my orders were, but I got the letters, which
were full of reproaches and lies, and I intended
to fall upon these men without saying a word of
these matters to any body.

48. Now as soon as Jonathan and his compa-
nions came to the city of Gabara, 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 priv-
ately laid a band of armed men therein, and shut
all the other doors but one, which they kept
open; and they expected that I should come out
of the road to them, to salute them. And indeed
they had given orders to the armed men, that
when I came they should let nobody let Jesus
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
their expectations; for I perceived what snakes
they were, so that I left off my journey, I took up my lodgings over
against them, and pretended to be asleep: so
Jonathan and his party, thinking that I was really
asleep and at rest, made haste to go down into
the city and make what business they could
with the governor. But the matter proved otherwise,
for upon their appearance, there was a cry made
by the Galileans immediately, declaring their
good opinion of me as their governor; and they
sent a messenger to us, by the name of John, to
be a guard to us, lest John should unexpectedly fall
upon us: and I encouraged the Galileans to take
their weapons, lest they should be disturbed at
their enemies, if any sudden assault should be
made upon them. And in the first place, I put Jonathan and his partners in mind of their
[former] letter, and after what manner they had
written to me, and declared they were sent by
the common council of the city to make a
knowledge of the differences I had with John, and
how they had desired me to come to them; and
as I spoke thus, I publicly showed that letter
they had written, till they could not at all deny
what was written in the letter itself concerning
them. I then said, "O Jonathan, and you that
are sent with him as his colleagues, if I were to
be judged as to my behavior, compared with
that of John's, and had brought no more than
two or three witnesses, good men and true, it is
plain you had been forced, upon the examination
of their characters beforehand, to discharge the
accusations: that therefore you may be informed
that I have acted well in the affairs of Galilee, I
think your own conscience, and the letter itself
tell you, that the man that hath done as he ought to do, so I give
you all these for witnesses. Inquire of them,
how I have lived, and whether I have not be-
haved myself with all decency, and after a vir-
tuous manner among them. And I further con-
to be three, or two at the least, also exactly as in the
law of Moses, and in the Apostolical Constitutions, II.
I know not what manner of business, and be
sure to content with your wages." Whence Her. Hudson con-
forms this conjecture, that Josephus, in some things,
was but a friend of John the Baptist; which is
no way improbable. See the note on sec. 2.
⑦ We here learn the practice of the Jews, in the days of
Josephus, to inquire into the characters of witnesses,
before they were admitted, and that their number ought

⑦ This appeal to the whole body of the Galileans by
Josephus, and the testimony they gave him of integ-
rity in his conduct, as one of the governors of the
province, is an historical matter of importance in the
case of the prophet Sam-
uel, 1 Sam. xii. 1—5, and perhaps was done by Jos-
ephus in imitation of him.
that country; for in that road you may in three days' time go from Galilee to Jerusalem. I also went myself, and conducted the old men as far as the bounds of Galilee, and set guards in the roads, that it might not be easily known by any one that these men were gone. And when I had thus done, I went and abode at Japha.

55. Now Jonathan and his colleagues having failed of accomplishing what they would have done against me, they sent John back to Gischala, but went themselves to the city Tiberias, expecting that we would have sent them an answer; but it was founded on a letter which Jesus, their then governor, had written them, promising, that if they came, the multitude would receive them, and choose to be under their government; but they went their ways with this expectation. But Sibilas, who, as I said, had been left curator of Tiberias by me, informed me of this, and desired me to make haste thither. Accordingly I compiled with his advice immediately, and came thither, but found myself in danger of my life, from the following occasion: Jonathan and his colleagues had been at Tiberias, and had persuaded a great many of such as had a quarrel with me to desert me; but when they knew of my death, 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 behaved myself so well in the government of Galilee; and they congratulated me upon the happy consequences for them, that my glory was a credit to them, since they had been my teachers and fellow-citizens; and they said farther, that it was just that they should have the power rather than John's, and that they would have immediately gone home, but that they thought that they might deliver up John into my power; and when they said this they took their oaths of it, and swore they would do nothing to hurt us, and such as I did not think fit to disbelieve. However, they desired me to lodge somewhere else; because the next day was the Sabbath, 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 inquisition in the city how matters went, and whether anything was said about me; I also set many persons all the way, that looked into the affairs of Tiberias, that they might communicate from one to another, if they learned any news from those that were left in the city. On the next day, therefore, the sail came into the Prosechua; it was a large edifice, and the seat of residence of one of the greatest 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, Justus came in and commended him for what he had said, and persuaded some of the people to be of his mind also. But the multitude were not pleased with him, and told him that he was a spy turned into a tumult, unless the sixth hour which was now come had dissolved the assembly, at which hour our law requires us to go to dinner on Sabbath-days; so Jonathan and his colleagues put off their council that day, but had no success. When I was informed of these affairs, 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 Teri

*In the original text, it is not clear whether the Syriac for Prosechua or prayer, in the city Tiberias itself, though such Prosechua used to lie out of cities, as the synagogues were within them; of them see La...
resolved to comply with it. As for myself, o
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, and to go along with me, that we might
enforce the order, if any of their colleagues, being unable
to obey us by our enemies. I also myself took my
breast-plate, and girded on my sword, so that it
might be, as far as it was possible, concealed, and
came into the Processus.

55. As for myself, although I knew of their de-
sign, yet did I comply with what they proposed,
lest the people of Tiberias should have occasion
to suppose, that I was not careful of their security.
I therefore went out; but when I was at the place,
I found not the least footsteps of any enemy, so
I returned as fast as ever I could, and found the
whole council assembled, and the body of the
people gotten together, and Jonathan and his col-
leagues were present, vehemently charging me,
as one who had no concern to ease them of the
burdens of war, and as one that lived luxu-
riously. And as they were discourseing thus, they
proceeded as writers and reporters of their resolu-
tions, unto some people that lived at the borders of Galilee,
improving that they would come to their assist-
cance, for that there was an army of Romans, both
horsemen and footmen, who would come and lay
waste all that laid on the third day; they feared
them also to make haste, and not to overlook
them. When the people of Tiberias heard this,
they thought they spake truth, and made a
classmiour against me, and said, I ought not to sit
at home, but go to my countrymen.
Hereupon I said, (for I understood the
meaning of Jonathan and his colleagues,) that I was ready to comply with what they pro-
spected, and without delay to march to the war
produced. I made the council, and the council
mourned, that is, as much as they were able to
mourn, to the detriment of their own countrymen.
This advice of mine greatly pleased the multitude:
so they compelled them to go forth to the war.
But their designs were put into very much disorder, because they had not done
what they designed to do on account of my stra-
tagems, which was opposite to their undertakings.

56. Now there was one, whose name was Ana-
nias, a wicked man he was, and very mischievous:
he proposed that a general religious fast* should be
appointed to make Jonathan and his colleagues,
gave order that at the same hour they should
come to the same place without any weapons, to
make it manifest before God, that while they ob-
tained his assistance, they thought all these
productions of their hands, and to do all they desir-
ed to do. When John had received this letter, he

*One may observe here, that the fasts Parline Ana-
nias, as we have seen he was, sect. 28, took upon him to
appoint a fast at Tiberias, and was obeyed; though in
doed it was not out of religion, but knavish policy.
upon I present, sent for the chief of the Galileans, and told them after what manner, against all faith given, I had been very near to destruction 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 to make war upon them, but to permit them to go against John, and utterly to destroy him, as well Jonathan and his colleagues, and they supposed they would thus be in such a rage, and desired them to tarry awhile, till we should be informed what orders those ambassadors that were sent by them to the city of Jerusalem, should bring thence; for I told them that I had been so far according to their determination; whereupon they were prevailed on. At which time also, John, when the scribes he had laid did not take effect, regained the thousand of the best of my armed men and divided them into three bodies, and ordered them to go privately, and lie still as an ambush in the villages. I also led a thousand into another village, with the intent that the village, which had not been visited by them, so did the others, but only four furlongs distant from Tiberias, and gave orders, that when they saw my signal, they should come down immediately: while I myself lay with my soldiers, in the sight of the land, in the year of the thirty-first. Hereupon these men of Tiberias, at the sight of me, came running out of the city perpetually, and abused me greatly. Nay their madness was come to that height, that they made a decent bier for me, and standing about it, they mourned over me in the sight of the sport; and I could not but be myself in a pleasant humor upon the sight of this madness of theirs.

61. Now when they had received that letter, and considered that whereby they had desired, they sent for John, and for the senators of Tiberias, and for the principal men of the Gabarens, and proposed to hold a council, and desired them to consider what was to be done by them. However, these conceited false men, and wicked men, would not keep the government to themselves; for they said it was not fit to desert their 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 accuse me before the multitude, at Jerusalem, that I do not manage the affairs of Galilee as I ought to do, and that they would easily persuade the people, because of their dignity, and because the whole multitude were very mutable. When therefore it appeared that John had suggested these things, they ran to the sea, and put the boats of theirs and Jonathan and Annas, should go to the people of Jerusalem, and the other two [Simon and Joseph] should be left behind to tarry at Tiberias. They also took along with them a hundred men, and children to increase their city. So they too along with them a hundred men, and children to increase their city. So I was over-persuaded by their entreaties, and restrained the soldiers from the vehement with which they pursued them; while I myself, upon the coming on of the evening, went among the people of Tiberias and wept and went to refresh myself. I also invited Simon to sup with me, and comforted him on occasion of what had happened, and I promised that I would send him safe and secure to Jerusalem, and withal would give him provisions for his journey thereunto.
64. But on the next day I brought ten thousand men with me, 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 the men were, I sent them round the city. But to Jonathan and Annaeus, I freed them from their bonds, and gave them provisions for their journey, together with Simon and Joazar, and five hundred armed men who should guard them, and brought them to Jerusalem. But Sephoris, situated in the midst of Galilee, and having many villages about it, and able with ease to have been bold and troublesome to the Romans, if they had so pleased, you may suppose they would have continued faithful to those their masters, and at the same time excluded me out of their city, and prohibited all their citizens from joining with the Jews in the war, and that they might be out of danger from me, by a wish to leave me to fortify their city with walls: they also, of their own accord, admitted of a garrison of Roman legions, sent them by Cestus Gallus, who was then president of Syria, and so had me in the greatest danger. But all was greatly afraid of me; and at the same time that the greatest of our cities, Jerusalem was besieged, and that temple of ours, which belonged to us all, was in danger of burning; and the king, I think, at that time, was not at Jerusalem, either, as not willing to have it thought they would bear arms against the Romans. But as for thy country, O Justus, situated upon the lake of Geneesarath, and distant from Aleppo, Phænicus, Gadera sixty, and from Scythopolis which was under the king's jurisdiction, a hundred and twenty; when there was no Jewish city near, it might easily have preserved its fidelity to Rome. 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 but a country of one city, it is in reality to make my defence; and so I shall say what I have concealed till now. And let no one wonder that I have not told the world these things a great while ago. For although it be a very great historian to praise the nation, yet is such a one not bound severely to animadver't on the wickedness of certain men; not out of any favor to them, but 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 thee as if he were here present,) for so thou boastest of thyself, that I and the Galileans have been the authors of that sedition which thy country engaged in, both against the Romans and against thee? [Agrippa junior?] For before ever I was appointed governor of Galilee by the community of Jerusalem, both thou, and all the people of Tiberias, had not only taken up arms, but had made an alliance with the king with whom, at the same time, thou hadst ordered their villages to be burnt, and a domestic servant of thine fell in the battle. Nor is it only who say this; but so it is written in the commentaries of Vespasian the emperor, as by a law the inhabitants of Decapolis came clamoring to Vespasian at Ptolemais, and desired that thou, who vatt the author [of that war] mightest be brought to punishment. And thou hast, I think, been punished for the conduct of Vespasian, had not king Agrippa, who had power given him to have thee put to death, at the earnest entreaty of his sister Bernice, changed the punishment of death into a long imprisonment. Thy political administration of affairs after this does not clearly discover thy other behavior in life, and that thou wast the occasion of thy country's revolt from the Romans; plain signs of which I shall produce presently. I have also a mind to say a few things about the people of Tiberias on thy account, and to demonstrate to those that light upon this history, that you bear no good-will, neither to the Romans, nor to the king. To be sure the greatest cities of Galilee, O Justus, Sephoris, and Syrion, and many other.
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written, that thou standest in need of no instruction, in order to our information from the beginning. However, thou comest to me to inform thee of a great many things which thou dost not know." So when this history was perfected, Agrippa, neither by way of flattering which was not agreeable to him, nor by way of irony, as thou wilt say, (for he was entirely a stranger to such an expression of mine) he could not, therefore, thus by way of atteestation to what was true, as all that read histories may do. And so much shall be said concerning Justus, which I am obliged to write about them. 68. Now when I had settled the affairs of Tiberias, and had assembled 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 John, and punish him as the author of all the disorders that had happened. Yet was I not pleased with their determination; but purposing to compose these troubles without bloodshed, and not that I should have recourse to arms to settle them, but the utmost care to learn the names of all that 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 swear, that all who burned their houses and expose their persons to public sale. When the men heard of this, they 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 he was sated with John but his own citizens, and about 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 to his own country, and was a great fear of me. 67. But about this time it was that the people of Sephophis grew insolent, and took up arms, out of a confidence they had in the strength of their walls. And this I immediately presented my history to many other persons, some of which were concerned in the war, as was king Agrippa, and some of his kindred; and to the bishop of Tyre, the circumstance that the knowledge of these affairs should be taken from the books alone, that he subscribed his own hand to them, and ordered that they should be published; and for king Agrippa, he was desirous of the account, and assented to my having the truth of what I had therein delivered; two of which letters I have here subjoined, and thou mayest therefore know their contents. "King Agrippa to Josephus, his dear friend, sendeth greeting. I have read 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." "Galilean to Galilean to Galilean: the city Titus is opposite to Josephus, and is called the city by force. The Galileans took this opportunity, 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 sojourne 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 were very little affrighted, or of any kind of desolation which they could bring about."

character of the history of James of Tiberias, in the title of our Josephus, which is now lost, with only remaining fragment, are given us by a very able critic, Phoebus, who read that history. It is in the 33rd section of his commentaries on the gospels (says Phoebus) the chronology of Justus of Tiberias, whose title is this. [The Chronology of the Kings of Judea, which, according to Josephus, was written the second year (says Phoebus).] The chronology of Justus of Tiberias came out the city Tiberias in Galilee. He begins his history from Moses, and ends it not till the death of Agrippa, and had under his consideration the last and the last king of the Jews; who took the government under Claudius, had it augmented under Nero, and rejected by Vespasian, and founded in the third year of Trajan, where also his history ends. He is very concise in his language, and slightly passes over those affairs that were most necessary to be in
upon their countrymen. When I saw this, I was exceedingly troubled at it, and commanded them to leave off, and put them in mind that it was not agreeable to piety to do such things to their countrymen: but since they neither hearkened to what I exhorted, nor to what I commanded them to do, (for the hatred they bore to the people there was too hard for me to suppress,) I went to those that I bid those my friends, who were most faithful to me, and were about me, to give out reports, as if the Romans were falling upon the other part of the city with a great army; and that the king had such a respect for me abroad, I might restrain the violence of the Galileans, and preserve the city of Sepphoris. And at length this stratagem had its effect; for, upon hearing this report, they were in fear for themselves, and so to the left of plundering, and ran away; and this more especially, because they saw me, their general, do the same also; for, that I might cause this report to be believed, I pretended to be in fear as well as they. Thus were the inhabitants of Sepphoris unexpectedly preserved by this contrivance of mine.

68. Nay indeed, Tiberias had like to have been plundered by the Galileans also upon the following occasion: the chief men of the senate wrote to the king, and exhorted him to restrain them, and take possession of their city. The king promised to come, and wrote a letter in answer to theirs, and gave it to one of his bedchambermen, who was an Israelite by birth, a Jew, to carry it to Tiberias. When the Galileans knew that this man carried such a letter, they caught him, and brought him to me; but as soon as the whole multitude heard of the thing, they were enraged, and began to take their arms. So great a many of them got together from all quarters the next day, and came to the city Asochia, where I then lodged, and made heavy clamors, and called the city Tiberias a traitor to them, a plunderer, and a friend of the king; and desired leave of me to go down and utterly destroy it; for they bore the like ill-will to the people of Tiberias, as they did to those of Sepphoris.

69. When I heard this, I was in doubt what to do, and hesitated by what means I might deliver Tiberias from the rage of the Galileans; for I could not deny that those of Tiberias had written to the king, and had invited him to come to them, and take possession of them; and the king thereto would fully prove the truth of that. So I sat a long time musing with myself, and then said to them, "I know well enough that the people of Tiberias are my friends, and wish you to come, and plunder the city. However, such things ought to be done with discretion; for they of Tiberias have not been the only betrayers of our liberty, but many of the most eminent patriots of the Galileans, as they pretended to, have done the same. Tarry therefore till I shall thoroughly find out those authors of our danger, and then you shall have them all at once under your power, with all such as you shall yourselves lay hold of. In the meantime, I pacified the multitude, and they left off their anger, and went their ways; and I gave orders that he who caught the king's letters should be put into bonds; but in a few days I pretended that I was elsewhere, and was concealed in another part of the kingdom. Then called I Crispus privately, and ordered him to make the soldier that kept him drunk, and to run away to the king. So Tiberias was in danger destroyed. A second time, it escaped the danger by my skillful management, and the care that I had for its preservation.

70. About this time it was that Justus, the son of my acquaintance, ran away to the king; the occasion of which I will here relate. Upon the beginning of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the people of Tiberias resolved to submit to the king, and not to revolt from the Romans; while Justus tried to persuade them to break through the barriers, as being himself desirous of innovations, and having hopes of obtaining the government of Galilee, as well as of his own country [Tiberias] also. His propositions to this effect were to no avail, because the Galileans bore ill-will to those of Tiberias, and this on account of their anger at what miseries they had suffered from them before the war; whence it was, that they would not endure to be governed by a man that they suspected to be a traitor; and that those who were thus suspected were they also, who had been entrusted by the community of Jerusalem with the government of Galilee, did frequently come to that degree of rage at Justus, that I had almost resolved to kill him, as not able to bear his mischief. Disappointed after, I was therefore much afraid of me, lest at length my passion should come to extremity; so he went to the king, as supposing that he should dwell better, and more safely with him. The people of Sepphoris had, in so surprising a manner, escaped their first danger, they sent to Cestius Gallus, and desired him to come to them immediately, and take possession of their city, or else to send for sufficient forces to relieve them, and make an assault upon them; and at the last they did prevail with Gallus to send them a considerable army, both of horse and foot, which came in the night-time, and fell upon the city Sepphoris, and into the temple; when the country round about it was harassed by the Roman army, I took those soldiers that were about me, and came to Garseme; where I cast up a bank, a good way off the city Sepphoris; and being in a critical situation, 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 my soldiers, to scale them with ladders, I became master of the greatest part of the city. But even after this, our acquaintance with the places forced us to retire, after we had killed twelve of the Roman footmen, and two horsemen, and a few of the people of Sepphoris, with the loss of only a single man of our own. And when it afterwards came to a battle in the plain against the horsemen, and we had undergone the dangers of it courageously for a long time, we were beaten; for upon the Romans encompassing me about, my soldiers were slain. Thus fell in that battle one of those that had been entrusted to guard my body; his name was Justus, who at this time had the same post with the king. At last, after an innumerable number of horsemen and footmen, from the king, and Sylla their commander, who was the captain of this guard; this Sylla pitched his camp at five furlongs distance from Julius, and set a guard upon the roads, both that which led to Gans, and that which led to the fortress Gamala, that he might hinder their inhabitants from getting provisions out of Galilee.

72. As soon as I had gotten intelligence of this, I sent a thousand armed men, and a captain over them, whose name was Jeremia, who raised a bank a furlong off Julius, near to the river Jordan, and did no more than skirmish with the enemy; till I took three thousand soldiers myself, and was about to make an assault upon them. But as I had laid an ambush in a certain valley not far from the banks, I provoked those that belonged to the king to come to a battle, and gave orders to my own soldiers to turn their backs upon them, and that they should have drawn the enemy away from their camp, and brought them out into the field, which was done accordingly; for Sylla, supposing that our party did really run away, was near enough, and that the second that was laid 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 met those of the king's party, and put them to flight. And I had performed great things that day, if a certain fate had not been my hinder-
ance. For the horsemen, when they were pressed back, fought, fell into a quisquaire, and threw me on the ground, and I was bruised on my wrist, and carried into a village named Cephar-
omus or Cepherorum. When my soldiers heard of it, they came to me to draw me out of battle while I was less than I was, and so they did not go on 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 commenced a continual change of waters; whereas the physi-
cians directed, I was at night removed to Tari-
chis.

73. When Sylla and his party were informed what had happened to me, they took courage again, and understanding that the watch was negligi-
gently kept in our camp, they by night placed a body of horsemen in ambush beyond Jordan, and when it was day they provoked us to fight; and then, when we did, as it is plain, their horsemen appeared out of that am-
bush in which they had lain, and put our men into disorder, and made them run away; so they slew six men of our side. Yet did they not go off to the victors but for what they pleased; but some armed men were sailed from Tariches to Julius, they were afraid and retired.

74. It was not now long before Vespasian came to Tyre, and king Agrippa with him; but the Tyrians saw that they were no longer in the habit of king, and called him an enemy to the Romans. For they said, that Philip, the general of his army, had betrayed the royal palace, and the Roman forces were in Jerusalem, and that it was not the time to make war on them. Yet when I heard this report, he rebuked the Tyrians, for abusing a man who was both a king, and a friend to the Romans; but he exhorted the king to send them to Rome to answer for what he had done before Nero. But when Philip was this time, he did not come into the sight of Nero, for he found him very near death on account of the troubles that then happened, and a civil war; and so he returned to the king. But when Vespasian came to Ptolemais, the chief men of Decapolis of Syria, made a clamor against Ju-
tus 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 bonds, and concealed what he had done from Vespasian, as I have before related. But the people of Sepphoris met Vespasian and saluted him, and had forced sent them, with Placidus 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 was ordered, and how he fought his first battle with me there, I have not traced, and how from thence they went to Jotap-
ta, and how I was taken alive and bound, and how I was afterwards loosed, with all that was done there, I have not related in the annual pen-
sion. But as to what I have related in the books concerning the War of the Jews. However, it will, I think, be fit for me to add now an account of those actions of my life, which I have not related in that book of the Jew-
ish War.

75. For when the siege of Jotapata was over, and I was among the Romans, I was kept with much care, by means of the great respect that Vespas-
ian showed me. Moreover, at his command, I married a virgin, who was from among the cap-
tives of that country: yet did she not live with me long, but I divorced her, on my being forced from my bonds, and my going to Alexandria. — However, I married another wife at Alexandria, and was thence sent, together with Titus, to the siege of Jerusalem, and was frequently in dan-
ger, either of being made a sacrifice or of being taken prisoner, but the Jews were very desirous to get me under their power, in order to have me punished; and the Romans also, whenever they were beaten, supposed that it was occasioned by my treachery, and made continual clamors to the emperor, that they would bring me to punishment, as a traitor to them: but Titus Caesar was well ac-
quainted with the uncertain fortune of war, and returned no answer to the soldiers' vehement se-
ligations against me. Moreover, when the city of Jerusalem was taken by force, Titus Caesar persuaded me frequently to take whatsoever I would out of the ruins of my country, and said, that he gave me the power to do so. But when the country was destroyed, I thought nothing else to be of any value, which I could take and keep as a comfort under my calamities: so I made this request to Titus, that my family might have their liberty. I had also the holy book by Tit-
us's concession. Nor was it long after that I asked of him the life of my brother, and of fifty friends with him, and was not denied. When I also went once to the temple, by the permission of Titus, when there were great numbers of captive women and children, I got all those that I remembered as among my own friends and ac-
cquaintance to be set free, being in number about one hundred and ninety; and so I delivered them without their paying any ransom, and restored them to their former fortune. And when I was sent by Titus Caesar with Cerealis, and a thousand horsemen, to a certain village called Thectes, in order to know whether it were

8 Here Josephus, a priest, honestly confesses that he did that at the command of Vespasian, which he had before told us, was not lawful, for a priest to do by the law of Moses, Ant. Iii. ch. xii. sect. 2. I mean the taking a captive woman to wife. See also against Aplon, B. i. ch. vii. But he seems to have been quickly sensi-

9 Of this most remarkable clause, and its most impor-
and sent to the emperor, he told him, that I had sent him both weapons and money. However, he could not conceal his being a liar from Vespasian, who condemned him to die; according to which sentence he was put to death. Nay, after that, when those that envied my good fortune did frequently bring accusations against me, by God's providence I escaped them all. I also received from Vespasian no small quantity of land, as a free gift in Judea; about which time I divorced my wife also, as not pleased with her behavior, 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 emnuch, and my accuser, should be punished. He also made that country I had in Judea, tax free; which is a mark of the greatest honor to him who hath it; nay, Domitia, the wife of Cesar, continued to do me kindnees. 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 treatize 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.
THE

PREFACE.*

1. Those who undertake to write histories, do so, 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 the account have spared no pains, but rather gone beyond their own abilities in the performance. But others there are who, of necessity and by force, are driven to write history, because they were concerned in the facts, and so cannot excuse themselves from committing them to writing for the benefit 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: for since I was myself interested in this, in which 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 prevented the truth of those actions in their writings.

2. Now I have undertaken this present work, thinking it will appear to all the Greeks worthy of their study; for it will contain all our antiquities, and the constitution of our government, as interpreted out of the Hebrew and Greek writings. And, indeed, I did formerly intend, when I wrote of the war, to explain who the Jews originally were, what fortunes they had been subject to, and by what legislator they had been instructed in piety, and the exercise of other virtues; what wars also, they had made in remote ages, till they were unwililingly 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 uncustomed 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, Epiphodorus, a man who is a lover of all kind of learning, but is principally delighted with the knowledge of history; and this on account of his having been himself concerned in great affairs, and many turns of fortune, and having shown a wonderful vigor of an excellent nature, and an invincible 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 endeavors with his. I was also ashamed myself to permit any laxness of disposition to have a greater influence upon me than the delight of taking pains in such studies as were very useful: I therefore stirred up myself, and went on with my work more cheerfully. Besides the foregoing motives, I had others which I greatly reflected on; and these were, that our forefathers were willing to communicate such things to others; and that some of the Greeks took considerable pains to know the affairs of our nation.

3. I found, therefore, that the second of the Ptolemies was a king, who was extraordinary diligent in what concerned learning, and the collection of books; that he was also peculiarly ambitious to procure a translation of our law and of the constitution of our government 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 ourselves from being communicated 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 in 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 increasable calamity. And now I exhort all those that peruse these books, to apply their minds to God and to examine the mind of our legislators, whether he hath not understood his nature in a manner worthy of him; and hath not ever as the year of Trajan, A. D. 106. See the note on Antig. b. 1. against Apion, sect. 1. Who he was we do not know for as to Epiphraditus, the freedman of Nero, 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 Trajan.

* The preface of Josephus, is excellent in its kind, and highly worthy the repeated perusal of the reader, before he set at nought the perusal of the work itself.
† That is, all the Gentiles, both Greeks and Romans.
‡ We may reasonably note here, that Josephus wrote seven books of 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.
¶ The Epiphraditus, was certainly alive in the third
cried 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 hardly as to fix even to 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 read my books may wonder how it comes to pass that my discourse which promises an account of laws and historical facts, contains so much of philosophy. The reader is therefore to know, that Moses deemed it exceeding necessary that he who would conduct his own life well, and give laws to others, in the first place should consider the divine nature; and, upon the contemplation of God's operations, should thereby imitate the best of all patterns, so far as it is possible for human nature to do, and to endeavor 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 from the very beginning 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 plunges 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 least of which work is by some of the learned not much regretted, I am inclined, in part, to Fabricius's opinion, ap. Havercamp, p. 63, 64: That "we need not doubt but when Moses was desirous to teach this lesson to his countrymen, he did not begin the establishment of his laws after the same manner that other legislators did; I mean, upon contracts and other rights between one man and another; but by raising their minds upwards to regard God, and his creation of the world; and by persuading them, that we are the most excellent of the creatures of God upon earth. Now when once he had brought them to submit to religion, he easily persuaded them to submit in all other things; for as to other legislators, they followed fables, and by their discourses transferred the most reproachful of human vices unto the gods, and so afforded wicked men the most plausible excuses for their crimes; but as for our legislator, when he had once demonstrated that God was possessed of perfect virtue, he supposed that men also ought to strive after the participation of it; and on those who did not so think, and so believe, he inflicted the severest punishments. I exhort, therefore, my readers to examine this whole undertaking in that view; for thereby it will appear to them, that there is nothing therein disagreeable either to the majesty of God, or to his love to mankind; for all things have here a reference to the nature of the universe; while our legislator speaks some things wisely, but enigmatically, and others under a decent allegory, but still explains such things as required a direct explication, plainly and expressly. However, those that have a mind to know the reasons of every thing, may find here a very curious philosophical theory, which I now indeed shall wave the explication of; but if God afford me time for it, I will set about writing it after I have finished the present work. I shall now take myself to the history before me, after I have first mentioned what Moses says of the creation of the world, which I find described in the sacred books after the manner following.

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 nobody, 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."

[Fide Bishop Porteus's Lectures, vol. ii. page 234.]

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

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

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK I.

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

CHAP. I.


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 Day; and he named the beginning of light, and the time of rest, the Evening and the Morning. And this was indeed the first day. But Moses said it was one day; the cause of which I am able to give even now; but because I have promised to give such reasons for all things in a treatise by itself, I shall put off its exposition till that time. After this, on the second day, he placed the heaven over the whole world, and separated it from the other parts, and he determined it should stand by itself. He also placed a crystalline temple in it, 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 dew. On the third day he appointed the dry land to appear, with the sea itself round about it; and on the very same day he made the plants and the seeds to spring out of the earth. On the fourth day he adorned the heaven with the sun, the moon, and the other stars; and appointed them their motions and courses. And these reasons might be clearly signified. And on the fifth day he produced the living creatures, both those that swim and those that fly; the former in the sea, the latter in the air. He also settled them as to society and mixture for recreation, 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 labor of such operations; whence it is that we celebrate a rest from our labors 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, 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 he gave them those names by which they are still called. But when he saw that Adam had no female companion, no society, (for there was no such created,) and that he wondered at the other animals which were in fours, and had male and female, he laid him salt, and cut 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 out of himself. Now a woman is called in the Hebrew tongue Issa. But the name of this woman was Eset, which signifies the Mother of all living.

3. Moses says farther, that God planted a paradise in the East, flourishing with all sorts of trees; and that among them was the Tree of Lift, 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. No man plucked his garden as was done by one river, which ran round about the whole earth, and was parted into four parts. And Phiscon, which denotes a Multitude, running into India, makes its exit into the sea, and is by the Greeks called Ganges. Euphrates, which as well as Tigris, goes down into the Red Sea. Now the name Euphrates, or Phrahth, denotes either a Dispersion or a Flower; by Tigris, or Digitis, is signified what is swift with narrowness; and Geon runs through that part of the country which arises from the East, which the Greeks call Nile.

4. God therefore commanded that Adam and his wife should eat of all the rest of the plants, but to abstain from the Tree of knowledge; and peculiar to Josephus, but, as Dr. Hudson says, here, is derived from earlier authors, as if four of the greatest rivers of the world, running two of them at vast distances from the other two, by some means or other watered Paradise, is hard to say. Only since Josephus has already appeared to allegorize this history, and he makes notice that these four names had a particular signification; Phiscon for Ganges, a Multitude; Phrahth for Euphrates, either a Dispersion or a Flower; Digitis for Tigris, what is swift with narrowness; and Geon for Nile, which arises from the East; we perhaps may take them when we suppose he literally means those four rivers, especially as to Geon or Nile, which arises from the East, while he very well knew the literal Nile arises from the South; though what further allegorical sense he had in view is now, I fear, impossible to be determined.

§ § By the Red Sea is not here meant the Arabian Gulf, which is now called by that name; but all that South Sea, which included the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, as far as the East Indies, as Roland and Hudson here truly note, from the old geographers.
foretold to them that if they touched it, it would prove their destruction. But while all the living creatures had one language at that time, the Serpent, which then lived together with Adam and his wife, showed an envious disposition, at his supplication the living happy and in obedience to the commands of God; and imagining that when they disobeyed them, they would fall into calamities, he persuaded the woman, out of a malicious intention, to taste of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil; which knowledge, when they should obtain, they would lead a happy life, i.e., a life not inferior to that of a god: by which means he overcame the woman, and persuaded her to give him to desist the command of God. Now, when she 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 tiring these before them, out of modesty, they perceived 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 behavior, went out of the way. This behavior surprised God; and he asked what was the cause of this his procedure? And why he, that before delighted in that conversation, did now fly from him and avoid him? When he received no reply, as conscious to himself that he had transgressed the command of God; God said, "I had before determined about you both, how you might lead a happy life, without any afflictions, and care, and vexations, and grief, and that all things which might contribute to your enjoyment and pleasure should grow up by my providence, of their own accord, without your own labor and pains-taking; which state of labor and pains-taking would soon bring on you age, and death would not be at any remote distance; but now thou hast abused this my good will, and hast disobeyed my commands; for thy silence is not the sign of thy virtue, but of thy evil conscience." However, in his own good time, he decreed God not to be angry with him, and laid the blame of what was done upon his wife; and said that he was deceived by her, and thence became an offender; whereupon he again accursed the Serpent. But God allotted heavy punishment, because he weakly submitted to 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 labor, 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 because she perversely opposed him, he scattered with the same arguments wherewith the Serpent had 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 he might be the place wherein lay his mischievous designs; and told him, that the race of his descendants should not be a source of vengeance on him that way. And when he had deprived him of the use of his feet, he made him to go rolling all along, and dragging himself upon the ground. And when God had appointed all these penalties to them, he removed Adam and Eve out of the garden into another place.

CHAP. II. Concerning the Perversity of Adam and the Ten Generations from him, to the Dethus.

§ 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 was called Abel, which signifies Sorrow. They had also daughters. Now the two brethren were pleased with different courses of life; for Abel the younger was a lover of righteousness; and, but for his good actions, that he had not so much reason to excel in virtue; and his employment was that of a shepherd. But Cain was not only very wicked in other respects, but was wholly intent upon getting; and he first contrived to plough the ground; not that he was a great lover of his labor, but because he was a glutton, and did eat his bread by the sweat of his face. They had resolved to sacrifice 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 not pleased with Abel's sacrifice, because when he was honored with what grew naturally of its own accord, than he was with what was the invention of a crafty man, and gotten by forcing the ground; whence it was, that Cain was very angry with Abel, and contrary to the command of God, 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 what to do, and to avoid the vengeance which 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; for he did not observe what he did. But in return, God convicted Cain, having been the murderer of his brother, and said, "I wonder at thee, that thou knowest not what is become of a man whom thou thyself hast destroyed. God therefore did not inflict that punishment [of death] upon him, on account of his offering sacrifice, and thereby making supplication to him not to be extreme in his wrath to him; but he made him accursed, and threaten-ed with eternal perdition. And God 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

* Hence it appears, that Josephus thought several 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 suppose, that the serpent spoke in the Parthenon, that is, in its original state; and that their capacities have been once much greater than we now see them, and are capable of being restored to former condition. But as to the most ancient and authentic and probably allegorical account of that grand affair of the fall of our first parents, I have somewhat more to say in an exercise of conjecture, but being only a conjecture, I omit it, ad instar thus far, that the imputation of the sin of our first parents to their posterity, any farther than as some way
entertain such a melancholy suspicion, and to go over the whole case 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. And when Cain had travelled over many countries from the west side of the Nod, which is a place so called, and there he settled his abode; where also he had children. However, he did not accept of his punishment in order to amendment, but to increase his wickedness; for he only aimed to possess every thing that was for his own bodily pleasure, though it obliged him to be injurious to his neighbors. He augmented his household substance with much wealth, by rapine and violence; he excited his children to practice every kind of 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 he was innocent and generously while they knew nothing of such arts, he changed the world into cunning craftiness. He first of all set boundaries about lands; he built a city, and fortified it with walls, and he commanded his family to come together, and called that city Enoch, after the name of his eldest son Enoch. Now Jared was the son of Enoch, whose son was Malaleel, whose son was Methuselah, whose son was Lamech, who had seventy-seven children by two wives. And Ada. Of those children by Ada, one was Jabel; he erected tents, and loved the life of a shepherd. But Jabel, who was born of the same mother with him, exercised himself in music, and invented the pipes and the harp. But Jabol, as the eldest son of his children by the other wife, exceeded all men in strength, and was very expert and famous in martial performances. He procured what tended to pleasures of the body by that means, and did not neglect the worship of the brave and victorious king brass. Lamech was also the father of a daughter, whose name was Naamah; and because he was so skilful in matters of divine revelation, that he was to be punished for Cain's murder of his brother, he made that known to his wives. Nay, even while Adam was alive, it came to pass, that the posterity of Cain became exceeding wicked, every one succeeding them in wickedness was worse than the former. They were intolerable in war, and vehement in robberies: and if any one were slow to murder people, yet was he bold in his profane behavior, in acting unjustly, and doing injurious things.

3. Now Adam, who was the first man, and made out of the earth, (for our discourse must now be about him,) after Abel was slain, and Cain fled away on account of his murder, was solicitous for posterity, and had a vehement desire of children, he being two hundred and thirty years old; after which time he lived other seven hundred, and then died. He had indeed many other children, but Seth in particular. As for the rattle, it would be tedious to name them: I

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* From this Jabel, not improbably, came Jabel, the trumpeter of Jebel or Jabbele, that large and loud musi- cian, used in proclaiming the liberty at the year of Jabbele.

† The number of Adam's children, says the old tradi- tion to 70707, 70707, 70707, 70707, 70707, 70707, 70707, 70707, and are more various in the old generations; see chap. ii. sect. 1. before, and chap. iii.

§ Let us rather agree to the state of the world, and the conduct of Providence in all these ages. It is not possible that any of its waters, especially since the like pillars of the Egyptian Seth or Seccor, were extant after the flood, in the land of Shinar or Assyria; and the condition of Jeroboam also, as I have in the place referred to.

This notion, that the fallen angels were in some sense the fathers of the old giants, was the constant opinion of ancient authors, and especially Josephus; as here supposed, that the life of these giants (for of them only do I understand him) was now reduced to 150 years; which is condemned by the fre- gament of Enoch, sect. 10, in Antiqu. Rec. part 1, p. 298.
ANTiquities OF THE JEWS.

Isaac, and thus were all these men destroyed: but Noah alone was saved; for God stuck to him the following contrivance and way of escape: That he should make an ark of four cubits six and three hundred cubits long, fifty cubits broad, and thirty cubits high. Accordingly he entered into that ark, and his wife, and his sons, and their wives, and put into it not only other provisions to support them, but also such as were left of all sorts of living creatures, the male and his female, for the preservation of their kinds, and others of them by sevens. Now this ark had firm walls, and a roof, and was braced with cross beams and pillars, and it was so made as not to be overborne by the violence of the water. And thus was Noah with his family, preserved. Now he was the tenth from Adam, as being the son of Lamech, whose father was Methuselah; he was the son of Enoch, the son of Jared; and Jared was the son of Malaleel, who, with many of his sisters, were the children of Cain, the son of Enos. Now Enos was the son of Seth, the son of Adam.

3. This calamity happened in the six hundredth year of the life of Adam, and in the second month, called by the Macedonians Dias, but by the Hebrews Marzechon; for so did they order their year in Egypt. But Moses appointed that the same month of Kojahiras should be the first month of their year, because he brought them out of Egypt in that month. So that this month began the year as to all the solemnities they observed to the honor of God, although it was not the order of the month of Manasseh, as to selling and buying, and other ordinary affairs. Now he says, that this flood began on the twenty-seventh (seventeenth) day of the forementioned month; and this was two thousand six hundred and fifty-six years, or one thousand five hundred and sixty years from Adam the first man; and the time is written down in our sacred books; those then who lived having noted down with great accuracy both the births and the death of the world.

4. For indeed Seth was born when Adam was in his two hundred and thirtieth year, who lived nine hundred and thirty years. Seth begat Enoch in his two hundred and fifth year; who, when he had lived nine hundred and twenty years, delivered the government to Caian his son, whom he had at his hundred and ninetieth year. He lived nine hundred and five years. Caian, when he had lived nine hundred and ten years, had his son Seth, whom he begat when he was hundred and seventy years old; this being the third from Adam. He lived nine hundred and sixty-two years, and then his son Enoch succeeded him, who was born when his father was one hundred and sixty-two years old.

For as to the rest of mankind, Josephus himself confesses their lives were much shorter; than 130 years, for many generations after the flood, as we shall see presently; and he says, they were gradually shortened till the days of Moses. When then 120, chap. vi, sect. 5. Nor indeed need we suppose that either Enoch or Josephus meant to interpret these 130 years for the duration of the flood, since they are different from the 120 years of God's patience [perhaps while the ark was preparing] till the deluge: which I take to be the meaning of God when he threatened this wicked world, that if they so long continued impatient, their days should be no more than 130 years.

† Josephus here, in the third, and Moses in the second, place the year that the ark fled about the autumnal equinox: as to what day of the month the flood began, our Hebrew and Samaritan, and perhaps Josephus own chronicle, is more rightly placed on the 17th day instead of the 5th, as here: for Josephus agrees with them as to the distance of 150 days to the period of the deluge; which he indeed observes with vital.

Josephus here takes notice, that those ancient genealogies were first set down by those that then lived, and therefore the authors of them were the first to say: which I 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 frequently in those early days appeared to them.

§ This Antiquity, or Place of descent, is the proper region, in which Josephus begins to treat the foundation of the human race, called in Ptolomy, Ναζαζανα, and by Moses Chrenomas, the Armenian historian, יבשא; but at the place itself, ניאכדסאנה, 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 it was built, as the first city or town after the flood. See Antiquities, proem, 2, sect. 3. 71, 72; who also says, p. 19, that another town was related by tradition to have been called Seres, or the place of descent, on account of the dispersion of Xiss thrus, or Noah's sons, from thence first made. Whether any remains of this ark be still preserved, as the people of the Chaldeans pretend, is not surely known. Turnhurt had not very long since a mind to see the place himself, but met with too great dangers and difficulties to venture through them.
some part of this ship in Arimas, at the moun-
tain of the Cordyranus; and that some people carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they take away, and use chiefly as amulets, for the aver-
ting of mischiefs."—Hieronymus the Egyptian also, who wrote the Phenician antiquities, and
Mnasias, and a great many more make mention of
the same. Nay, Nicholas of Damascus, in his
ninety-sixth book, hath a particular relation about
them; where he speaks thus: There is a great
mountain of fire, called Minya by the Egyptians,
upon which it is reported, that many who fled at
the time of the deluge were saved; and that one who
was carried in an ark, came on shore with others on
the same mount, which, for the time they were
there, were a great while preserved. This might be
the man about whom Moses the legislator of the
Jews wrote."

7. But as for Noah, he was afraid, since God
had plainly assured him that the waters should
not come near his house, he was afraid of some
strange downfall; and he was afraid how they
might destroy the earth itself. As for the rest, he
would not bring on so great a judgment as the
Phenicians supposed; for, he thought, the deluge
might be in danger of destruction; but that, hav-
ing now punished the wicked, he would of his
goodness spare the remainder, and such as he
had hitherto judged fit to be delivered from so
severe a calamity. But this was not the case; that
last must be more miserable than the first, and
that they must be condemned to a worse condition
than the others, unless they suffered to escape
entirely; that is, if they were reserved for another
deluge; for while they must be afraid of the ter-
or and the sight of the first deluge, and must also
be destroyed by a second. He also entreat-
ed God to accept of his sacrifice, and to grant
that the earth might never again be covered
with the like effects of his wrath; that men might be per-
mitted to go on cheerfully in cultivating the same;
to build cities, and live happily in them; and that
they might not be deprived of any of those good
things which they enjoyed before the flood; but
might attain to the like length of days, and old
age, which the ancient people had arrived at before.

8. When Noah had made these supplications,
God, who loved the man for his righteousness,
granted entire success to his prayers; and said,
That it was not he who brought the destruction
on a polluted world, but that they underwent that
vengeance on account of their own wickedness;
and that he had been reserved for them as a type
for theuniversal destruction, if he had himself determined to destroy them, it
being an instance of a greater wisdom not to have granted them life at all, than, after it was granted,
to procure their destruction; but the injuries,
said he, they offered to my honor, was virtue
forced me to bring this punishment upon them.
But I will leave off for the time to come to require
such punishments, the effects of so great wrath,
for their future wicked actions, and especially on
account of thy prayers. But if I shall, at any
time, send tempests of rain, in an extraordinary
manner, be not afflicted at the largeness of the
showers; for the water shall no more overspread
the earth than the deluge. Neither shall you
shrink from shedding the blood of men, and to keep
yourselves pure from murder; and to punish those
that commit any such thing. I permit you to make
use of all the other living creatures at your pleas-
sure, and in such a manner as will serve for your
happiness; but you have made lords of them all, both of those that
walk on the land, and of those that swim in
the waters, and of those that fly in the regions of the
air on high, excepting their blood, for therein is
the life; but I will give you a sign that I have
left off my anger, by my bow (whereby is meant the
rainbow, for they determined that the rain-
bow was the bow of God.) And, when God had
said and promised thus, he went away.

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 at pre-
sent, an argument, that neither did they attain to
a long duration of life, for those who were beloved of God, and [lestly], made by God him-
self; and because their food was then fitter for
the prolongation of life, might well live so great
a number of years; and besides, God afforded
them a long time of life on account of their
virtue, and the good use they made of it in as-
tromonical and geometrical discoveries, which
would not have afforded the time for foretell-
ing, [the periods of the stars,] unless they had lived
six hundred and fifty years; for the great year is complet-
ed in that interval. Now I have for witnesses
to what I have said, all those that have written
antiquities, both among the Greeks and Barba-
rians: for even Manesto, who wrote the Egyp-
tian history, says, that those who composed the
Chaldean monumets, and Mochus and Hestuimis,
and besides these Hieronymus the Egyptian, and
those that composd the Phenician history, agree to
what I have said. And also, Herodotus, and Helle-
nicus, and Acuclusivolus; and, besides these,
Ephorus and Nicolaus relate that the an-
cients lived a thousand years. But as to these
matters, let every one look upon them as they
think fit.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the Tower of Babylon and the Con-
fusion of Tongues.

§ 1. Now the sons of Noah were three, Shem, and Japhet, and Ham, born one hundred years
before the deluge. These first of all descended
from the mountains into the plains, and fixed their
habitation there; and persuaded others who were
greatly afraid of it, to follow grounds on account
of the flood, and so were very loth to come down
from the higher places, to venture to follow their
examples. Now, the plain in which they first
dwelt was called Shinar. God also commanded
them to send their families, that they might
peopling the earth, that they might not raise
seditions among themselves, but might cultivate
great part of the earth, and enjoy its fruits after
a plentiful manner. But they were so far from
observing this instruction that they would not give
obedience to the Divine will, the suspicion that they were therefore ordered to
send out separate colonies, that being divided
asunder, they might the more easily be oppressed.

2. Now it is said, that Nimrod made such
an affront and contempt of God. He was the
grandson of Ham, the son of Noah, a bold
man, and of great strength of hand. He per
sumed them not to ascribe it to God, as if he
were not to be ascribed to God, that he had
made you lords of them all, both of those that
walk on the land, and of those that swim in
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I. ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

reach; and that he would advance himself on
God for destroying their forefathers."

3. Now the multitude were very ready to fol-
low the determination of Nimrod, and to esteem
it a piece of cowardice to submit to God; and
they neither gave any answer, nor being in any
degree negligent about the work. And,
by reason of the multitude of hands em-
ployed in it, it grew very high, sooner than any
could expect; but the thickness of it was so
great, that the arch strengthened itself; and this
its great height 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 the work was rejected so maliciously, he did not re-
solve 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 an-
other. The place wherein they built the tower
is now called Babylon, because of the confusion
of that language which they really understood
before; for the Hebrews mean by the word Babel,
colusion. The Sybil also makes mention of this
tower, and of the confusion of the language when
she says thus: "When all men were of one lan-
guage, of which they had a certain
understanding before;" but as to the plain of Shinar, in the coun-
try of Babylonia, Hesiod mentions it, when he
says thus: "Such of the priests as were saved
took the sacred vessels of Jupiter Enyalus, and
came to Shinar of Babylonia."

CHAP. V.

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

1. After this they were dispersed abroad, on
account of their languages, and went out by colo-
ines everywhere; and each colony took pos-
session of that land which they lighted upon, and
unto which God led them, so that the whole con-
tinent was filled with them, both the inland and
the maritime countries. There were some also
who passed over the sea in ships, and inhabited
the islands; and some of those nations do still re-
tain the denominations which were given them
by their first founders; but some have lost them
also, and some have only admitted certain cha-
ces, that they might be the more intelligible
to the inhabitants. And they were the
Greeks who became the authors of such mutuali-
tions; for when in after ages they grew potent, they
claimed to themselves the story of antiquity;
giving names to the nations that sounded
well, [in Greek,] that they might be better un-
derstood among themselves; and setting agree-
able forms of government over them, as if they
were a people derived from themselves.

CHAP. VI.

How every Nation was denominated from their
first inhabitants.

1. Now they were the grandchildren of Noah in
honor of whom names were imposed on the
nation, that they might be first seeded upon them. Ja-
phet the son of Noah had seven sons. They inhab-
itated so, that beginning at the mountains Taurus
and Amanus, they proceeded along Asia, as far as
the river Tanais, and along Europe to Caith; and
settled at the coast besides; God led them wherever
upon, which none had inhabited before, they
called the nation by their own names. For Ge-
er saw that the names which the Greeks now call
Galatians. [Galls,] but were then called Con-
rilas. Magog founded those that from him were
named Magogites, but who are by the Greeks
called Scythians. Now as to Javan and Madai, the
sons of Japhet; from Madai came the Me-
deans, which are called Medes by the Greeks;
but for Javan, Jona, the anciently Greeks are
derived. Thobel founded the Thobelites, who are
now called Iberas; and the Moscheni were
formed by Mosoch; now they are Cappadocians.
There is also a mark of their ancient denomina-
tions; for they also are called Thracians, the
name of which is among a city called Mazaca, which may
inform those that are able to understand, that so
was the entire nation once called. Thiras also
called those whom he ruled over Thyranyians;
but the other Greeks call them Thyranyians.
And so many were the countries that had the
children of Japhet for their inhabitants. Of the
three sons of Gouer, Achaean founded the
Achasian; and now they are called by the Greeks
Achaeanians. So did Riphat found the Riphacian,
now called Paphlogonians; and Thragmon the
Thragmonians, who as the Greeks re-
solved, were named Phrygians. Of the three
sons of Oceus, one of them Dardanus, by whom
the name to the Elissan, who were his subjects; they
are now the Zolians. Tharsus to the Tharsian,
for so was Cilicia of old called; the sign of which
is this, that the noblest city they have, and a me-
strom of trade and riches is Cilicia; and also for the
Theta. Cethium possessed the island of Cethimia; it is now called Cyprus; and
from that it is, that all islands, and the greatest
part of the sea-coasts, are named Cethium by the
Hebrews. Yezor, the name of Cyprus, is that
which has been able to preserve its denomination; it is
called Cittus by those who use the language
of the Greeks, and has not, by the use of that dis-
sect, escaped the name of Cethium. And so many
nations there were among the children and grand-
children of Japhet possessed. Now when I have promised
somewhat, which perhaps the Greeks do not
know, I will return and explain what I have
omitted; for such names are pronounced here
after the manner of the Greeks, to please my
readers; for our own country language does not
so pronounce them. But the names in all cases
are of one and the same ending; for the name of
the Cethies, and of Byzas, B人次, is there the same,
and in every case retains the same termination.

2. The children of Ham possessed the land
from Syria and Amanus, and the mountains of Libanus; seailing upon all that was on its sea-
coasts, as far as the ocean, and inhabited them
as their own. Some, indeed, of its names are
utterly vanished away; others of them being
changed, and another sound given them, are
hardly to be discovered, yet a few there are
which has kept their denominations entire.
For of the four sons of Ham, time has not at all
hurt the name of Chus; for the Ethiopians, over
whom he reigned, are even at this day, both by
them, and by all men in Asia, called Can-
itas. The memory also of the Mearaites is pre-
served in their name; for all we who inhabit this
country [of Judaea] call Egypt Misir, and the Egyp-
tians Mysirians. That was also the found
ing name of the inhabited cities. Atal, the name
from himself; there is also a river in the coun-
try of the Moors, which bears that name; whence
it is that we may see the greatest part of the
Grecian historiographers mention that river, not
a river in Egypt, as it is called by the Greeks,
but the name it has now, has been by
change given it from one of the sons of Mesi-
train, who was called Lybyos. We will inform
you presently what has been the occasion why it
has been called Africa also. Canaan, the fourth
son of Ham, inhabited the country now called
Juda, and called it from his own name Canaan.
The children of these [four] were these: Sabas
who founded the Sabaens; Evilas, who founded
the Egyptians, who are called Gebali; Sabaethas found the Sabathaen; they are now called by the Greeks Pertheans; Saretas settled the Sabeans; and Ragmas the Ragmeans; and he had two sons, the one of which, Judacidas, settled the Judacianas, a nation of western Ethiopians, and left the other to the name of the place. But Nimrod, the son of Chus, stayed and tyrannized at Babylon, as we have already informed you. Now all the children of Mesraim, being eight in number, possessed the country from the Mediterranean sea, to the confines of the Greeks called the Phœnician; it retained the name of one only the Palæstine; for the Greeks called part of that country Palestine. As for the rest, Ludcaen, and Enestium, and Labim, who alone inhabited in Libya, and called the country from the name of Lycia, the name of Africa, and Ces hurinum, and Cephthorim, we know nothing of them besides their names; for the Ethiopian war, which we shall describe hereafter, was the cause that those cities were overthrown. The sons of Canaan, whom the Greeks called Amatha, and Amalth, of which Amalth is the name of the Amalthea, was a pasture for Deucalion and Pyrrha, from which island Arctos, Arca, possessing Arca, which is in Libya. But for the seven others [Euenus, Chethes, Jebesine, Ammon, Gergesen, Edenes, Sineus, Samareus, we have nothing in the scriptures about them; and divers nations of the Hebrews overthrew their cities; and their calamities came upon them on the occasion following.

3. Noah, when after the deluge the earth was resettled in its former condition, set about its cultivation. He was a good man, and the fear of God was upon him; and the vineyards, and when the fruit was ripe, and he had gathered the grapes in their season, and the wine was ready for use, he offered sacrifice, and feasted and drank; and being drunken, he fell asleep, and was asked in the same manner. When his youngest son saw this, he came laughing, and showed him to his brethren; but they covered their father's nakedness. And when Noah was made sensible of what he had done, he told his eldest son about it, and he poured all the wine of his land about him to his other sons; but for Ham, he did not curse him, by reason of his nearness in blood, but cursed his posterity. And when the rest of them escaped that curse, God inflicted it on the children of Canaan; as to these matters, we shall speak more hereafter.

4. Shem, the third son of Noah, had five sons, who inhabited the land that began at Euphrates, and reached to the Indian ocean. For Eslam left between them the Elamites, the Medes, and the Persians. Ashur lived at the city Nineve; and named his subjects Assyrians, who became the most fortunate nation beyond others. Arphaxad named the Arphaxadites, who are now called Chaldeans. Abram had the Arameans, which the Greeks called Syrians; as Land founded the Ludites, which are now called Lydians. Of the four sons of Aram, Uz founded Trachonitis and Damascus; this country lies between Palestine and Syria, and contains a country bigger than the whole province of Persis; and Mess the Mesopotamians; as now called Charas Spasani. Sala was the son of Arphaxad; and his son was Heber, for whom they originally called the Jews Hebrews. He begat Jochan and Phale; he was called Phale because he was born at the dispersion of the nation, by the consent of the Egyptians. Now Jochan, of the sons of Heber, had these sons, Elmodad, Saphel, Asersh, Jera, Adoram, Azel, Deel, Ebal, Abimele, Seubas, Ophir, Eulat, Jashobeam, and Jobe. But Shem, the son of Noah, was the father of the Indian river, and in part of Asia adjoining to it. And this shall suffice concerning the sons of Shem.

5. I will now treat of the Hebrews. The son of Phaleeg, whose father was Heber, was Rober, whose son was Serug, to whom was born Nahor; his son was Terah, who was the father of Abram, who accordingly was the tenth from Noah, and was born in the two hundred and ninety-second year after the deluge; for Terah began Abram in his seventieth year. Nahor begat Haran, when he was one hundred and twenty years old; Nahor was born to Serug at his hundred and thirty second year; Ragau had Serug at one hundred and thirty; and Ragau had Heber at his hundred and thirty-fourth year; he himself being begotten by Sala, when he was a hundred and thirty years old, whom Arphaxad had for his son at the age of forty; and he lived forty years and thirty years; and the age ofRagau was the son of Shem, and born twelve years after the deluge. Now Abram had two brethren, Nahor and Haran; of these Haran left a son, Lot; as also Sarai and Milcha his daughter, and the last of them was Haran; of these the children of Abram, and the children of the Chaldeans called Ur; and his monument is showed to this day. These married their nieces. Nahor married Milcha, and Abram married Sarai. Now Terah hating Chaldea, on account of the multitude of his offspring, and the land of Habir, and 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 multiplied, and was made shorter than before, till the birth of Moses; after whom the term of human life was one hundred and twenty years, God determining it to the length that Moses happened to live. Now Nahor had eight sons in all, besides Ur, and Kedem, Chesed, Azan, Pheidas, Jadelp, and Bethuel. These were all the genuine sons of Nahor; for Tebah, and Gasam, and Tahcha, and Machsah, were born of Reuma his consubscipe; but Bethuel had a daughter Rebecca, and a son Laban.

CHAP. VII.

How Abram our First-father 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 Haran'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 he dwelt himself, and left it to his posterity. He was a person of great sagacity, both for understanding all the things concerning 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 opinion all men happened then to have concerning God; for he was firm; and not for Abram the Hebrew, or Passenger, or Hebræorum, nor over Euphrates, nor to the west of it, but to the east thereof. Abram is also called the Father of all the children of Hebrew, or of all the Hebrews, in a history long before Abram passed over Euphrates. Gen. x. 31, though it must be confessed, that Gen. xxv. 33, where the original says, they told Abram the Hebrew, the Septuagint renders it the Parthenes; but this is spoken only of Abram himself, who had then lately passed over Euphrates, and is another signification of the Hebrew word, taken as an appellative and not as a proper name.
ANTIQITIES OF THE JEWS.

the first that ventured to publish that 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 idea 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 [the gods] have power over their own concerns, 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 co-operate to our advantage, they do it not of their own ability, but as things are subervient to him that commands them, to whom alone we ought justly to offer our honor 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.

2. As soon as Abram was come out of Mesopotamia, hedesired to go down into Egypt, without naming him, when he says thus: "In the tenth generation after the flood, there was among the Chaldeans a man, righteous and great, and a seer of celestial science. But Isaac was more free, and doest more than barely mention him; for he composéd, and left behind him, a book concerning him. And Nicolaus of Damascus, in the fourth book of his history says thus; "Abram reigned at Damascus, being a foreigner, who came with an army out of the land above 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, the land of the Chaldeans, but not on the land of Judea, and this when his posterity were become 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 there is shown a village named from him, The Habitation of Abram."

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 notions proved the truest. Now seeing he was to take Sarai with him, and was afraid of the madness of the Egyptians with regard to women, lest the king should kill him on account of her; he contrived this device:—He pretended to be her brother, and directed her in a dispensing way to pretend the same; for he said it would be for their benefit. Now as soon as they came into Egypt, it happened to Abram as he supposed it would, for the fame 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 himself, and prospect her; but he made a stop to his unjust inclinations, by sending upon him a destemper, 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 to be his sister, and thought she was 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; and gave him leave to enter 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. As soon as 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 must have 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 ability, and he discovered on any subject he undertook; and this not only in understanding it, but in persuading other men also to assent to him. He communicated to them arithmetic, and delivered to them the science of astronomy; for, 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.

3. As soon as Abram was come back into Canaan, he parted the land between him and Lot, upon account of the tumultuous behavior of their shepherds, concerning the pastures where in they should feed their flocks. However, he purchased of the king of Sodom, much land, he would take; and he took himself what the other left, which were the lower grounds at the foot of the mountains; and he himself dwelt in Habor, which is a city seven years ancienster Than Tana of Egypt. But Lot, possessed the land of the plain, and the river Jordan, not far from the city Sodom, which was then a fine city, but is now destroyed by the wild and the wrath of God; the cause of which I shall show in its proper place hereafter.

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, Ballas, Barasa, Senabar, and Sumobar, with the king of Bela, and each king led on his own troops. And the Assyrians came upon them, and dividing their army into four parts, fought against them. Now every part of the army had its own commander; and when the battle was joined, the Assyrians fell upon the Chaldeans, and gave them a great tribute upon the kings of the Sodomites, who submitted to this slavery twelve years, and so long they continued to pay their tribute; but on the thirteenth year they rebelled, and then the army of the Assyrians came upon them, and under their commanders, Anraphel, Aryo, Checherlomer, and Tidal. These kings had laid waste all Syria, and overthrown the offspring of the giants. And when they were come over against Sodom, they besieged it two years, and gave no quarter to them; but they cast into the city a great many piths, for at that time there were pits in that place; but now, upon the destruction of the city of Sodom, that vale became the Lake Asphaltites, as it is called; however, concerning this lake we shall speak more presently. Now when the So-
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domites joined battle with the Assyrians, and the fight was very obstinate; many of them were killed, and the rest were carried captive; among which captives was Lot, who had come to assist the Sodomites.

CHAP. X.

How Abram fought with the Assyrians, and overcame them, and saved the Sodomite Prisoners, and took from the Assyrians the Prey they had gained.

¶ 1. When Abram heard of their calamity, he was at once afraid for Lot his kinsman, and pitied the Sodomites, his friends and neighbors; and thinking it proper to afford them assistance, he did not delay it, but marched hastily, and the fifth night fell upon the Assyrians, near Damas, 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, before they could suspect any harm; and others, 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 body unto Hob, a place belonging to Damascus; and there they pitched their tents, that the king not depend on multitude, but the alacrity and courage of soldiers overcome the most numerous bodies of men, while he got the victory over so great an army with no more than three hundred and eighty of his servants, and three of his friends; but all those that fled returned home ingloriously.

2. So Abram, when he had saved the captive Sodomites, and had dispossessed the Assyrians, and Lot also, his kinsman, returned to his abode, and returned in peace. Now the king of Sodom met him at a certain place, which they called The King's Dale, where Melchisedec, king of the city Salem, met him on his approach, and offered him an Akkous King; and such he was, without dispute, insomuch that, on this account, he was made the priest of God; however, they afterward called Salem Jerusalem. Now this Melchisedec supplied Abram's wants in an hospitable manner, and gave them provisions in abundance; and as they were feasting, he began to praise him, and to bless God for subduing his enemies under him. And when Abram gave him the tenth part of his prey, he was well pleased, and the king of Sodom desired Abram to take the prey; but entreated that he might have those men restored to him whom Abram had saved from the Assyrians, because they belonged to the city of Sodom. But Abram would not do so; nor would make any other advantage of that prey, than what his servants had eaten; 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 Ezzokol, and then Enzer, and Membre.

3. And God commended his virtue, and said, Thou shalt not however lose the rewards thou hast deserved to receive by such thy glorious action. He who provides for others, let it be to me to have such rewards, when I have none to enjoy them after me? for he was hitherto childless. And God promised that he should have a son, and that his posterity should be very numerous; insomuch that their number should be like the stars. When he heard that, he offered a sacrifice to God, as he commanded him. The manner of the sacrifice was this: he took an heifer of three years old, and a ram of the same age, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon; and, as he was enjoined, he divided the three former, but the birds he did not divide. After which, before he

built his altar, where the birds of prey flew about as desirous of blood, a divine voice came to him, declaring that their neighbors would be envious to his posterity, and that they should be in Egypt, for four hundred years; during which time they should be afflicted, but afterwards should overcome their enemies, should conquer the Canaan in war, and possess themselves of their land and of the cities.

4. Now Abram dwelt near the oak called Ogyges; the place belongs to Canaan, not far from the city of Hebron. But being uneasy at his wife's barrenness, and he entreated God to send him, 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 bestowed upon him, ever since he led him out of Mesopotamia, the gift of children. Accordingly 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 the child was born, with child, she triumphed, and ventured to affront 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 punish her, she contrived to fly away, as not able to bear the instances of servitude to her; and she entertained God to have compassion on her. Now a divine Angel met her, as she was going forward in the wilderness, and bid her return to her master and mistress, for if she would submit to their advice, she would be avenged; but if she spurned it, for that the reason of her being in such a miserable case was this, that she had been ungrateful and arrogant toward her mistress. He also told her, that if she disobeyed God, and went on still in her purpose, she should not bear if she would return back, she should become the mother of a son, who should reign over that country. These admonitions she obeyed, and returned to her master and mistress, who were overjoyed. A little while afterwards she bare Israel, which may be interpreted, Heard of God, because God had heard his mother's prayer.

5. The forerunmentioned son was born to Abram when he was eighty-six years old; but when he was ninety-nine, God appeared to him, and promised him, that he should have a son by Sarai, and commanded that his name should be Isaac; and showed him, that from this son should spring the father of great nations; and that he should obtain all the land of Canaan by war, from Sodom to Egypt. But he charged him in order to keep his posterity unmixt with others, that they should be circumcised into him. But that this should be done on the eighth day after they were born; the reason of which circumcision, 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 father of great nations. Abram therefore gave thanks to God for these blessings; and then he, and all his family, and his son Isaac, were circumcised; instructing him to remain forty years more, that day thirteen years of age, and he was ninety-nine.

CHAP. XI.

How God overthrew 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 toward princes and impious towards God; insomuch that they did not call to mind the advantages they received from him; they hated strangers, and abused themselves with Sodomitical practices. God was therefore much displeased with them, the three here named, as a.ded. places observe on Abemethor, etc. It is to be considered from these three kinds of animals which he here required of Abram. Nor did the Jews feed upon any other do
pleased at them, and determined to punish them for their pride, and to overthrow their city, and to make their country, and to make them neither plant nor fruit grow out of it.

2. When God had thus resolved concerning the Sodomites, Abraham, as he sat by the oak of Mamre, at the door of his tent, saw three angels approaching to him. Then he rose up, and saluted them, and a sired they would accept of an entertainment, I adore with him; to which, when they agreed, he ordered cakes of meal to be made presently; and when he had slain a calf, he roasted it, and brought it to them, as they sat under the oak. Now they made a show of eating, and besides, they asked him about his wife Sarah, where she was? and when he said she was within, they said she should change their manner of life; for they were angels of God: and that one of them was sent to inform them about the child, and two of the overthrow of Sodom.

3. When Abraham heard this, he was grieved for his daughters; and he rose up, and besought God for them, and entreated him that he would not destroy the righteous with the wicked. And when God had replied, That there was no good man among the Sodomites; for if there were in Sodom one man righteous, God 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 man, and said that he 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, Lot resolved themselves to enjoy these beautiful boys by force and violence; and when Lot exhorted them to sobriety, and not to offer any thing inmodest to the strangers, but to have regard to such a lodging; and it was resolved forthwith, that if their inclinations could not be governed, he would expose his daughters to their lust, instead of these strangers: neither thus were they made ashamed.

4. God was much displeased at their impudent behavior, so that he both anointed 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 thermometer 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

5. But his daughters, thinking that all mankind were destroyed, approached to their father, though taking care not to be perceived. This they did, that mankind might not utterly fail; and that the providence of God, who named Moab, who denotes one derived from his father; and the younger bare Ammon, who denotes one derived from a kindred, was the former of whom was the father of the Moabites, which is even still a great and in the latter half of the father of the Ammonites; and both of them are inhabitants of Coelosyria. And such was the departure of Lot from among the Sodomites.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning Abimelech; and concerning Isaac. He was born to Abraham; and concerning the Aramaeans, 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, would do such a deed to his wife, and was disposed to corrupt her; but he was restrained from satisfying his lust by a dangerous 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 recollected, he told his friends that God had afflicted that disease upon him, by way of punishment for his injury to the stranger's wife; and that the God had saved him, for that she did not accompany him as his sister, but as his legitimate wife; and that God had promised to be gracious to him for the time to come, if this person be once more of his wife's choice. When he had said this, by the advice of his friends, he sent 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 will, and that she received the wife without her suffering any abuse. And he appealed to God, and to his wife's conscience; and that he had not any inclination at first to enjoy her, if he had known she was his wife; but since, he would love her the more as the sister, I was guilty of no offence. He also entreated him to be at peace with him; and to make God this question, which can only be determined by eye-witnesses. When Christian princes, so called, lay aside their foolish and unchristian wars and quarrels, and send a body of their persons to travel over the East, and bring us faithful accounts of all ancient monuments, and procure us copies of all ancient records, at present lost, and answer to our most instructive inquiries, hardly before.

2. I see no proper wicked intention in these daughters; for it was not their design to be unapproachable necessity, they procured themselves to be with child by their father. Without such an unavoidable necessity, they would not be employed in a thing of so great and so public a nature. And it shows that they despised of receiving him as a son, which, at the best, could not be worse. 4. And shocking to see a good man
provisions 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 honorably conducted, and have whatsoever supply he wanted when he came back. Upon his saying this, Abraham told him that his presence was welcome, he was so believably young, but was only solicitous for his own safety; and said also, that he was ready to stay with him. Whereupon Abimelech assigned him land and money; and they conveanted to live together under the same roof, and to call one another well, called Bersheba, which may be interpreted, _The well of the oath_; and so it is named by the people of the country unto this day.

2. Now in a little time Abraham had a son by Sarah, as God had foretold to him, whom he named Isaac, which signifies laughter. And indeed they so called him because Sarah laughed when God said she should bear a son, she not expecting such a thing, as being past the age of child-bearing, and before any of the men of Canaan, and Abraham a hundred; so that this son was born to them both in the last year of each of those decimal numbers. And they circumcised him upon the eighth day, as the law required, from the time of his birth; the Jews continue the custom of circumcising their sons within that number of days. But as for the Arabsians, they circumcise after the thirteenth year, because Israel, the founder of their nation, Abraham: and Abraham of a fire servant, was circumcised at that age; concerning whom I will presently give a particular account with great exactness.

3. As for Sarah, she at first loved Isaac, who was her son; but later she hated him, handmaiden Hagar, with an affection not inferior to that of her own son, for he was brought up in order to succeed in the government; but when she herself had borne Isaac, she was not willing that Isaac should be brought up with him, as being too old for him, and able to do him injuries, when their father should be dead; she therefore persuaded Abra- ham to send him and his mother to some distant country. Now, at the first, he did not agree to what she said; but she said again, it was an instance of the greatest barbarity to send away a young child, and a woman, unprovided of necessities; but at length he agreed to it, because he had observed how much Isaac was beloved. So he provided for both; and he sent them away; he provided for the child, and furnished him with what was necessary for it, and sent her with him. 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 so he might die which was about. But Abraham continued to her, and told her of a fountain hard by, and bid her take care, and bring up the child, because she should be very happy by the preservation of him.

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 favor of God. The child also endeared himself to his parents still more by the exercise of every virtue, and adhering to his religious habits, and zealous in the worship of God. Abraham also placed his own happiness in this prospect, that when he should die, he should leave his son in a safe condition; and secure himself by the will of God; who being desirous to make an experiment of Abraham's religious disposition towards himself, appeared to him, and signified all the blessings he had bestowed on him; how he had blessed him with the blessing of nations, and that his son Isaac, who was the principal part of his present happiness, was derived from him; and he said that he required this son of his as a sacrifice and holy oblation. Accordingly he commanded him one day to carry his son Isaac up 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 creation was subject to him by his providence, and the kindness he bestowed on them. Accordingly he concealed this command of God, and his own intentions about the slaughter of his son, from his wife, as also from every one of his servants; and therefore hid himself and his son, and had not hindered from his obedience to God; and he took Isaac, together with two of his servants, and laying what things were necessary for a sacrifice upon an ass, he went away to the mountain. Now the two servants went along with him two days; but on the third day, as soon as he saw the mountain, he left those servants that were with him till then, in the plain, and having his son alone with him he came to the mountain. It was that mountain upon which the King David afterwards built the temple. Now they had brought with them everything neces-
sary for a sacrifice, excepting the animal that was to be offered only. Now Isaac was twenty-five years old. And as he was building the altar, he asked his father, "What was he about to do, and where was he going, and for whom was he going, and for whom was he about to offer a sacrifice to me, and who was the altar to be for, and for what occasion?" To which it was answered, "That God would provide him an altar, he being able to make a plentiful provision for men out of what they have not, and to deprive others of what they have, when they have too much. But as for the altar, it was trust therein; that, therefore, if God pleased to be present and propitious at this sacrifice, he would provide him an altar." 3. As soon as the altar was prepared, and Abraham took the wood, and the flesh of the young animal, and all things were entirely ready, he said to his son, "O son, pour 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 will not be by God's will that I become thy father, and it is now his will that I relinquish thee, bear this consecration to God with a generous mind; for I resign thee up to God, who thought it necessary to require this testimony of honor to himself on account of the favors he hath conferred on me, in being to me a supporter and defender. Accordingly thou, my son, wilt now die, not in any common way of going out of the world, but to go up to God the Father of all men beforehand, by thy own father, in the nature of a sacrifice. I suppose he thinks thee worthy to get clear of this world, neither by a disease, neither by war, nor by any other severe way, by which an angel usually comes upon men, but so that he will receive thy soul with prayers and holy offices of religion, and will place thee near to himself, and thou wilt there be to me a succour, a support in my old age; on which account I cried up to thee, and thou 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 to be obedient to his father, and said, "That and this I was not worthy to be born at first, if he should reject the determination of God and of his father, and should not resign himself up readily to both them; now, since I would not be unjust if he had not obeyed, even if his father alone had so resolved." So he went immediately to the altar to be sacrificed. And the deed had been 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 was now satisfied as to that 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 sorts of concurs 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 bequeath a large property to his children that they should be godly and civilized." He foretold also, that his family should increase into many nations; and that those patriarchs should leave behind them an everlasting name; that they should obtain the possession of the land of Canaan, and should be possessed of it 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 embraced one another; and when they had sacrificed, they returned to Sarah, and lived happily together, God affording them his assistance in all things they desired.

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

§ 1. Now Sarah died a little while after, having lived one hundred and twenty-seven years. They buried her in Hebron; the Canaanites publicly allowing them a burying-place; the sons of men being, and men and women, and all uncalled persons, and of the hundred shekels, of Ephron, an inhabitant of Hebron. And both Abraham and his descendants built themselves sepulchres in that place.

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

§ 1. ABRAHAM, after this, married Keturah, by whom he begat six sons, men of courage and of sagacious minds: Zobeam, Jazar, and Madian, and Madian, and Jozabad, and Soua. Now the sons of Soua were, Zablah, and Dadan. The sons of Dadan were, Lutuim, and Assur, and Luum. The sons of Madian were, Ephah, and Ophren, and Anoch, and Eldaas, and Eldaas. Now for all these sons and grandsons Abraham contrived to settle them in colonies; and they Apok possession of Troglobytes, and they Apok possession of Arabia the Happy, as far as it reaches to the Red Sea. It is related ofthus Ophren, that he made war against Libya, and took it, and that his grandchildren, when they inherited his name, and indeed Alexander Polyhistor gives his attestation to what I here say, who speaks thus: "Cleodemes the prophet, who was also called Malachi, who wrote a history of the Jews, in agreement with the history of Moses, their legislator, and that there were many sons born to Abraham by Keturah: may, be names three of them, Apher, and Surim, and Japhran. That from Surim was the land of Assyria denominated; and that from the other sons, and Ophren, and Anoch, the country of Africa took its name, because these men were auxiliaries to Hercules, when he fought against Libya and Antees; and that Hercules married Aiphra's daughter, and of her he begat a son, Didorus: and that Sophon was his son Testament of Reuben, sect. 6, in Authent. Rec. part I p 368, who charges his sons, "To worship the Seed of Ja- dah, who should dwell for them in visible and invisible war; and should be among them an eternal King." Nor is that observation of a learned foreigner of my acquaintance right; for such a phrase as "the plenitude of the earth shall be blessed," "As many as are of the faith of Christ, all of them, that are in the world," the plural must signify posteriority, or see singular in the singular may signify either posteriority or a single person; and that to this promise of all nations being happy in the seed of Abraham, or Isaac, or Jacob, &c., is always used in the singular.—To which I shall add, that it is sometime as it were, paraphrased by the sons of Abraham, the sons of David, &c., which is capable of no such ambiguity.

earn, &c.; 1 Chron xxi. 22. &c.; and Amoi. b. vii. chap. xiii. sect. 4. 1. In Gen. xiv. 20. in God's parallel blessing to Jacob, ch. xix. sect. 1, that Josephus had yet no notion of the hidden meaning of that most important and most embellished promise; it was, "I will give thee the nations of the earth to be blessed. He maketh not of seeds, as of many, but of one; and to thy seed, which is Christ." Gal. iii. 16. Now if many were, he being, I think, as yet, not a Christian. And had he been a Christian, yet since he was, to be sure till the latter part of his life, no more so, so, as it were, I mean say me, the apostles, who, at first exalted and despised St. Paul, it would be no great won- der if he did not follow his interpretation. In the mean time, we have, in effect, St. Paul's exposition in the
ABRAHAM'S SERVANT MEETING REBECCA AT THE WELL.
from whom that barbarous people called Scopheners were denominated."

CHAP XV.

How Isaac took Rebekah to Wife.

1. Now when Abraham, the father of Isaac, had resolved to take Rebekah, who was grand-daughter to his brother Nahor, for a wife to his son Isaac, who was then about forty years old, he sent the ancientest of his servants to betroth her, after he had obliged him to go to the land of the Ishmaelites, to give him the most assuring assurances of his fidelity. Which assurances were given after the manner following: They put each other's hands under each other's thighs, then they called upon God as the witness of what was to be done. He also sent such presents to those that were there, as were in esteem, on account that they either rarely or never were seen in that country. This servant got thither not under a considerable time; for it requires much time to pass through that desert, travelling both in winter for the depth of the clay, and in summer for want of water; and besides this, for the robberies there committed, which are not to be justified by travelling but by caution beforehand. However, the servant came to Haran. And when he was in the suburbs, he met a considerable number of maidens going to the water; he therefore prayed to God, that Rebekah might be found among them, or else that the servant might take her 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 desired water, she would give it to him.

2. With this intention he went to the well, and desired the maidens to give him some water to drink, but while the others refused, on pretexts that they wanted it all at home, and could spare none for him, one only of them consented and gave him with them for their peevish behavior towards the stranger; and said, What is there that you will ever communicate to any body, who have not so much as given the man some water? She then asked the servant to give her in an obliging manner. And now he began to hope that his grand affair would succeed; but desiring still to know the truth, he commended her for her generality and good nature, which did not accrue from the scarcity of water to those that wasted it, though it cost her some pains to draw it; and asked who were her parents, and wished them joy of such a daughter; and mayest thou be espoused, said he, to a man of satisfaction, in a marriage with a manly husband, and bring him legitimate children. Nor did she disdain to satisfy his inquiries, but told him her family. They, says she, call me Rebekah; my father was Bethuel, but he is dead; and Laban is my brother's, and, together with my mother, takes care of all our family affairs, and is the guardian of my virginity. When the servant heard this, he was very glad at what had happened, and at what was told him, as peculiarly from God had thus pleased him in the journey; and producing his bracelets and some other ornaments, which it was esteemed decent for virgins to wear, gave them to the damsel, by way of acknowledgment, and as a reward for her good nature, and the kindness of her giving him that night, 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 take them, since the kind offering of the night gave him not time to proceed farther. And producing his precious ornaments for women, he said, he desired to trust them to none more safely than to such as she had showed herself to be; and as he believed he might gaze at the humanity of his brother and his brother's children, 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, which she replied, that he guessed right as to the humanity of her parents; but complained, that he should think them so preposterous as to take money; for that he should have all on free cost. But she said, she would first inform her betrothed father, that if he gave her leave, she would conduct him in.

3. So as soon as this was over, she introduced the stranger; and for the camels, the servants of Laban brought them in, and took care of them, and he was himself brought in to supper by Laban. And after supper, he says to him, and to the mother of the damsel, addressing himself to her, "Abraham is the son of Terah, and a kinsman of yours, for Nahor, the grandfather of these children, was the brother of Abraham, by both father and mother; upon which accorded he hath sent me to you, being desirous to take this damsel for his son to wife. He is his legitimate son; and is brought up by his only brother. 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 of them; but out of regard to his own relations he desired him to match here, whose affection and estimation I would much have had him to 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. Do you therefore confirm that marriage, whose espousals have been already made by a divine appearance; and show the respect you owe to Abraham, who hath sent me with so much solicitude, in giving your consent to the marriage of this damsel." Upon this they understood it to be the will of God, and greatly approved of the offer, and sent their daughter, as was desired. Accordingly Isaac married her, the inheritance being now come to him; for the children by Keturah were gone to their own remote habitations.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Death of Abraham.

11. A LITTLE while after this Abraham died. He was a man of incorruptible virtue, honored 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 Ishmael.

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning the Sons of Isaac, Esau and Jacob Of their Nature 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 Rebekah should bear twins; and that two nations should take the names of those sons; and that he who appeared the second should excel the elder. Accordingly she, in a little time, as God had foretold, bore twins; the elder of whom, from his birth, was ahead of his brother, and yet the younger took hold of his heel as they were in the birth. Now the father loved the elder, who was called Esau, a name agreeable to his always exactly according to the order of time, seem to have led Josephus into it, as Dr. Bernard observes here.
roughness, for the Hebrews call such a hairy roughness (Esaun, or Seir;) but Jacob, the younger, was best beloved by his mother.

2. When there was a famine in the land, Isaac resolved to go into Egypt, the land there being good; but he went to Oerar, as God commanded him; and Abimelech, the king of the land, feared him, because Abraham had formerly lived with him, and had been his friend. And as in the beginning he treated him exceeding kindly, so he was hindered from continuing in the same disposition; for his envy for him was so great, that when he saw that God was with Isaac, and took such great care of him, he drove him away from him. But Isaac, when he saw how envy had changed the judgment of Abimelech, retired to a place called The Villem of God, for he was digging a well the shepherds fell upon him, and began to fight, in order to hinder the work, and because he did not desire to contend, the shepherds seemed to get the better of him, so he still retired, and dug another well; and when certain other shepherds of Abimelech's began to offer him violence, he left that also, and still retired, thus purchasing security to himself by a rational and prudent conduct. At length, when the king gave him leave to dig a well without disturbance. He named this well Rechoboth, which denotes a large space; but of the former wells, one was called Eson, which denotes stripy, the other Silemma, which denotes curiosity.

3. It was now that Isaac's affairs increased, and his power was in a flourishing condition; and this from his great riches. But Abimelech thinking Isaac thrive in opposition to him, while his was in the former time in the contrary, he made them suspicious of each other, and Isaac's retiring showing a secret enmity also, he was afraid that his former friendship with Isaac did not secure him, if Isaac should endeavor to revenge the injuries he had formerly done him; on this account, he therefore quitted the friendship with him, and brought with him Philoc, one of his generals. And when he had obtained every thing he desired, by reason of Isaac's good nature, who preferred the earlier friendship Abimelech had shown to himself, and his father to his later wrath against him, he returned home.

4. Now when Esau, one of the sons of Isaac, whom the father principally loved, was forty years old, he married Adab, the daughter of Helon, and Abolhamah, the daughter of Esbecon; which Helon and Esbecon were great lords among the Canaanites, thereby taking upon himself a great authority, and assuming to have dominion over his own marriages, without so much as asking the advice of his father; for bad Isaac been the arbitrator, he had not given him leave to marry thus, for he was not pleased with contracting any alliance with the people of that country; but not caring to be uneasy to his

son, by commanding him to put away these wives, he was desired 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 hindered him from his worship of God; and God appeared to him concerning this, after a sort of a vision, which he had in 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, to be to him a supporter and an assister in all his affairs. For though, as far as Isaac knew, it was uncertain whether he should die, and that he was desirous, by prayers for him, to procure beforehand God to be merciful to him.

6. Accordingly Isaac went out a hunting. But Rebekah foreseeing it as he was sending for a supplication made for obtaining the favor of God to Jacob, and that without the consent of Isaac, bid him kill kids of the goats, and prepare a supper. So Jacob obeyed his mother, according to all her instructions, and, when the supper was got ready, he took a goat's skin, and put it about his arm, that by reason of his hairy roughness he might, by his father, be believed to be Esau; for he should, in this respect, differ 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 practice, and lest he should, on the contrary, proc- k, him, and thereby cause the supper to his father. Isaac perceiving by the peculiarity of his voice who he was, called his son to him, who gave him his hand, which was covered with the goat's skin. When Isaac saw that it was not that of Jacob, he took it, and beheld him, and said, "Who art thou? Art thou my son Esau?" Jacob said, "Thou seest me, as the voice of Jacob, yet because of the thickness of thy hair, thou seemest to be Esau." So suspecting no deceit, he ate the supper, and betook himself to his prayers and intercessions with God; and said, "Lord, open his mouth, and deliver his voice, and make him understand his instance; for it was that thou didst propose to my father great plenty of good things, and hast vouchsafed to bestow on me what I have; and hast promised to my posterity to be their kind helper and protector, and shall have the same country, and honorable and beloved among his friends."

7. Thus did Isaac pray to God, thinking his prayers had been made for Esau. He had but just finished them, when Esau came in from hunting. And when Isaac perceived his son's take, he was silent; but Esau required that he

and Esau, in future ages, was for certain providential, and according to what Rebekah knew to be the purpose of God, when he answered her inquiry, "before the children were born," Gen. xxv. 23, "that one people should be more numerous than the other," he knew and remembered it, he did not endeavor to alter the Divine determination, out of his fondness for his elder and wiser son Esau, to the damage of his younger and better son Jacob; as Josephus elsewhere supposes, Antiq. b. ii. chap. vii. sect. 5. I cannot certainly say. If so, this might tempt Rebekah to contrive, and Jacob to put this imposition upon him. However, Josephus renders Isaac's procedure more inconceivable; Nor was it probably any thing else that so much encouraged Isaac, and without his parents' consent, as Isaac's unhappy fondness for his.
might be partaker of the like blessing from his father that his brother had partook of; but his father added, that the interest he had been spent upon Jacob: so Esau lamented the mistake. However, his father being grieved at his weeping, said, That he should excel in hunting, and strength of body; in arms, and all such sort of work; and should obtain glory forever on those accounts, and his posterity after him but still 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 his having taken about the prayers of Isaac; for she persuaded her husband to take a wife for Jacob out of Mesopotamia, of her own kindred. Esau having married already Basemuth, the daughter of Ishmael, without his father's consent, for Isaac did not like the Cananities, so that he disapproved of Esau's former marriages, which made him take Basemuth 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 devil,) and to inform him of his father's death; he journeyed 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 that he had gathered together. At which time he saw in his sleep such a vision standing by him; he seemed to see a ladder which reached from the earth unto heaven, and persons descended from it; whereon the voice said, This is thy father's house, which is very 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. "O 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 be the head of a great people, and shall do great things; and I can give thee so much assistance: for I brought Abraham into the desert of Mesopotamia, when he was driven away by his kinmen; and I made thy father a happy man; nor wilt thou receive a less degree of happiness on thyself. Be of good courage, therefore, and act under my conduct 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 innumerable; and they shall leave what they have to a still more numerous posterity, to whom, and to whose posterity, I give the dominion of all the land, and their posterity shall fill the entire earth."

3. Now Jacob, when he had this prediction and such great benefit bestowed upon him, made haste to go; but do not fear any danger, nor be afraid of the many labors 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.

4. So he proceeded on his journey to Mesopotamia; and at length came to Haran; and meeting the shepherds of the field, who were shepherds, the wild beasts ran up, and maidens sitting about a certain well, he stayed with them, as wanting water to drink; 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 that they knew him, for he was not so inconsiderable a person as to be unknown to any of them; and that his daughter fed her father's flock together with them; and that indeed they wondered that she was not already married by him; and that they might learn more exactly whatever thou desirest to know about that family. While they were saying this the damsel came, and the other shepherds went down along with her. Then they showed her Jacob, and told her that he was a stranger, who came to inquire about her father's affairs. But she, as pleased, after the custom of children, with Jacob's coming, asked him who he was? and if he was come to them? and if it was he that lacked him? 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 kind speech, as by that affection which might arise thence, as by his love to the damsel, and his surprise at her beauty, which was so flourishing as few of the women of that age could vie with. He said them, "There is a relation between thee and me, no need to know who I am, for I am the son of Laban; for Abraham was 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. But there is a nearer and later cement of mutual kindred which we hear to one another, for my mother Rebeka was sister to La-

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. Laban, indeed, was informed inward Laban told him, that he could not express in words the joy he had at his coming; but still he inquired of him the occasion of his coming, and why he left his aged father and mother when they wanted his care more of the world if that he would afford him all the assistance he wanted. Then Jacob gave him an account of the whole occasion of his journey, and told him, "That Isaac had two sons that were twins, himself and Esau; who, because he failed of his father's prayers, which by his mother's wisdom were put up for him, sought to kill him, as deprived of the kingdom which was to be given him..."
of God, and of the blessings for which their father prayed: and that this was the occasion of his coming hither, as his mother had commanded him to do; for we are all (says he) brethren one to another; but our mother esteems an alliance with you more than she is one with the families of the country; so I look upon yourself and God to be the supporters of my travels, and think myself safe in my present circumstances."  

V. Now Laban promised to treat him with great liberality in accordance with his ancestors, and particularly for the sake of his mother, towards whom, he said, he would show his kindness, even though she was absent, by taking care of him; for he assured him he would make him the heir of his father's goods, giving him authority sufficient for that purpose; and when he should have a mind to return to his parents, he would send him back with presents, and this in as honorable a manner as the nearness of their relation should require. This Jacob heard gladly; and said he would willingly, and with pleasure, undergo any sort of pains while he tarried with him, but desired Rachel to wife, as the reward of those pains, who was not only on other accounts beloved by him, but more, because she was the means of his coming to him; for he said he was forced by the love of the damsel to make this proposal. Laban was well pleased with this agreement, and promised to present to his dawm as a gift, as not desirous to meet with any better son-in-law; and said he would do this if he would stay with him some time, for he was not willing to send his daughter to be among the Canaanites, for he knew that the alliance she had made already by marrying his sister there. And when Jacob had given his consent to this, he agreed to stay seven years; for so many years he had resolved to serve his father-in-law, that having given his consent to his own advantage, he might be better known what sort of a man he was. And Jacob, accepting of his terms, after the time was over, he made the wedding feast; and when it was night, without Jacob's perceiving it, he put his other daughter into bed to him, which was both the elder than Rachel, and of no comely countenance. Jacob lay with her that night, as being both in drink and in the dark. However, when it was day, he knew what had been done to him; and ran to point it out to his brother, who being still more foolishly reasoning with him; who asked pardon for that necessity which forced him to do what he did; for he did not give him Lea out of any ill design, but as overpowered by the necessity; and not withstanding this, nothing should hinder him from marrying Rachel; but that when he had served another seven years, he would give him her whom he loved. Jacob submitted to this condition, for his love to the damsel did not permit him to do otherwise; and when another seven years were gone, he took Rachel to wife.  

8. Now each of these had handmaids, by their father's donation, Zilpha was handmaid to Lea, and Bilhah to Rachel, by no means slaves, but however subject to their mistresses. Now Lea was solely troubled at her husband's love to her sister, and she expected she should be better engaged if she bore him children. So she treated God peremptorily; and when she had borne a son, and her husband was on that account better reconciled to her, she named her son Reb, because God had mercy upon her in giving her the son for that in her estimation of the name. After some time she bare three more sons; Simeon, which name signifies that God had hearkened to her prayer. Then she bare Levi, the confirmer of their friendship. After him was born Judah; and Rachel, fearing lest the fruitfulness of her sister should make herself enjoy a lesser share of Jacob's affections, put to bed to him her handmaid Bilha, by whom Jacob had Dan. One may infer that this proposal of Rachel's was an ultimate judgment. And after him Nepheleal, as it were unconquerable in stragems, since Rachel tried to conquer the fruitfulness of her sister by this stratagem. Accordingly Lea took the same method, and under a sense of her engagement to her sister's; for she put to bed to him her own handmaid, and Jacob therefore had by Zilpha a son, whose name was Gad, which may be interpreted fortune; and after him Asher, which may be interpreted happy. And after him was born Joseph, by Lea. Now Reuel, the eldest son of Lea, brought apples of mandrakes to his mother. When Rachel saw them, she desired that she would give him apples of mandrakes to eat; but when she refused, and bid her to content that she had deprived her of the benevolence she ought to have had from her husband; Rachel, in order to mitigate her sister's anger, said, she would go to her, and he should lie with her that evening. She accepted of the favor, and Jacob slept with Lea by the favor of Rachel. She bare then these sons, Issachar, denoting one born by hire; and Zabulon, one born by hire; and Naphtali, born by hire; and a daughter Dinah. After some time Rachel had a son, named Joseph, which signified there should be another added to him.  

9. 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 of the flocks of Laban, to know the disposition of each of them. When they appeared glad and approved of it, Rachel took along with her the images of the gods, which, according to their custom, they carried with them from one country to another, and took away together with her sister. The children also of them both, and the handmaidens, and what possessions they had, went along with them. Jacob also drove away half the cattle, without letting Laban know of it beforehand. But the reason why Rachel took the images of the gods, although Jacob had taught her to despise such worship of those gods, was this, that in case they were pursued, and taken by her father, she might have recourse to these images in order to obtain his pardon.  

10. But Laban, after one day's time, being acquainted with Jacob's and his daughters' depart names, and the times of their several births in the intervals here assigned their several excellent characters; their several faults and repentance; the several accidents of their lives, with their several prophecies at their deaths, see the testaments of these twelve patriarchs, still preserved at large in the Author. Rec, part 1, ch. viii.  

† I formerly explained these mandrakes, as we with the Septuagint and Josephus render the Hebrew word דְרָשִׁים, in the Greek language, as delphines, but in the Latin, as mandrakes, Rec. part i. p. 260. But have since seen such a very probable account in MS. of my learned friend, Mr. Samual Wilkes; and it is a part of the following description by the ancient naturalists and physicians, as inciteth me to think these here mentioned were really mandrakes, and no other.
are, was much troubled, and pursued after them, leading a band of men with him; and on the seventh day overtook them, and found them resting on a certain hill; and then, indeed, he did not meddle with him, for it was evenstrife; but God stood by him in a dream, and warned him to take his son with him, and his brother, and some of his father's household, in a peaceable manner; and not to venture upon any thing rashly, or in wrath to them, but to make a league with Jacob. And he told him, that if he desired them to come with him, he would go back with him, and take them, if it was a hostile manner, he would himself insist with them. When Laban had been thus forewarned by God, he called Jacob to him the next day, in order to treat with him, and showed him what Jacob had done, and what he had not done; and took him, or made him come, so confidantly to him, and began to accuse him, alleging that he had entreated 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 not taken thy daughters to wife in marriage, and supposed that thy kindness to me would be greater than before; but thou hast had no regard either of thy own mother's relation to me, nor to the affinity now newly contracted between me and the households to which those wives were to be 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 persons that are not my men, and that they are not cowherds; and by carrying home those sacred paternal images which were worshipped by my forefathers, and have been honored with the like worship which they paid them, by myself. I have not taken from thee, thou art my kinsman, and my sister's son, and the husband of my daughters, and was hospitably treated by me, and didst eat at my table." When Laban had said this, Jacob made his defence: "That he had not gone out of his house to those who had imprinted the love of his native country, but that he had made it natural to all men; and that therefore it was but reasonable that, after so long a time, he should go back to it. But as to the prayer of whose driving away thou accusest me, if any other person were the arbiter, thou wouldst be found in the wrong; for instead of those thanks I ought to have had from thee, for so fair keeping, and for such treaties, that is how it is that thou art unjustly angry with me, because I have taken, and have with me, a small portion of them? But then, as to thy daughters, take notice, that it is not through any evil practises of mine, but that his heart had wandered from his own home, but from that just affection which wives naturally have to their husbands. They follow, 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 daughters in marriage, thou hast worn me out with thy hard service, and with that exacting which I had under them. That indeed which was required in order to marry-thy daughters, hard as it was, I own, to have been tolerable; but as to the service, and thee to thee, after the marriages, they were worse, and such indeed as an enemy would have avoided." For certainly Laban had used Jacob very ill; for when he saw that God was assisting to Jacob in all that he designed concerning his possessions, he did not administer justice to him, but said he would give him to them the next year, because of his envious him the multitude of his possessions. He promised him as before, because he thought such an increase was not to be expected; but when it appeared to be fact, he deceived him.

11. But then, as to the sacred images which 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 caused them to be found. Which natural purgation hindered her rising up; so Laban left off searching any further, not supposing that his daughter in such circumstances would appear, in order to the searching thereof. So he made a league with Jacob, and bound by it oaths, that as soon as he should bear him any malice on account of what had happened; and Jacob made the like league, and promised to love Laban's daughters. And these three leagues were confirmed with them, in which they made upon certain mountains, whereon 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, and is appeared to him, and suggested to him good hope of his future safety and fortune could make his hands not to be the means of Camp of God. And being desirous of knowing what his brother's intentions were to be, he sent messengers to give him an exact account of every thing, as being afraid, on account of the enmity between them. He came to a place that were sent to say to Esau, that "Jacob had thought it wrong to live together with him while he was in anger against him, and so had gone out of the country; and that he now, thinking the length of time of his absence was past, and the differences, was returning; that he brought with him his wives and his children, with what possessions he had gotten; and delivered himself, with what was most dear to him, into his hands; and should think it no 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 camels. And Jacob, when he heard that he was coming to meet him with such a number of men, was greatly afraid; however, he committed his hope of deliverance to God; and considered how, in the very presence of his brother, and himself and those that were with him, and overcome his enemies if they attacked him injuriously. 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 beforehand, to carry presents to his brother. The presents were made up of cattle, and a great number of four-footed beasts, of many kinds, such as would be very acceptable to those that received them, on account of their rarity. Those who were sent went at certain intervals of space saunter, that by following thick one after another they might appear to be more numerous, that Esau might remit of his anger on account of these presents. If these were attacked, all the others that were also given to those that were sent to speak gently to him.

2. When Jacob had made these appointments all the day, and night came on, he moved on with his company; and as they were gone over a certain river called Jabob, Jacob was left behind and meeting with an angel, he wrestled with him the angel beginning the struggle; but he prevailed 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 God had in store for him; and that all his offerings should never fail; and that no man should be too hard for his power. He also commanded 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 Phamuel, which signifies, The face of God. Now when he felt pain by this struggling, upon his broad side, he abstained from eating that sinew himself afterward; and for his sake it is still not eaten by us.

3. 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. He then went up to his brother Esau, 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 he would go along with him to their father; but Jacob pretending that the cattle were weary, Esau returned to Seir, for there was his place of habitation; he having named the place roughness, from his own hairy roughness.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning the Violation of Dinah's Chastity.

1. HERSEPNI Jacob came to the place, till this day called Teni, [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 and saw the women of that country. But when Shechem, the son of Hamor the king, saw her, he defiled her by violence; and being greatly in love with her, he desired of his father that he would provide a damsel to him for a wife. To which desire his father agreed, 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 worth, consented; but it was not lawful for him to marry his daughter to a stranger, entreated 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 marriage. But Jacob informed his sons o the delatement 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 advice of their mother, and of the Shechemites upon the action following; it being now the time of a festival, when the Shechemites were employed in ease and feasting, they fell upon the watch, while 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 asses.

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 departing thence, he offered sacrifice at Bethel, the place where he saw his dream, when he went first into Mesopotamia.

3. But when he was gone thence, and was come over against Ephraim, he there married Rachel, who died in childbed. She was the only one of Jacob's kindred that had not the honor 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 sorrows the mother had with him. These are all the children of Jacob, twelve males, and one female. Of them eight were legitimate, viz. six of Lea, and two of Rachel, and four were of the handmaids, two of each; all whose names have been set down already.

CHAP. XXII.

How Isaac died and was buried in Hebron.

1. FROM thence Jacob came to Hebron, a city situate among the Canaanites; and there it was that Isaac lived; and so they lived together for a little while; for as for Rebekah, Jacob did not first love her. Isaac therefore married Keturah, being come of his son, and 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 much respected; and when he was dead, it was rendered by God, after Abraham his father, and lived to be exceeding old; for when he had lived virtuously one hundred and eighty-five years, he then died.

*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 meaning, was agnized that the Hebrews of the first century in Egypt and elsewhere interpreted Je-ro-rael, to be a man seeing God, as is evident from the fragment forerited.
† Of this slaughter of the Shechemites by Simon and Levi, see Author. Rec. part 1, p. 768, 418, 429–439. But why Josephus has omitted the circumcion of these Shechemites, as the occasion of their death; and of Jacob's great grief, as in the Testament of Levi, sect. & 13, we cannot tell.
‡ The name Benjamin signifies the son of my sorrow, and Benjamin the son of days, or one born in the father's old age. Gen. xli. 50; I suspect Josephus's present copies to be here imperfect; and suppose, that in correspondence to other copies, he wrote, that Rachel called her son's name Benjamin; but his father called him Benjamin, Gen. xxxv. 18. As for Benjamin, as commonly explained, the son of the right hand, it makes no sense at all, and seems to be a gross modern error only. The Syrian editor always writes this name truly Benjamin, which probably is here of the same signification, only with the Chaldean termination is, instead of son, in the Hebrew, as we pronounce Cherurin or Cherurim interchangeably. Accordingly both the Testament of Benjamin, sect. 2, p. 401, and Philo de nominum matutinis, p. 303, write the name Benjamin, but explain it not the son of his right hand, but the son of days.
BOOK II.—CHAP. I. II.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ISAAC TO THE EXODUS OUT OF EGYPT.

CHAP. I.

How Esau and Jacob, the sons of Isaac, divided their Habitation; and Esau possessed Idumæa, and Jacob Canaan.

1. After the death of Isaac, his sons divided their habitations respectively. Nor did they retain their inheritance, but sold it to him, and settled in the land of Canaan. He called the country by that name from himself, for he was named Adöm; which appellation he got on the following occasion: Ame da, was turning from the toil of hunting very hungry, (it was when he was a child in age,) he lighted on his brother when he was getting ready lentil-pottage for his dinner, which was of a very red color, on which account he was more earnestly lodged for it, and desired him to give some of it to eat. But he made advantage of his brother's hunger, and forced him to resign 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 potage, he was, in way of jest, by his contemporaries called Adöm, for the Hebrews call what is red 'Adöm; and this was the name given to this country; but the Greeks gave it a more agreeable pronunciation, and named it Idumæa.

2. He became the father of five sons; of whom Jacob and Joseph, and Coreus, were great men, whose name was Alibamos; but of the rest, Alphaz was born to him by Ada, and Raguel by Basemath; and these were the sons of Esau. Alphaz had five legitimate sons, Thehan, Omer, Shaphub, Gerehus, and Kezron; for Ame da, was not legitimate, but by a concubine, whose name was Thama. These dwelt in that part of Idumæa which was called Gebalitis, and that denominates from Amalek, Amalakin; for Idumæa was the name of the whole tribe, and the name of the whole, while in its several parts it kept the names of its peculiar inhabitants.

CHAP. II.

How Joseph, the youngest of Jacob's Sons, was loved by his Brethren, whereas his Dreams had forshadowed his Future Happiness.

1. It happened that Jacob came to so great happiness as rarely any other person had arrived at. He was richer than the rest of the inhabitants of that country; and was at once envied and admired for such virtuous sons; for they were deficient in nothing, but were of great souls, both for laboring with their hands and enduring of toil; and shrewd also in understanding. And God exercised such a providence over him, and such a care of his happiness, as to bring him the greatest blessings, even out of what appeared to be the most sorrowful conditions; and to make him the cause of our father's departure out of Egypt, him and his posterity. The occasion was this: When Jacob had this son Joseph born to him by Rachel, his father loved him above the rest of his sons, both because of the beauty of his body and the virtues of his mind, for he excelled the rest in prudence. This affection of his father excited the envy and the hatred of his brethren; but did also his dreams which he saw, and related to his father and to them, which foretold his future happiness, being usual with mankind to envy their very nearest relations such their prosperity. Now the visions which Joseph saw in his sleep were these: 2. When they were in the middle of harvest, and Joseph was sent by his father with his brethren to gather the fruits of the earth, he saw a dream in a dream; but greatly exceeding the accustomed appearances that come when we go asleep; which, when he was got up, he told his brethren, that they might judge what it portended. He said, "He saw the last night that his wheat stood still in the place where he cast it, but that their sheaves ran to bow down to it, as servants bow down to their masters." But as soon as they perceived the vision foretold that he should obtain power and great wealth, and that his power should be in opposition to them, they gave no interpretation of it to Joseph, as if the dream were not by them understood; but they prayed that no part of what they suspected to be its meaning might come to pass; and they bore a still greater hatred to him on that account.

3. But God, in opposition to their envy, sent a second vision to Joseph, which was much more wonderful than the former; for it seemed to him that the sun would rise on the earth and blind the rest of the stars, and come down to the earth, and bow down to him. He told this vision to his father, and that, as suspecting nothing of ill-will from his brethren, when they were there also, and did not interpret it, he began to signify. Now Jacob was pleased with the dream; for, considering the prediction in his mind, and shrewdly and wisely guessing at its meaning, he rejoiced at the great things thereby signified. Because it declared the future happiness of his son; and that, by the blessing of God, the time should come when he should be honored, and thought worthy of worship by his parents and brethren, even giving the nations and sun and moon to be like his mother and father; the former as she that gave increase and nourishment to all things, and the latter, he that gave form and other powers to them; and that the stars were like his brethren, since they were eleven in number, as were the stars that receive their power from the sun and moon. And thus did Jacob make a judgment of this vision, and that a shrewd one also. But these interpretations caused very great grief to Joseph's brethren; and they were affected to him hereupon as if he were a certain stranger, that was to have those good things which were signified by the dreams, and not as one that was a brother, with whom it was probable they should be joint partakers; and as they had been partners in the same parentage, so should they be of the same happiness. They also resolved to kill the lad; and having fully ratified that intention of theirs, as soon as their collection of the fruits was over, they went to Shechem which is a country good for feeding of cattle, and for pasturage; there they fed their flocks, without acquaintance with his father in the mean time therewith: whereupon he had melancholy suspicions about them, as being ignorant of his son's condition, and receiving no messenger from the flocks that could inform him of the true state they were in; so because he was in great fear about them, he sent Joseph to the flockers, to learn the circumstances his brethren were in, and to bring him word how they did
How Joseph was thus sold by his Brethren into Egypt, by Reason of their Hatred to him; and how he was famous among the Egyptians, 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 at the presence of one sent by their father, but as at the presence of an enemy, and one that had come to destroy them. And they took away his shirt, and rent his hands; and they already resolved to kill him, and not let slip the opportunity that lay before them. But when Reuben, the eldest of them, saw them thus disposed, and that they had agreed together to execute their purpose, he tried to restrain them, showing them the heinous enterprise they were going about, and the horrid nature of it; that this action would appear wicked in the sight of God, and impious before men, even though they should kill one not related to them, but much more flagitious and detestable to appear to have slain their own brother; by which act the father must be treated unjustly in the regard of the dead and the mourner also be in perplexity while she laments that her son is taken away from her, and this not in a natural way neither. So he entreated them to have a regard to their own consciences, and wisely to consider what the grief would be to them upon the death of so good a child, and their youngest brother; that they would also fear God, who was already both a spectator and a witness of the designs they had against their brother; that he would lose them if they acted thus, and brand them with the crime of murder, as a reproach to this world, and yielded to repentance and amendment; but in case they proceeded to do the fact, all sorts of punishments would overtake them from God for this murder of their brother, since they polluted his holy name, which was ever present, and which did not overlook what was done, either in deserts or in cities; for wheresoever a man is, there ought he to suppose that God is also. He told them farther, that their consciences would be their enemies, if they attempted to go through so wicked an enterprise, which they can never avoid, whether it be a good conscience, or whether it be such a one as they will have within themselves, that they have killed their brother. He also added this besides to what he had before said, that it was not a righteous thing to kill a brother, though he had injured them; that it is a good thing to forgive the actions of such near friends, even in things which might be enjoyed, and not have them punished; but that they were going to kill Joseph, who had been guilty of nothing that was ill towards them, in whose case the infirmity of his small age should rather procure him mercy, and move them to unite together in the care of his preservation. That the cause of killing him made the act itself much worse, while they determined to take him off out of envy at his future prosperity; an equal share of which they would naturally feel in shutting him out, since they were to him not strangers, but the nearest relations, for they might reckon upon what God bestowed upon Joseph as their own; and therefore they stood in the habit of the anger of God would for this cause be more severe upon them, if they slew him who was judged by God to be worthy of that prosperity which was to be hoped for; and while by murdering him they made it impossible for God to bestow it upon him.

2. Reuben said these, and many other things, and used entreaties to them, and thereby endeavored to secure them from the murder of their brother. But when he saw that his discourse had not mollified them at all, and that they made haste to do the fact, he advised them to alleviate the wickedness they were going about in the manner of Joseph off; for as he had exhor-ted them first, when they were going to revenge themselves, to be dissuaded from doing it; so, since the sentence for killing their brother had prevailed, he said that they would not how ever free their hands if they did not rob him, and persuade to follow his present advice, which would include what they were so eager about, but was not so very bad, but in the distress they were in, of a lighter nature. He begged of them therefore not to cast therefore be their brother into the pit, but to cast him into the pit that was hard by, and so let him die: by which they would gain so much that they would not need their own hands with their brother. To which the persons there agreed; so Reuben 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 pastureage as was fit for his flock.

3. But Judah, being one of Jacob's sons also, seeing some Arabians, of the posterity of Issachar, carrying spices and Syrian wares out of the land of Gilead to the Egyptians, after Reuben was returned to them from his brethren, and had sold Joseph out of the pit, and sold him to the Arabians; for if he should die among strangers a great way off, they should be freed from this barbarous action.—This, therefore, was resolved on; so they drew Joseph up of the pit, and sold him to the Arabians for twenty pounds. He was now seventeen years old. But Reuben, coming in the night-time to the pit, resolved to save Joseph, without the privity of his brethren; and when upon his return told it to his brothers, they were very sorry, 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, Reuben left off his mourning for his brother.

4. When Joseph's brethren had done this to him, 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 his body; so they contrived to throw him down a pit, 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. And by this wile he was brought to the old man, 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, but that they had found his coat bloody and torn to pieces, whence they had a suspicion that he had fallen among wild beasts, and so perished, if that was the case he had on when he came from home. Now Jacob had believed his sons; and when he asked them what had become of Joseph, they said they had put him among the wild beasts; but now they lied, and said that the coat was 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 Joseph was the first son: so he came home and 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 grief, and came not to meet with Joseph; but when he also conjectured that Joseph was destroyed by wild beasts. He sat down also clothed...
have still greater advantages; but that he must look for revenge and hatred from her; in case he rejected her desires, and preferred the reputation of chastity before his mistress; for that she would gain nothing by such procedure, because she would then become his accuser and would falsely pretend to her husband that he attempted to violate her chastity; and that Potiphar would hearken to her words rather than to his let his be over so agreeable to the truth.

4. When the man had said thus, and even with tears in her eyes, neither did pity dissuade Joseph from his chastity, nor did she in any way seek to obtain a change of his condition, but he demonstrated that wisdom was able to govern the envious passions of life, in such as have it in reality, and do not only put it on for a show, under a present state of prosperity.

2. For when his master's wife was fallen in love with him, both on account of his beauty of body and his dexterous management of affairs, and supposed, that if she should make it known to his master and the taskmaster that became 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 not he take all things to himself, and was not afraid to do any thing to the least upon such a change of his condition, but he demonstrated that wisdom was able to govern the envious passions of life, in such as have it in reality, and do not only put it on for a show, under a present state of prosperity.

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ing when thou wouldst be absent. So that it now is clear, that his modesty, as it appeared to be formerly, was only because of the restraint he was in out of fear of thee, but that he was not really of a good disposition. This has been occupied by his being advanced to honor beyond what he deserved, and what he hoped for, insomuch that he concluded, that he who was deemed fit to be trusted with the estate, the government of that family, and was preferred above the eldest servants, might be allowed to touch thy wife also." Thus when she had ended her discourse she showed him her garment, as if he then left it with her when he was tempted to force her. For Potipher, not being able to disbelieve what his wife's tears showed, and what his wife said and what he saw himself, and being seduced by his love to his wife, did not set himself seduced about the examination of the truth, but taking that his wife was a modest woman, and condemning Joseph as a wicked man, he threw him into the malefactors' prison; and had a still higher opinion of his wife, and bare her witness, that she was a woman of becoming modesty and chastity.

CHAP. V.

What things befell Joseph in Prison.

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

2. He therefore said, That in his sleep he saw three clusters of grapes hanging upon three branches of a vine, large already and ripe for gathering, and that he squeezed them into a cup, which the king held in his hand, and when he had strained the wine, he gave it to the king to drink, and as he received it from him with a pleasant countenance. This, he said, was what he saw; and he desired Joseph, that if he had any portion of understanding in such matters, he would tell him what this vision foretold; who bid him be of good cheer, and expect to be loosed from bonds in three days' time, because the king desired his service, and was about to restore him to it again; for he let him know that God bestowed the fruit of the vine upon men for good; and put an end to their quarrels, takes away passion and grief out of the minds of them that use it, and makes them cheerful. Thou sayest that thou didst squeeze this wine from three clusters of grapes with thine hands, and that the king received it; know, therefore, that this vision is for thee. For within the present distress, within the same number of days as the branches had whence thou gatheredest thy grapes in thy sleep. However, remember what Prosperity we foretold thee when thou hast found it true by experience, and we, who are in authority, do not overlook us in this prison, wherein thou wilt leave us, when thou art come to the place we have foretold; for we are not in the same prison, but for the sake of our virtue and sobriety are we condemned to the penalty of malefactors, and because we are not willing to injure him that has thus distressed us, though it were for our own pleasure. The cupbearer, however, rejoicing to hear such an interpretation of his dream, and waited the completion of what had been thus showed him beforehand.

3. But another servant there was of the king's, a baker; and was now bound in prison with the cupbearer; he also was in good hope, upon Joseph's interpretation of the other's vision, for he had seen a dream also; and he desired Joseph would tell him what the visions he had seen the night before might mean. They were these that follow: "Methought," says he, "I carried three baskets upon my head, two were full of leves, and the third full of sweet-smelling spices; and they were prepared for kings; but that the fowls came and ate them all up, and had no regard to my attempt to drive them away." And he expected a prediction like to that of the cupbearer. But Joseph, considering the meaning of the thing, told him as he said to him, That he would willingly be an interpreter of good events to him, and not of such as his dream denounced to him; but he told him that he had only three days in all to live, for that the king had invented a story, that on the third day of his return, that he should be crucified and devoured by fowles, while he was not able to help himself. Now, both these dreams had the same several events that Joseph foretold they should have, and this to both the cupbearer and the baker, and when the king solemnized his birthday, he crucified the chief baker, and set the butler free from his bonds, and restored him to his former ministrations.

4. God freed Joseph from his confinement, after he had endured his bonds two years, and had received no assistance from the cupbearer, who did not remember what he had said to him formerly; and God contrived this method of delivering him. Pharaoh the king saw them in his sleep the same evening two visions; and after them had the interpretations of them both given him. He had forgotten the latter, but retained, and did the dreams themselves. Being there troubled at what he had seen, for it seemed to him to be all of a melancholy nature, the next day he called together the wisest men among the Egyptians, desiring to learn from them the interpretation of his dreams. But when they hesitated about them, the king was so much the more disturbed. And now it was that the memory of Joseph, and his skill in dreams, came into the mind of the king's cupbearer, when he saw the costs and their barterance; and when he mentioned Joseph to him, as also the vision he had seen in prison, and how the event proved as he had said; as also, that the chief baker was crucified on the very same day; and that this also befell the man who then possessed the power. If therefore they did not send for him, and not despise him on the score
BOOK II.—CHAP. VI.

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 on my behalf and commends the words of this most skilful person I can consult, with vouchsafe me the same favor which thou bestowdest on this servant of mine, and tell me what events they are which the visions of my dreams foreshadow;—for my spirit is distressed out of fear, nor to flatter me with lying words, or with what may please me, although the truth should be of a melancholy nature. For it seemed to me that, as I walked by the river, I saw kine fat and very large, seven in number, going from the river to the marshes; and another kine, of the same number like them, met them out of the marshes, exceeding lean and ill favored, which ate up the fat and the large kine, and yet were not eaten by the former, and were more blemished with famine. After I had seen this vision I awoke out of my sleep; and being in disorder, and considering with myself what this appearance was to signify, I fell asleep again and saw another dream, which was more distressing than the foregoing, which still did more affright and disturb me: I saw seven ears of corn growing out of one root, having their heads borne down by the weight of the corn; and seven other ears, growing with the fruit which was now ripe, and fit for reaping; and near these 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 these ears, which came upon them in the eighth year of my reign, this misfortune fell upon them when they had no sense of it beforehand; they were all sorely afflicted by it, and came running to the king's gates; and he called upon Joseph, who sold the corn to them, being become confessedly 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 natural children of the land, and the representatives of their fathers, should have assistance from those that lived in happiness.

6. To which Joseph replied: "This dream," said he, "O king, although seen under two forms, signifies one and the same event of things; for when thou sawest the kine, which is an animal made for the plough and for labor, devoured by the worse kine, and the ears of corn eaten up by the smaller ears, they foretell a famine, and want of the fruits of the earth, for the same number of years, and equal with those when Egypt was in plenty. A part of the harvest of these years will be spent in the same manner of years of scarcity, and that scarcity of necessary provisions will be very difficult to be corrected; as a sign whereof, the ill-favored kine, which eat up the fat and the large kine, shall not be satisfied. But still God foreseeth what 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, com-

so much as would be sufficient for their food. Accordingly Pharaoh, being surprised at Joseph, not only for his interpretation of the dream, but for the counsel he had given him, intrusted him with dispensing the corn, with power to do what he thought would be for the benefit of the people of Egypt, and for the benefit of the king, as believing that he who first discovered this method of acting would prove the best overseer of it. But Joseph, having received this part of the king, with leave to make use of his seal, and to wear purple, drove 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 Brethren in Subjection.

1. JOSEPH was now grown up to thirty years of age, and enjoyed great honors from the king who called him Fathom Phanarch, out of regard to his prosperity and name, in which the word "phothom" denotes the reveler of secrets. He also married a wife of very high quality; for he married the daughter of Pethphres, one of the priests of Heliopolis, and the name of his wife was Asenath. By her he had children before the scarcity came on, Manasseh, the elder, which signifies forgetful, because his present happiness made him forget his former misfortunes; and Ephraim, which signifies fruitful, because he was restored to the freedom of his forefathers. Now, after Egypt had happily passed over seven years, according to Joseph's interpretation of the dreams, the famine began to come upon them in the eighth year of his reign. This misfortune fell upon them when they had no sense of it beforehand; they were all sorely afflicted by it, and came running to the king's gates; and he called upon Joseph, who sold the corn to them, being become confessedly 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 natural children of the land, and the representatives of their fathers, should have assistance from those that lived in happiness.

2. Now Jacob also, when he understood that foreigners might come, sent all his sons into Egypt to buy corn; for the land of Canaan was grievously distressed, and all the boundaries of it, by the great misery touched the whole continent. He only retained Benjamin, who was born to him by Rachel, and was of the same mother 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 honor that was paid the king himself advantageous to the person that paid it, when they took care to honor Joseph also. Now when he well knew his brethren, they thought nothing of him; for he was but a youth when he left them and was now come to an age so much greater that the lineaments of his face were changed, and he was not known by them; besides this, the greatness of the dignity wherein he appeared suffered them not so much as to suspect it was he. He now made trial what sentiments they had about affairs of the greatest consequence; for he refrained and smote at them. Nor is this a notion peculiar to Joseph, for it is a rule of most of the ancient interpreters, and to other learned men of old time.

1 This entire ignorance of the Egyptians of those poor of famine before they came, told us before as well as here, chap. v. sect. 7, by Josephus, seems to be also of incredible. It is in no other copy that I know of.
sed to sell them corn, and said they were come as spies of the king's affairs; and that they came from several countries, and joined themselves together, and pretended that they were of kin, it not being possible that a private man should breed up so many sons, and those of so great beauty of countenance as they were; such an offer of corn, or children being not obtained by kings themselves. Now this he did in order to discover what concerned his father, and what happened to him after his own departure from him, and as desiring to know what was become of Benjamin his brother; for he was afraid that they had ventured on the like wicked enterprise against him that they had done to himself, and had taken him off also.

3. Now these brethren of his were under distraction and terror, and thought that very great danger hung over them; yet not at all reflecting upon their brother Joseph; and standing firm under the accusations laid against them, they made their defence by Reuben, the eldest of them, who now became their spokesman, "We come not bither," 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 humanity will receive us bither as a refuge from the miseries which our country labors 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 to hide what you had; but, as we are brethren, and of the same common blood, the peculiar lineaments of our faces, and those not so much different from one another, plainly show. Our father's name is Jacob, a Hebrew man, who had twelve sons; and one of those twelve, us, while we were all alive, was a happy family; but when one of our brethren, whose name was Joseph, died, our affairs changed for the worse; for our father could not bear to look upon his son's likeness in form, and we were in affliction, both by the calamity of the death of our brother, and the miserable state of our aged father. We are now therefore come to buy corn, having intrusted the care of our father, and the provision for his family, to Benjamin, our youngest brother; and if thou sendest to our house, thou mayest learn whether we are guilty of the least falsehood in what we say."

But Reuben endeavored 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 for the present put them in prison, as though he determined to magnify in form of justice in that case, and then to send them home. They were in prison for two days, and suffered very much. They then sent for Joseph to come and judge of them. And after these things, when his master was 1sa 25:4.

4. 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 taken prisoners, and brought to the king; and how they said they were brethren, and had left their eleventh brother with their father, but were not believed; and how they had left Symeon with the governor, until Benjamin should go thither, and bring his brother; and how the truth of what they had said. And they begged of their father to fear nothing, but to send the lad along with them. But Jacob was not pleased with any thing his sons had done, and lie took it at that it fell into ears, 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 his brethren's return, he bid them take the corn they did buy, and go their way home. He also commanded his steward privately to put the money which they had brought with them for the purchase of corn into their sacks, and to dismiss them therewith, who did what he was commanded to do. 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 to Egypt unless they came with what they had promised. 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, but to send Benjamin out by himself; and on 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 condemn them to such manifest destruction; nor deprive them of that plenty of food they might have if Pharaoh's servants still continued to take care 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 not to draw the judgment that he would either bring his son back to him safe, or, together with his, lose his own life." So that Jacob was at length persuaded, and delivered Benjamin to them, with the price of the corn doubled. And the fruits of the land of Canaan, balsam, and rosinc, five parts of here wanting which I have supplied in brackets. And here none have hibberti suspected it ought to be supplied.

1 Of the precious balsam of Judae, and the tartarum see the note on Aq. B. vii champ. vi. sect. 6.
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 punisher at the door. This, and more of the same nature did the servant say, which the steward was too proud to mention to them; but they, being wholly ignorant of any thing here that concerned them, laughed at what he said, and wondered at the abusive language which the steward gave them. They went on in their way for Egypt, endeavoring to mitigate their grief for their present misfortunes, with the hopes of better success hereafter.

8. As soon as they came into Egypt, they were4 surprised; and that was by a sudden fear, for they were accustomed to the hardy as to accuse those who did not before 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 seeking for any just accusation. But still, supposing that a search would be 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 now conscious to themselves of any crime, they spake with assurance, and, as they thought, without any danger to themselves also. The servants desired that he might be a judge; but, as he 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 know\-

ing it was he, or so they supposed, they 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 quantity of corn which he had in his father's sack, they discovered that they found him well. He, also, upon his discovery that Benjamin was alive, asked whether this was his younger brother, for he had seen him. Whereupon he said he was; he reproached him at the whole. But when his affection to him made him shed tears, he retired, desiring he might not be seen in that plight by his brethren. Then Joseph took the golden cup, which was in the bag of each of them, and in the same order as they used to sit at their father's table. And although Joseph treated them all kindly, yet did he send a mess to Benjamin that was double to what the rest of the guests had fora day; for, said he, he had meant to make him a special favor. 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 he should put into Benjamin's sack the golden cup out of which he loved himself to drink. What things he did in order to make trials of his brethren, whether they would stand by Benjamin when he should be accused of having stolen the cup, and that it should 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, he and the others went down, saying nothing of all this, went their way, and took Syme-

on 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 forth Joseph's servant, who had put the cup into Benjamin's sack. Upon which unexpected attack of the horsemen they were much disturbed, and said amongst themselves that they were cast 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 they were 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, drank to them; and also charged them with the 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 knowledge of him who had been the thief, they had not escaped the knowledge of God, who had gone off with what they had stolen; and,
fore we have had the entire use of life, and have a responsibility to our father, and take care of his interests for us, on whose account it is that we make these applications to thee. We beg thou wilt give us those lives, which this wickedness of ours has rendered obnoxious to thy punishment; and this is for the sake of our father, 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 absent, he is afflicted with care for us. But if he hear of our death, and that we have been guilty of, but by thy own excellent nature, and take advice of thine own virtue, instead of that wrath thou hast against us; which passion those that otherwise are of a low character indulge, as they do their strength, and that not only on great, but also on very trifling occasions. Overcome, sir, that passion, and be not subdued by it, nor suffer it to slay those that do not otherwise presume upon their own safety, but let it be an accept of it, with thee; be satisfied, this is not the first time that thou wilt bestow it on us, but before, when we came to buy corn, thou afforded us great plenty of food, and gavest us leave to carry so much home to our family as hath been preserved from the famine, that they might be preserved of the Lord, the Father of all, by showing a pious regard to which, in the case of our father, thou wilt appear to honor him who is styled by thee our father, I mean if thou wilt have this pity on our father; upon the consideration that those who are preserved of God, the Father of all, by showing a pious regard to which, in the case of our father, thou wilt appear to honor him who is styled by thee our father, I mean if thou wilt be so merciful as to lose the advantage of that glorious benefaction which they received from thee. This will be an instance of equal favor, though bestowed after a different manner; for thou wilt save those who are in the greatest miseries, and those who may be preserved from death by thy own bounty, those souls which thou didst not suffer to be distressed by famine; it being, indeed, at once a wonderful and a great thing to sustain our lives by corn, and to bestow on us that pardon whereby, now we are distressed, we may continue those lives. And I am ready to suppose that God is willing to afford thee this opportunity of showing thy virtuous disposition by bringing us into the way of it, though it may appear I cannot forgive the injuries that are done to thyself; and mayest be esteemed kind to others, besides those who, on other accounts, stand in need of thy assistance; since it is indeed a right thing to do with those who are in such necessities, to give and not take away, and, therefore, I dare not show ourselves alive to our father without our brother, but here must we partake of one and the same catastrophe of this life. And so we beg of thee, O governor, that if thou considerest that there is no life left, that we may bestow upon thee and finish us together with him, as partners 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.

I end here, without adding what more I have to say, that in case thou condemnest us, that omission may be supposed to have hurt us, and permitted thee to take the severer side. But in case thou settest us free, that this may be ascribed to thy own goodness, of which thou art inwardly conscious, that thou freest us from condemnation upon those grounds, why may not the same be expected by such as are now about to appear more righteous than we really are, and by representing to thyself more motives for our deliverance than we are able to produce ourselves. If therefore thou resolvest to slay him, and then thou wilt slay me in his stead, and send him back to his father; or if thou pleasest to retain him with thee as a slave, I am fitter to labor for thy of oratory, that lay by him, and which he thought fit to insert on this occasion. See two more such speeches or declamations, Antiq. B. vi. ch. xiv. sect. 4.
advantage in the capacity, and, as thou seest, now better provided for, either of those services." So Judas being very willing to underta-
go any thing whatever for the deliverance of his brother cast himself at Joseph's feet, and earnestly labored to persuade and pacify his anger. All his brethren also fell down before him weeping, and delivering themselves up to destruction for the preservation of the life of Benjamin.

9. But Joseph, as overcome now with his affec-
tions, and no longer able to perverso an angry nature, said to his brethren: "Be not, I pray you, afraid that he might make himself known to his brethren when they were alone. And when the rest were gone out, he made himself known to his brethren, and said," I came not to you for your faults and your kindness to our brother; I find you better men than I could have expected from what you contributed about me. Indeed, I did all this to try your love to your brother; so I believe you were not whipt by nature, in what I did to my case, but that all has happened according to God's will, who has hereby procured our enjoyment of what good things we have; and if we continue in a favorable disposition, of what we bounteous, and remove your habitation hither that our father is safe and well, beyond expectation, and I see you so well disposed to your brother, I will no longer remember what guilt you seem to have had about me, but will leave off to hate you that you are not as parents and for your sake and those intentions were frustrated. Go therefore your way, rejoicing in what has happened by the divine providence, and inform your father of it, lest he should be spent with cares for you, and depriving one of the most agreeable part of my solicitude; I mean, lest he should die before he comes into my sight, and enjoys the good things that we now have. Bring therefore with you ear father, and your wives and children, and all your kindred, and I will make your abode in my house for it is not proper that the persons dearest to me should live remote from me, now my affairs are so prosperous, especially when they must endure five more years of famine. When Joseph had made all this known to his brethren, those who were in tears and sorrow. But the generous kindness of their brother seemed to leave among them no room for fear lest they should be punished on account of what they had consulted and acted against him. And they were then feasting. Now the king, as soon as he heard that Joseph's brethren were come to him, was exceeding glad of it, as if it had been a part of his own fortune. Now they became full of corn, and gold and silver, to be conveyed to his father. Now when they had received more of their brother, part to be conveyed to their father, and part as free gifts to every one of them. And they were now having still more than the rest, they departed.

CHAP. VII.
The Removal of Joseph's Father, with all his Family, to him, on account of the Famine.

1. As soon as Jacob came to know, by his sons' returning home, in what state Joseph was, that he had not only escaped death, for which he lived all along in mourning, but that the splendor and happiness, and ruled over Egypt jointly with the king, he entrusted all care almost all his affairs; he did not think any thing he was told to be incredible, considering the greatness of the works of God, and his kindness to him, although that kindness had, for some late times, been interrupted; so he immediately and zealously set upon his journey to him.

2. When he came to the well of the oath, (Beersheba,) he offered sacrifice to God; and being afraid that the happiness there was in Egypt might not continue, he charged his sons that he might make himself known to his brethren when they were alone. And when the rest were gone out, he made himself known to his brethren, and said," I came not to you for your faults and your kindness to our brother; I find you better men than I could have expected from what you contributed about me. Indeed, I did all this to try your love to your brother; so I believe you were not whipt by nature, in what I did to my case, but that all has happened according to God's will, who has hereby procured our enjoyment of what good things we have; and if we continue in a favorable disposition, of what we bounteous, and remove your habitation hither that our father is safe and well, beyond expectation, and I see you so well disposed to your brother, I will no longer remember what guilt you seem to have had about me, but will leave off to hate you that you are not as parents and for your sake and those intentions were frustrated. Go therefore your way, rejoicing in what has happened by the divine providence, and inform your father of it, lest he should be spent with cares for you, and depriving one of the most agreeable part of my solicitude; I mean, lest he should die before he comes into my sight, and enjoys the good things that we now have. Bring therefore with you ear father, and your wives and children, and all your kindred, and I will make your abode in my house for it is not proper that the persons dearest to me should live remote from me, now my affairs are so prosperous, especially when they must endure five more years of famine. When Joseph had made all this known to his brethren, those who were in tears and sorrow. But the generous kindness of their brother seemed to leave among them no room for fear lest they should be punished on account of what they had consulted and acted against him. And they were then feasting. Now the king, as soon as he heard that Joseph's brethren were come to him, was exceeding glad of it, as if it had been a part of his own fortune. Now they became full of corn, and gold and silver, to be conveyed to his father. Now when they had received more of their brother, part to be conveyed to their father, and part as free gifts to every one of them. And they were now having still more than the rest, they departed.

* In all this speech of Judas, we may observe, that Josephus still supposed that death was the punishment of theft in Egypt, in the days of Joseph, though it never was so among the Jews by the law of Moses.
was the handmaid of Lea. These had with them, Gad seven, Saphoniah, Angus, Sunis, Azabon, Aern, Eroed, Ariel. Aser had a daughter Sarah, and six male children, whose names were Jomne, Iaun, Isui, Baris, Abar, and Melchiel. If we add these, which are sixteen, to the fifty-four, the former number (seventy-seven) is completed, and the number of the Jacob⁸ not being himself included in that number.

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

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

7. However, the famine increased among the Egyptians; and this heavy judgment grew more oppressive to them, because neither did the river overflow the ground, for it did not rise to its former height, nor was the old God upon it; nor did they indeed make the least provision for themselves, so ignorant were they what was to be done; but Joseph sold them corn for their money. But when they failed the next year, 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; excepting the lands of the priests, for their country continued still in their own possession. And in

* All the Greek copies of Josephus have the negative particle here, that Jacob himself was not reckoned one of the seventy souls that came into Egypt; but the old Latin correctly assure us that none of them. It is therefore hardly certain which of these was Josephus's true reading, since the number 70 is made up of without, if we reckon Leah for one, but if she be not reckoned, the number will be seventy, to complete the number.

Josephus thought that the Egyptians held or drank of a thunderbird in the days of Joseph; whereas Bishop Cumberland has shown that they rather hated such Phoenician or Canaanite shepherds. But Josephus has very adequately described the Egyptians of old time. See his Banchonathio, p. 381, 382.

5. Jacob here puts the question, How Josephus could quadruple the population of Egypt in thirteen famine, while the ancient affirm, that it never does naturally rain there? His answer is, that when the ancients deny that it rain in Egypt, they only mean the Upper Egypt above the Delta, which is called Egypt in the strictest sense; but that in the Delta and by consequence in the Lower Egypt adjoining to it it did of old, and still does sometimes. See the note on Antiq. B. ili. c. 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 its rent, to be paid to him, as was their landlord, and they did not consider that the lands were not properly restored, and this fifth part reserved as tribute only, till the days of Sesostris. See Essay on the Old Testament, A.D. 293, sect. 6.

As to this encomium upon Joseph, so preparatory to Jacob's adopting Ephraim and Manasseh into his own family, the reader would perhaps expect more from Josephus here mentions, all our copies of Genesis omit it. We shall, nor do we know when he took it, or whether or not he be his own embellishment only.
2. Joseph also died when he had lived an hundred and ten years: having been a man of admirable virtue, and conducting all his affairs by the rules of reason; and used his authority with moderation, which was the cause of his great felicity among the Egyptians, even when he came from another country, and that in such ill circumstances also as we have already described. At length his brethren died, after they had lived happily in Egypt, and the children of the men of the house of Jacob came up out of Egypt, for so had Joseph commanded, and caused them to be gathered together into the land of Canaan, in order that they might sow him upon ooth. But what became of every one of these men, and by what toils they got the possession of the land of Canaan, shall be shown hereafter, when I have first explained upon what account it was that they left Egypt.

CHAPTER IX.
Concerning the Afflictions that befell the Hebrews in Egypt, during four hundred years.†

§ 1. Now it happened that the Egyptians grew delicate and lazy, as to pains-taking, and gave themselves up to other pleasures, and in particular they grew very ill-affectioned towards the Hebrews, as touched with envy at their prosperity: for when they saw how the nation of the Israelites flourished, and were become eminent already in plenty of wealth, which shone out in their house of culture and mass; the natural love of labor, 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 now come into their hands, they became very abusive to 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 according with the future favors which had been given them for 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 by these labors, 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 solicits 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 this time there would be a child born to the Israelites, who, if he were reared, could bring Egypt and all dominion into time would be a great enemy to the Israelites; that he would excel all men in virtue, and obtain a glory that would be remembered through all ages. Which thing was so feared by the king, that according to this man's opinion he commanded that they should cast every male child, who was born to the Israelites, into the river, and destroy it; that besides this, the Egyptian midwives should watch the labors 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 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 very rigorous sentence indeed to those that suffered it, not only as they were deprived of their sons, and whil they were the parents themselves, they were obliged to be subservient to the destruction of their own children, and to tend to the extinction of their nation, while upon the destruction of their children, and their own gradual dissolution, the calamity would become very heavy to their descendants, and this was the ill state they were in. But no one can be too hard for the purpose of God, though he contrive ten thousand subtle devices for that end, for this child, whom the sacred scribe foretold, was brought up by the Egyptian midwives, and was observed appointed by the king; and he that foretold him did not mistake in the consequences of his preservation, which were brought to pass after the manner following.

§ 3. A man was using his 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, and he knew not what to do. Hereupon he besought the wise scribe of the Israelites, who had wandered to the temple, and was instructed in his worship, and to afford them deliverance from the miseries they at that time endured, and to render to him, the enemies' hopes of the destruction of their nation. Accordingly God had mercy on him, and was moved by his supplication. He stood by him in his sleep, and exhorted him not to despair of his son, and told him that under his care, and forget his piety towards him, and would always reward them for it, as he had formerly granted his favor to their forefathers, and made them increase from a few, to so great a multitude. He promised him, that when Abraham the father of this people came 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. But left to Isaac also to his posterity the country of Arabia; as also to his sons by Keturah, Trogdolytis; and to Isaac, Canaan. That by my assistance, said he, he did great exploits in war, which, unless you be yourselves impious, you must still remember. For Jacob, he became well known to strangers also much happiness to the Israelites from the roasting of Moses. sect. 3. And as to the great cities they built in Egypt under Pharaoh Setosoros, and of Pharaoh Setosoros's drowning in the Red Sea, see Eunomus on the Old Test. Apoph. p. 230—232.

† Of this building of the pyramids of Egypt by the Israelites, see Perizonius Orig. Egypt. chap. xxii. It is not probable that they were the builders of the nine small ones, but the larger ones seem much later. Only, if they be all built of stone, this does not so well agree with the account of our brother Amos, who says they were built in brick, and not in stea, as Mr. Humbsy observes in his Travels, p. 127. 195.

§ Dr. Pearson says, he who, that, instead of this single prophet or priest of the Egyptians, without a name in Josephes, the Tarum of Jonathan names the two famous antagonists of Moses, James and Jamies. He is at all unlike that it might be one of these who forsook so much misery to the Egyptians, and so

* As to the affliction of Abraham's posterity for 400 years, see Acts, B. I. ch. 11. And the great cities they built in Egypt under Pharaoh Setosoros, and of Pharaoh Setosoros's drowning in the Red Sea, see Eunomus on the Old Test. Apoph. p. 230—232.

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by the greatness of that prosperity in which he lived and left to his sons, who came into Egypt with no more than seventy souls, while you are now five hundred thousand and a half, and therefore that I shall provide for you all in common what is for your good, and particularly for myself what shall make thee famous; for that child, out of dread of whose nativity the Egyptians were so terrified that they were not able to resist, shall be this child of thine, and shall be concealed from those who watch to destroy him; and when he is brought up in a surprising way, he shall deliver the Hebrew nation from the distress they were in, under the compulsion of the heathen. His memory shall be famous while the world lasts; and this not only among the Hebrews, but foreigners also. All which shall be the effect of my favor to thee, and to thy posterity; this shall also have such a brother, that he shall himself obtain my priesthood, and his posterity shall have it after him to the end of the world.

4. When the vision had informed him of these things, Amram awaked and went to Jochabed, who was his wife. And now the fear increased upon them, on account of the prediction in Amram's dream; for they were under concern, not only for the child, but on account of the great happiness that was to come to them also. However, the mother's labor was such as afforded a confirmation to what was foretold by God, for it was not known to those that watched her, by the easiness of her pains, and because the throes of her travail fell upon her on the same day, by reason of her violence. And now they nourished the child at home privately for three months; but after that time, Amram, fearing he should be discovered, and, being afraid of the young child's danger, both his and his child should perish, and so he should make the promise of God of none effect, determined rather to trust the safety and care of the child to God, than to depend on his own concealment of him, which he looked upon as a thing uncertain, and whereby both the child so privately to be nourished, and himself, would be in imminent danger; but he believed that God would some way for certain procure the safety of the child, in order to accost it to Jochabed, who was his wife. And now the fear increased upon them, on account of the prediction in Amram's dream; for they were under concern, not only for the child, but on account of the great happiness that was to come to them also. However, the mother's labor was such as afforded a confirmation to what was foretold by God, for it was not known to those that watched her, by the easiness of her pains, and because the throes of her travail fell upon her on the same day, by reason of her violence. And now they nourished the child at home privately for three months; but after that time, Amram, fearing he should be discovered, and, being afraid of the young child's danger, both his and his child should perish, and so he should make the promise of God of none effect, determined rather to trust the safety and care of the child to God, than to depend on his own concealment of him, which he looked upon as a thing uncertain, and whereby both the child so privately to be nourished, and himself, would be in imminent danger; but he believed that God would some way for certain procure the safety of the child, in order to accost it to Jochabed, who was his wife.

5. When they had thus determined, they made an ark of bulrushes, after the manner of a cradle, and of a bigness sufficient for an infant to be laid in, without being too small for him, and then daubed it with slime, which would naturally keep out the water from entering between the bulrushes, and put the infant into it, and setting it afloat upon the river, they trusted God to God's protection, as well for his greatness of mind, as for his contempt of difficulties, the best of all the Hebrews, for Abraham was his ancestor of the seventh generation. For Moses was the son of Amram and Jochabed. And the God of their father Levi was the son of Jacob, who was the son of Isaac, who was the son of Abraham. Now Moses's understanding became superior to his age, nay, far beyond that standard; and when he was taught, he discovered a greater quickness of apprehension than was usual at his age, and his actions at that time promised greater, when he should come to the age of a man. God did also give him that tallness, when he was but three years old, which was wonderful for his beauty, there was nobody so unpolite, as when they saw Moses, they were not greatly surprised at the beauty of his countenance; nay, it happened frequently, that those that saw him on the river-side, were obliged to turn again upon seeing the child; that they left what they were about and stood still a great while to look on him, for the beauty of the child was so remarkable and natural to him on many accounts, that it detained the spectators, and made them longer to look upon him.

6. Thurnurius therefore, perceiving him to be so remarkable a child, adopted him for his son, and brought him up, and made him a king man. And when he was now five hundred years old, and had carried Moses to his father, she showed him to him, and said she thought to make him her father's successor, if it should please God she should have legitimate children of her own; and she said she would bring Moses before all the children of a divine form, and of a generous mind; and as I have received him from the bounty of the river, in a wonderful manner, I thought proper to trust the portion of the land of the heathen to him and his children. And when she had said this, she put the infant into her father's hands: so he took him, and hugging him close to his breast: and, on his daughter's account, in a pleasant way, put his

* What Josephus here means of the beauty of Moses, that he was of a divine form, is very like what St. Ste-
dismay upon his head; but Moses threw it down to the ground, and in a piteous mood, he wept for a while, and trod upon it with his feet, which seemed to bring along with it an evil presage concerning the kingdom of Egypt. But when the sacred scribe saw this, (he was the same person who foretold that the Egyptians would be overcome by Moses, if he should proceed according to 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 danger; he himself foretold that by his valor, and that by the same piece 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 Moses, instead of following the prediction of the same thing, by his trampling upon thy government, and treading upon thy disdern. Take him therefore out of the way, and deliver the Egyptians from the fear they are in about him; and destroy the Egyptians, because they have been of being discouraged by him." 

But Thermuthus prevented him, and snatched the child away. And the king was not hasty to slay him. God himself, whose providence protected Egyptians, who, in their reception of such education. Yet because if Moses had been slain, there was no one, neither skin or adopted, that had any oracle on his side for preventing the crown of Egypt, and likely to be of great advantage to them, they abstained from killing him.

CHAP. X.
How Moses made War with the Ethiopians.

1. Moses therefore when he was born, and brought up in the foregoing manner, and came to the age of maturity, made his virtue manifest to the Egyptians; and showed, that he was born for a king among men, and that from his infancy he had discerned the value of education. And the occasion he laid hold of was this; the Ethiopians, who are next neighbors to the Egyptians, made an inroad into their country, which they seized upon, and carried off the effects of the Egyptians, who, in their rapine, fought against them, and revenged the affronts they had received from them; but being overcome in battle, some of them were slain, and the rest ran away, and sought refuge in the desert, where they saved themselves, whereupon the Egyptians followed after them in the pursuit, and thinking that it would be a mark of cowardice if they did not subdue all Egypt, they went on to subdue these remote parts of the desert, where they had tasted the sweets of the country, they never left off the prosecution of the war: and as the nearest parts had not courage enough at first to fight with them, they proceeded as far as Memphis, and the sea itself, while not one of the cities were able to oppose them. The Egyptians, under this sad oppression, betook themselves to their oracles and prophecies, and when God had given them this counsel, to make use of Moses the child, who had been under their eyes, who commanded his daughter to produce him, that he might be the general of their army. Upon which, when she had made him swear he would do him no harm, she delivered him to the king, who commanded it should be of advantage to them. She withal reproached the priests who when they had before admonished the Egyptians to kill him, were not ashamed now to own their want of his heart.

2. So Moses, at the persuasion both of Thermuthus and the king himself, cheerfully undertook the business: and the sacred scribes of both nations were glad; those of the Egyptians, because they should have the means of overcoming the Ethiopians by his valor, and that by the same piece 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 Moses, instead of following the prediction of the same thing, by his trampling upon thy government, and treading upon thy disdern. Take him therefore out of the way, and deliver the Egyptians from the fear they are in about him; and destroy the Egyptians, because they have been disderned by him." But Thermuthus prevented him, and snatched the child away. And the king was not hasty to slay him. God himself, whose providence protected Egyptians, who, in their reception of such education. Yet because if Moses had been slain, there was no one, neither skin or adopted, that had any oracle on his side for preventing the crown of Egypt, and likely to be of great advantage to them, they abstained from killing him. 

* This history of Moses, as general of the Egyptians against the Ethiopians, is wholly omitted in our Bibles, but is thus cited by Irenæus, from Josephus, and that soon after. *See the Fragments of Irenæus, ad edit. Græc. p. 476. Nor perhaps did St. Stephen refer to any thing else, when he said of Moses, before he was sent by God to the Israelites, that he was not only learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, but was also mighty in words and deeds. Acts vii. 22. * Polybus speaks of these birds called Ibas, and says, "The Egyptians invoked them against the serpents." Hist. Nat. Book xi. ch. 26. Strabo speaks of this island of theInterop. Book xvii. p. 771, 786, and Book xvii. p. 821.
city. However, while Moses was uneasy at the army's lying idle, (for the enemies durst not come to a battle) this second happened: Tharinah 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 admired his conduct, and his undertakings, and believing him to be the author of the Egyptian success, when they had before despaired of recovering their liberty, and to be the occasion of the great danger the Ethiopians were in, when the Egyptians were boasted of their great achievements, she fell deeply in love with him; and upon the prevalency of that passion, sent to him the most faithful of her servants to discourse with him upon their marriage. He thereupon accepted the offer, on condition she would procure the delivering up of the city; and gave her the assurance of an oath to take her to his wife, and that when he had once taken possession of the city, he would not break his oath to her. Neither was the agreement made, but it took effect immediately; and when Moses had cut off the Ethiopians, he gave thanks to God, and consummated his marriage, and led the Egyptians back to their own land.

CHAP. XL

How Moses fled out of Egypt into Midian.

§ 1. Now the Egyptians, after they had been preserved by Moses, entertained a hatred to him, and were very eager in compassing their designs against him, as suspecting that he would take occasion, from his good success, to raise a sedition, to bring about the destruction of the body, and told the king he ought to be slain. The king had also some intentions of himself to the same purpose, and this as well out of envy at his glory, as out of fear of his army, as out of fear of being brought low by his ships; and being instigated by the sacred scriptures, 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 because 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 descried a country suitable to his situation, and seemed to him so happily situated. And when he came to the city of Midian, which lay upon the Red Sea, and was so demarcated from one of Abraham's sons by Keturah, he sat upon a certain rock, and rested himself there after his laborious journey and the affliction he had been in. It was not far from the city; and the time of the day was noon, where he had an occasion 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. There were now come therefore to this well seven sisters that were virgins, the daughters of Raguel, a priest, and one thought worthy by the people of the country of great honor; 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 Troglodytes, they came first of all, and drew water out of the well in a quantity sufficient for their flocks into troughs, which were made for the reception of that water. But when the shepherds came upon the maidens, and drove them away, that they might have the command of the water, Moses, thinking it would be an intolerable reproach upon him if he overlooked 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 answer to the офисe of the shepherds. In the mean time, Moses took thence a benefit that came from his father, and told him how they had been affronted by the shepherds, and assisted by a stranger, and entreated that he would come with him to the land of Midian, of which Moses was the king; and when Moses came, he told him what testimony his daughters bore to him, that he had assisted them; and that as he admired him for his virtue, he said, that Moses had bestowed such assistance on persons not of that sort, as he done in vain, nor go without a reward. Now the father took it well from his daughters that they were so desirous to reward his benefactor, and bid them bring Moses into his presence, that he might have the benefit of his great achievements, and the enjoyment of those lands; 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, and appointed him to be the superintendent over his cattle, for he of old all 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 favor of Jethro, for that was one of the names of Raguel, stayed there, and fed his flock; but some time afterward, taking his station at the mountain called Sinai, he drove his flocks thither to feed them. Now this is the highest of all the mountaintops in this land, or that region; and it was not before fed upon, because of the opinion men had that God dwelt there, the shepherds being afraid to ascend up to it. And here it was that Moses was presented with the bush; for a fire fed upon a thorn-bush; yet did the green leaves and the flowers continue untouched, and the fire did not at all consume the fruit branches, although the flames were 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 spake words to him. By which it signified to him how bold he had been in venturing to come into a place whither no man had ever come before, because the place was divine; and advised him to remove a great deal of danger to himself, and to be contented with what he had seen; and though he was not a self-made man, and the offspring of great men, yet that he should not pry any farther: and he foretold to him, that he should have glory and honor among men, by the blessing of God upon him. He also commanded him to go away thence with confidence to Egypt, in order to his 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 inhabit this happy land which your forefather Abraham inhabited, and shall have the enjoyment of all sorts of good things; and thou, by thy presence, shalt guide them to those good things." But although he promised him, when he had brought the Hebrews out of the land of Egypt, to come to that place, and to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving there. Such were the divine oracles which were delivered out of the fire.

2. But Moses was astonished at what he saw, and much more at what he heard; and he said, "I think it would be an instance of too great madness for me, one of that race, to come to thee, to distrust thy power, since I myself adore it, 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 ab-
BOOK II.—CHAP. XIII.

ites, should either persuade my own country-men to leave the country they now inhabit, and go over to a land whither I lead them: or, if they should be persuaded, how can I force them to permit them to depart and augment their own wealth and prosperity by their labours and works they put upon them."

3. But God persuaded him to be courageous on all occasions, and promised to be with him, and to not to lose his hope concerning the saving of men, and in his means, 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 water, which, when done, it crept along, and was become a serpent, and rolled itself round in its folds, and erected its head, as ready to ave itself on such as should assault 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 color like to chalk, but afterward it returned to its wonted color again. He also, upon God's command, took some of the water that was near him, and poured it upon the ground, and saw the color was that of blood. Upon the wonder that Moses showed at these signs, God exhorted him to be of good courage, and to be assured that he would be with him, to smite the Egyptians, and that he would make use of those signs in order to obtain belief among all men, that thou art sent by me, and dost all things according to my commands. Accordingly, I enjoin thee to make no more delay, but to make haste, and consider 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 now seen and heard these wonders, that assured him of the truth of these promises of God, had no room left him to dispute there: he entreated him to grant him that power when he should be in Egypt; and besought him to vouchsafe him the knowledge of his own name, and since he had heard and seen him, that he would also tell him his name, that when he offered sacrifice, he might invoke him by such name in his obligations. Whereupon God showed him to him his holy name, which had never been declared, from the creation of the world, being the name which it is not lawful for me to say any more.

Now these signs accomplished Moses, not then only, but always, when he prayed for them of all kinds, and whatever was to be done to the fire in the bush; and believing that God would be a gracious supporter to him, he hoped he should be able to deliver his own nation, and be calamities on the Egyptians.

CHAP. XIII.

You Moses and Aaron returned into Egypt to Pharaoh.

1. So Moses, when he understood that the Pharaoh, in whose reign he fled away, was dead, took leave of Raguel to go to Egypt, for the benefit of his own people: and he took with him Zipporah, the daughter of Raguel, whom he had promised to marry him; his sons Gershom and Elasar, and made haste into Egypt. Now the former of these names, Gersom, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies, that he was in a 'strange land;' and Elasar, that, by the assistance of the Egyptians, they should be saved out of the hands of the Egyptians. Now when they were near the bor-

ders, Aaron his brother, by the command of God met him, to whom he declared what had betfallen him at the mountain, and the commands that God had given him. But as they were going forward, the chief men among the Hebrews having learned that they were coming, met them: to whom Moses declared the signs he had seen; and while they could not believe them, he made them see them. So they took courage at these signs, and hoped well of their entire deliverance, as believing now that God took care of their preservation.

2. Since then Moses found that the Egyptians would be obedient to whatsoever he should direct, as they promised to be, and were in love with liberty, he came to the king, who had indeed but lately received the government, and told him how much he was in need of the good of the Egyptians, when they were despaired by the Ethiopians, and their country laid waste by them; and how he had been the commander of their forces, and had labored for them, as if they had been his own people; and he informed him in what danger he had been during that expedition, without having any proper returns made him, as he had deserved. He also informed him distinctly, what things happened to him at mount Sinai, and what he had received there, and what was done by God, in order to assure him of the authority of those commands which he had given him. He also exhorted him not to disbelieve what he had told him, nor to oppose the will of God to Egypt.

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

4. However, the king was no more moved, when this was shown him, than when he was first angry, he said, "That he should gain nothing by his cunning and shrewdness against the Egyptians." And he commanded him that was the chief task-master over the Egyptians, to give them no relaxation from the labor they had, nor compel them to submit to greater oppressions than early, does not appear.) Josephus also durest not set down the very words of the ten commandments, as we shall see here, Antiq. b III. c v. sect. 4, which supersessions silence, has got not been questioned by the Rabbin. There is, however, no doubt but both these cautious concealments were taught by the Pharisees, a body of men at once very wicked and very superstitious.
used, and were found among what they ate, and what they drank, and came in great numbers upon their beds. There was an intolerable stench and stink arose from them, as they were born, and as they died therein. Now, when the Egyptians were under the oppressions of these plagues, the king ordered Moses to take 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 natures. But as soon as Pharaoh saw the lands and waters restored to their former state, he kept all this in mind, and could not bear the thought of it, and retained the Hebrews; and, as though he had a mind to try the nature of such judgments, he would not yet suffer Moses and his people to depart, having granted that liberty which was but a moment of fear, than out of any good consideration.

3. Accordingly, God punished his falseness with another plague, added to the former; for there arose out of the bodies of the Egyptians into the country full of varmints, of which, wicked as they were, they miserably perished, as not able to destroy this sort of vermin, either without their waters, with or with ointments. At which terrible judgment, the king of Egypt was in disorder, upon the destruction of his enemies; but so as not to least his people should be destroyed, and that the manner of his death was also reproachful, so that he was forced in part to recover himself from his former reproach, and to give leave for the Hebrews themselves to depart. But when the plague thereof ceased, he thought it proper to require that they should leave their children and wives behind them, as they were sure to return, whereby also 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 for the sake of the Hebrews; for he was a man of unbelief, not only in the country full of varmints, of which, wicked as they were, they miserably perished, and the land was desolated for its cultivation, but if any thing escaped destruction from them, it was killed by a distemper, which the men underwent also. But when Pharaoh did not even then yield to the will of God; but while he gave leave to the husbands to take their wives with them, yet insisted that the children should be left behind, God presently resolved to punish his wickedness with several sorts of calamities, and which were more than the foregoing which yet had so generally afflicted them: for their bodies had terrible bites, breaking forth with boils, 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 climates in winter time, but larger than that which falls in the middle of spring to those that dwell in the northern and northwestern regions. This hail broke down the houses, and injured all with it. After this a tribe of locusts consumed the seed which was sown on account of the hail, so that to the Egyptians all the hopes of future fruits of the ground were entirely lost.

1 One would think the forementioned calamities might have been sufficient for one that was only foolish, without wickedness, to make him wise, and to make him sensible what was for his own destruction, see the note on Antiq. B. vii. ch. ix. sect. 6.

As to the winter or spring hail near Egypt and Judæa, see the like on thunder and lightning there, in the note on Antiq. B. vii. ch. x. sect. 6.
How the Hebrews, under the Conduct of Moses, left Egypt.

§ 1. So the Hebrews went out of Egypt, while the Egyptians wept, and repented that they had treated them so hardly. Now they took their journey by the land of the Jordan, where Moses spake to them to offer sacrifices to God of those cattle; and the time being prolonged on this account, a thick darkness, without the least light, spread itself over the Egyptians, whereby their sight being obliterated, and the air being thick with the thickness of the air, they died miserably, and under a terror lest they should be swallowed up by the dark cloud. Besides this, when the darkness, after three days and as many nights, was dispelled, and when Pharaoh did not still repeat, and let the Hebrews go, Moses came to him and said: "How long wilt thou be disobedient to the command of God? for he enjoins thee to let the Hebrews go; nor is there any other way of being freed to thee, than you are under, unless you do so." But the king was angry at what he said, and threatened to cut off his head, if he came any more to trouble him about these matters. Hereupon Moses said, he would be content to propose one thing, that he himself, together with the principal men among the Egyptians, should desire the Hebrews to go away. So when Moses had said this, he let him off his head.

6. But when God had signified, that with one more plague he would compel the Egyptians to let the Hebrews go, he commanded Moses to tell the people, that they should have a sacrifice reserved, that they might preserve the flesh of it on the tenth day of the month Xanthicus, against the fourteenth (which month is called by the Egyptians, Pharnuth, and Nisan by the Hebrews; but the Macedonians call it Xanthicus,) and that he should carry away the Hebrews and all they had. Accordingly, he having got the Hebrews ready, and having armed the men into tribes, he kept them together in one place; but when the fourteenth day came, they should offer the sacrifice, and purify their houses with the blood, using branches of hyssop for that purpose; and when they had supped, they burnt the residue. This was done, that they might observe the passover in like manner to this day, and call this festival "Passover," which signifies the feast of the passover, because on that day God passed us over, and saw us from the Egypt to the country of Canaan. At the destruction of the first-born came upon the Egyptians that night, so that many of the Egyptians, who lived near the king's palace, persuaded Pharaoh to let the Hebrews go. Accordingly he called for Moses, and bid them be gone; as signifying, that if once the Hebrews were gone out of the country, Egypt should be freed from its miseries. They also honored the Hebrews with gifts; some in order to get them to depart quickly, and others after, for the fear that they might be punished for their wickedness, and of the breach of those promises they had made to them. As also he led them this way on account of the Philistines, who had quarrelled with them, and hated them of old, so that all means they might not know of their departure, for their country is near to that of Egypt; and thence 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, so that after a long journey, and after many afflictions, they might enter upon the land of Canaan.

9 These large presents made to the Israelites, of vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and raiment, were, as Josephus truly calls them, gifts really given them, not lent on condition of being returned, as the translation supposed, nor borrowed of them, Gen. xvi. 14. Exod. xli. 22. xlii. 37, as the same version falsely renders the Hebrew word here used, Exod. xlii. 35, 36. God had ordered the Jews to demand these as their pay and reward, during their long and bitter slavery in Egypt, as amnesties for the lives of the Egyptians, and as the enlargement of their persons, and the purchase of their freedom, from the terror of these terrible judgments, which, had they not met so cease, they had soon been all dead men, as they themselves confess, chap. xlii. 25. Nor was there any sense in borrowing or lending, when the Israelites were finally departing out of the land for ever.

† Why our Masorete copy so groundlessly abridges this account in Exod. xii. 40, as to scripse 400 years to the sole perspiration of the Israelites in Egypt, when it is clear, even by that Masorete chronology elsewhere, as well as from the express text itself, in the Bamartim, Septuagint, and Josephus, that they sojourned in Egypt but half the time; and that by consequence, the other half of their sojournation fell among the Philistines of Canaan, before they came into Egypt, in Hard to say. See Essay on the Old Testament, p. 58, 63.
nann. 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 the Egyptians had been taken by 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 thousand organized with fifty thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand footmen, all armed. They also seized on the passages by which they imagined the Hebrews might fly, shutting them up between inaccessible precipices and the sea; for there was another sea (some call it) on either side of moun-
tains that terminated at the sea, which were impassable by reason of their roughness, and obstructed their flight; wherefore they there pressed upon the Hebrews with their army, where the right hand of the mountains was encircled with the sea, which army they placed at the chops of the mountains, that so they might deprive them of any passage into the plain.

4. When the Hebrews, therefore, were neither able to bear up, being thus, as it were, besieged, because they wanted provisions, nor saw any possible way of escaping; and if they should have thought of fighting, they had no weapons, they had destruction. Unless, when they delivered themselves up voluntarily to the Egyptians. So they laid the blame on Moses, and forgot all the signs that had been wrought by God for the recovery of their freedom; and their incredulity tempted them to throw stones at the prophet, while he encouraged them and promised them deliverance; and they resolved that they would deliver themselves up to the Egyptians. So there was sorrow and lamentation among the women and children, who had nothing but destruction before their eyes, while they were encompassed with mountains, the sea, and their enemies, and discerned no way of flying from them. Then, though the multitude looked fearfully at him, did not, however, give over the care of them, but despised all dangers out of his trust in God, who, as he had afforded them the several steps already taken for the recovery of their liberty, which he had foretold them, would not now suffer them to be subdued by their ene-
emies, to be either made slaves, or be slain by them. And standing in the midst of them, he said to them, as an officer for us, not just, even men, when they have hitherto well managed our af-
t fs, as if they would not be the same men hereafter; but it is no better than madness at this time to despair of the providence of God, by whom those things have been performed, which he promised, when you expected no such things: I mean, all that I have been con-
cerned 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 succor us, by whose operation it is that we are now encompassed within this narrow place, that he may deliver us out of such difficulties as are otherwise insurmountable, and in which neither you nor your enemies expect you can be delivered, and may at once demonstrate his own power, and his providence.

*Take the main part of Roland's excellent note here, which greatly illustrates Josephus, and the Scripture, in this history, as follows: "A traveler," says Roland, "whose name was Eneas, when he returned out of Egypt, told us that he went the same way from Egypt to Mount Sinai, which he supposed the Israelites of old traveled when they were commanded by God to go back, Exod. xiv. 9, and to pitch their camp between Migdol and the sea; and that when they were not able to fly under them, there were a city on each side by mountains. He also thought they were even in the same place, as he could reasonably infer, how it might be said that the Israelites were to

over us. Nor does God use to give his help in small difficulties to those whom he favors, but in such cases where no one else, or he may not, has the means to help them. Depend therefore upon such a protector as is able to make small things great, and to show that this mighty force against you is nothing but weakness when God is on your side. Egyptians, do not, therefore, despair of being preserved because the sea before, and the mountains behind, afford you no opportunity for flying, for even these mountains, if God so please, may be made plain ground for you, and the sea become dry land." }
BOOK II.—CHAP. XVI.

manifold destruction. But when they saw that their enemies were gone up into the mountain, and that no obstacle or difficulty fell in their journey, they made haste to pursue them, hoping that the sea would be calm for them also. They put their horse foremost, and went down themselves to the sea; and indeed up to this time those were putting on their armor, and therein spending their time, were beforehand with them, and escaped them, and got first over to the land on the other side, without any hurt. Whence the sea began now to become stormy, and the Egyptians pursued them, as hoping no harm would come to them neither: but the Egyptians were not aware that they went into a road made for the Hebrews, and not for others; that this road was given only to the Hebrews, for the destruction of all men of time, who were free from the wickedness 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 Macedonia, who yet lived comparatively but a little while ago, the Pamphylia sea retired and afforded them a passage through itself, when they had no other way. Then, seeing that their manner was 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-}

theses, Strabo, Arrian, and Apian—as to Callithеile-}

nes, who himself accompanied Alexander in this ex-}

of these storms of wind, thunder, and lightning, at this drowning of Pharaoh's army, almost wanting in our history, is distinctly mentioned in the works of Pali. ix. 16. 17. 18, and in that of Josephus here, see Essay on the Old Testament, appendix, p. 154, 155.

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the Nile's map, which is made from the best travelers thereby observed the passage of the Egyptians, and the van of the Hebrews, to have been almost covered by a sea of sand. What a wonder, indeed, was there anything which used to be sent by God upon men, as indications of his wrath, which did not happen at this time, for a dark and dismal night oppressed them. And thus did all these men, who were left that were not slain or drowned, and went over in so short a time, be a messenger of this calamity to the rest of the Egyptians.

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

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

CHAPTER I.

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

1. **When the Hebrews had obtained such a wonderful deliverance from the tyranny of the Pharaoh, they were in a great trouble to them, for it was entirely a desert, and without all sustenance for them; and also had exceeding little water, so that it not only was not at all sufficient for the men, but not enough to feed the cattle; for it was salt and brackish, and had no moisture that might afford nutriment to the vegetables; so they were forced to travel over this country, as having no other country but this to travel in. They had indeed carried water along with them from the land over which they had travelled before, as their conductor had bidden them: but when that was spent, they were obliged to draw water out of wells, with pails and other instruments, from the bottom of the soil. Moreover, what water they found was bitter, and not fit for drinking, and this in small quantities also. And as they thus travelled, they came late in the evening to a place called *Marah,* which had this name from the badness of its water, for Mar denotes bitterness. Thither they came afflicted, both by the tediousness of their journey, and by their want of food, for it entirely failed them at that time. Now here was a well, which made a deliverance to them in the place which, although it were not sufficient to satisfy so great an army, did yet afford them some comfort, as found in such desert places; for they heard from those that had been to search, that there was a water there to be found where they travelled farther. Yet was this water bitter, and not fit for men to drink; and not only so, but it was intolerable even to the cattle themselves.

So now how much the people were cast down, and that the occasion of it could not be contradicted, for the people were not in the nature of a complete army of men, who might oppose a manly fortitude to the necessity that distressed them, the multitude of the children, and of the women also, being of too weak capacities to be persuaded by reason, blunted the courage of the men themselves. Moses therefore was in great difficulties, and made 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 besought himself to prayer to God, and then changed the face of the present badness, and made it fit for drinking. And when God had granted him that favor, he took the top of a stick that lay down at his feet, and divided it in the middle, and made the section holy. Hereafter let us determine what he should enjoy the next to do; and this not after a remiss or negligent manner. And when they asked, what they were to do in order to have the water changed for the better, he bade the strongest stand in the brook, and they that were next 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 labored at it till the water was so agitated and purged as to be fit to drink.

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 scarce water-trees; it was the want of water, for the country about was all parched, and no moisture sufficient to water them, and make them hopeful and useful, was derived to them from the fountains, which were in number. But these wells were not in a line, but rather than springs, which not breaking out of the ground, nor running over, could not sufficiently water the trees. And when they dug into the sand, they met only to find a few drops of it in 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 watered 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 then journeyed an entire thirty

* Dr. Bernard takes notice here, that this place, Mar, where the waters were bitter, is called by the Syrums and others, and the Sar, that sometimes Marath, all derived from the Hebrew Mar: he also takes notice, that it is called the bitter fountain by Phiny himself; and that, in Deut. xxviii. 30, it remain there four days, and are still bitter, as Thevenot assured us; and that there are also abundance of palm-trees, see his Travels, part i. chap. xxvi. p. 160.

† The additions here to Moses's account of the sweetening of the water at Marath, seem derived from some ancient profane writer; and, as the author also as a rule, less substantive than are usually followed by Josephus. Philo has not a syllable of these additions, nor any other more ancient writer that we know of. Had Josephus written these as antiquities for the use of Jews, he would hardly have given them these very improbable circumstances; but writing to Gentiles, that
days, and had spent all the provisions they had brought with them, and meeting with no relief, they were in a very desponding condition. And 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 same hand and wisdom of Moses also; so they were very angry at their conductor, and were zealous in their attempt to stone him, as the direct occasion of their present misery.

4. But Moses for himself, while the multitude were irritated and bitterly set against him, he cheerfully relied on God, and upon the consciousness of the care he had taken of these his own people, and upon the fact that even while they clamored against him, and had 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 message, to the multitude in their present unseasonable, to cast those great and wonderful favors 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 would make by the means of that divine Providence which watched over them; seeing it is probable, that God tries their virtue, and exercises their patience by these things, that he may learn what forbearance they have, and what memory they retain of his former wonderful works in their favor, and whether they will not think of them upon occasion of the miseries they now feel. He told them that God had sent them good men, either in patience, or in remembering what had been successfully done for them, sometimes by contending God and his commands, when by those commands they left the land of Egypt, and sometimes by exhibiting themselves ill to, and 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 before them; but the more they thought of this, the more they attempted to detain them, contrary to the command of God; and after what manner the same river was to the others bloody, and as it were so thick as mush, and to the Israelites, but was to them sweet, and fit for drinking, and for passing through the sea, which fied 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, it came not too late, it came not too late. And instead of great misfortunes 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 their fortitude, and the pleasure they take in this, that on the contrary, those who have souls great enough to bear want of food, and scarcity of water on its account; or whether they love to be slaves, as cattle are slaves to such as own them, and feed them liberally, but only when it is necessary, to make them more useful in their service. That as for himself, he shall not be so much concerned for his own preservation; for if he die unjustly, he shall not reckon it any affliction, but that he is concerned for them, lest, by casting stones at him, they should be thought to condemn God himself.

5. By this means Moses pacified the people, and restrained them from stoning him, and brought them to repent of what they were going to do. And because he thought the necessity they were under so pressing, that it would be impossible for them to restrain themselves, he thought he ought to apply himself to God by prayer and supplication; and going up to an eminence, he requested of God some succor for the people, and some way of deliverance from the want they were in, because in 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, he promised he would take care of them, and afford them the succor they were desirous of. Now when Moses had heard this from God, he came down to the multitude, as they saw him joyful at the promises he 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 to bring their God's excellent favor to the midst 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, that flying over the sea, and coming over them, till, weared with its voracious 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 were supplied with all that was needful, whereby God meant to supply them with food. Upon which Moses returned thanks to God for affording him 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 stick to his hands, supposed this was also come for food from God to the people; but the people knew not what it was, and thought it snowed; and that it was usually fell at that time of the year, he informed them, that this dew did not fall from heaven after the manner they imagined, but came for their preservation in this extremity. 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 after they were enjoined 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 overbearing of the strong men. After this, it was observed that the strong men, when they had gathered more than the measure appointed for their, they had no more than others, but only tired themselves more in gathering it, for they found no more than a homer was necessary. Moreover, he that got by what was superfluous was none at all, it corrupting, both by the worms breeding in it, and by its bitterness. So divine and wonderful a food this was! It also supplied the want of...
other sorts of food to those that fed on it. And even now in all that place this manna comes down in rain. According to what Moses then obtained of God, to send it to the people for their sustenance. Now the Hebrews call this food manna; for it parted from the air, in the wilderness, is the asking of a question. What is this? So the Hebrews were very joyful at what was sent them from heaven. Now they made use of this food for forty years, or as long as they were in the wilderness.

1. As soon as they were removed thence, they came to Rephidim, being distressed to the last degree by thirst; and while in the foregoing days they had lit on a few small fountains, but now found none, they being a long way distant from any water, there were in an evil case. They again turned their anger against Moses; but he at first avoided the fury of the multitude, and then betook himself to prayer to God, beseeching him that as he had given them food when they were in the greatest want of it, so he would give them drink, since the favor of giving them food was of no value to them while they had nothing to drink. And God did not delay to give it them; but promised Moses by his prophet to procure for them a fountain, and plenty of water from a place they did not expect any: so he commanded him to smite the rock, which they saw lying there, with his rod, and out of it to receive plenty of water, which they wanted; and they did take care not such should come to them without any labor or pains-taking. When Moses had received this command from God, he came to the people who waited for him, and looked upon him, for they saw already that he was parted from the sight of his eminence. As soon as he was come, he told them that God would deliver them from their present distress, and had granted them an unexpected favor; and that a river should spring out of the rock, their sakes out of the rock. But they were amazed at that hearing, supposing they were of necessity to cut the rock in pieces, now they were distressed by their thirst and by their journey; while Moses, only smiting the rock with his rod, opened a passage, and out of it burst out water, and that in great abundance, and very clear. But they were astonished at this wonderful effect, and, as it were, quenched their thirst with one mouthful of the sweet, pleasant, this sweet water; and such it seemed to be, as might well be expected where God was the donor. They were also in admiration how Moses was honored by God; and they made great advances of service to him for his procuring of this divine providence towards them. Now that Scripture which is laid up in the temple informs us, how God foretold to Moses, that water should in this manner be derived out of the rock.

CHAP. II.
How the Amalekites, and the neighboring Nations, made war with the Hebrews, and were beaten, and lost a great part of their Army.

§ 1. The name of the Hebrews began already to be every where renowned, and rumors about

them ran abroad. This made the inhabitants of those countries to be in no small fear. Accordingly, they sent ambassadors to one another, and exhorted one another to defend themselves, and to endeavor to destroy these men. Those that incline to the work to do were such as inhabited Gobolitis and Petra. They were called 'Amalekites, and were the most warlike of the nations that lived therewith; and whose kings exhorted one another, and their neighbors, to go to war with the Hebrews; so that an army of strangers and such a one as had ran away from slavery under the Egyptians, lay in wait to ruin them, which army they were not, in common prudence and regard to their own safety, but ignorant of their number of their strength, and come to be in 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 nation's independence, by which they had been in abundance of wilderness, but that this cannot be so well done when they have once laid their hands on our cities, and our goods: that those who endeavor to crush a power in its first rise, are wiser than those who wait to make it strong with their assistance, and of the power and strength, when it is become formidable; for these last seem to be angry only at the flourishing of others, but the former do not leave any nourishment to their enemy, it becomes troublesome to them. After they had sent spies to the neighboring nations, and among one brother, they resolved to attack the Hebrews in battle.

2. These proceedings of the people of these countries occasioned perplexity and trouble to Moses, who expected no such warlike preparations. And when these nations were ready to fight, and the multitude of the Hebrews were obliged to try the fortune of war, they were in a mixed situation; and, in want of all necessities, and yet were to make war with men who were thoroughly well prepared for it. Then therefore it was that Moses began to encourage them, and to exhort them to have a good heart, and rely on God's assistance, by which they had been advanced into a state of freedom, and to hope for victory over those who were ready to fight with them, in order to deprive them of that blessing. That they were to suppose their own army to be strong and full of valor, as in substance, not in number, nor provisions, nor such other conveniences as when men are in possession of, they fight undauntedly: and that they are to judge themselves to have all these advantages in their own hands for the enemy's army to be small, unarm'd, weak, and such as want those advantages which they know must be wanted, when it is God's will that they shall be beaten. And how valuable God's assistance is, they had experienced in abundance of trials; and those such as were more terrible than war, for that is only against men, but these were against famine and thirst: things indeed hard; but in their own nature insuperable; as also against all men's, and the wideness of their space, they afforded them no way of escaping; yet had all these difficulties been conquered by God's gra-

a: a divided or portion allotted to every one. It is uncertain: incline to the latter derivation. This name is called 'angels' food,' Psal. lxviii. 23, and by our Saviour, John vi. 32; and as by Josephus here and elsewhere, Exod. ch. vii. sec. ii. said to be sent the Jews from heaven.

* This rock is there to this day, as the travelers agree, and as it is seen; but it seems difficult to allow that it had not been seen before. However, this food from Heaven is here described to be like bread, and as angel food, a little hard, but it is compared to meat, like to oatmeal, in color like snow, I lined down by God,' Exon. on the Old Testament, p. 252. But as to the derivation of the word 'manna,' whether from Man, which Josephus may have signified, what is it? or from 'mannah;' to divide, is. e.
for their own private families, whereas till then they had not any sort of plenty, of even necessary food. The forest-stoned battle, when they had once got it, was also the occasion of their prosperity, not only for the present but for the future ages also; for they not only made slaves of all the enemies, but subdued their minds also; so that this battle was credible to all that dwelt round about them. Moreover, they acquired a vast quantity of riches: for a great deal of silver and gold was left in the enemies' camp; also brazen vessels, which they made into vessels of their use. There were also the soldiers' utensils also that were embroidered, there were of both sorts, that is, of what were weaved, and what were the ornaments of their armor, and other things that served for use in the family and for the furnishing of their rooms: they got also the prey of their cattle, and of whatsoever uses to follow camps when they remove from one place to another. So the Hebrews now valued themselves upon their courage, and claimed great merit for their value; and they perfidiously injured themselves to take pains, by which they deemed every difficulty might be surmounted. Such were the consequences of this battle.

4. On the next day Moses took the dead bodies of the enemies, and gathered together the armor of those that were slain and gave rewards to such as had signalized themselves in the action; and highly commended Joshua, their general, who attended to be employed about the account of the great actions he had done. Nor 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 foretold that the Amalekites should utterly be destroyed; and that hereafter none of them should remain, because they fought against the Hebrews, and that was their wickedness, and in their distress also. Moreover, he refreshed the army with feasting. And thus did they fight this first battle with those that ventured to oppose them, after they were gone out of Egypt. But, when Moses and 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 they had now many soldiers in light armor. And going great length from the camp, to the wilderness of Sinai, in three months' time after they were removed out of Egypt; at which mountain, as we have before related, the vision of the bush, and the other wonderful appearances had happened.

CHAP. III.

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

§ 1. Now when Raguel, Moses' father-in-law, understood in what a prosperous condition his affairs were, he willingly came to meet him; and Moses took Zipporah his wife, and his children, and his father-in-law with his children, and brought them to the wilderness of Sinai, as to him who had been the author and procurer of their deliverance, and their freedom. They lived, till the clergy, instead of hearing their prayers by heart, "read them out of a book, which is, in great measure, inconsistent with such an elevated posture of practice, introduced not only in the church, though the constant use of divine forms of prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, appears to me to have been the practice of God's people, Patriarchs, Jews, and Christians, in all the ages."

* This eminent circumstance, that while Moses' hands were lift up towards heaven, the Israelites prevailed, and while they were let down towards the earth, the Amalekites prevailed, seems to me the only means of preserving, and maintaining, the most seasonable victory; for they not only overcame those that fought against them, but terrified also the neighboring nations, and got great and splendid advantage, which they obtained by their victory; and pleased hath with his cure, that 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 of the feast. But Aaron and his family took abundance of meat, as to him who had been the author and procurer of their deliverance, and their freedom. They
also praised their conductor, as him by whose virtue it was, that all things had succeeded so well with them. Raguel also, in his eucharisti- cal oration to Moses, made great encomiums upon the multitude; and he could not but admire Moses for his fortitude, and that huma- nity he had showed in the delivery of his friends.

CHAP. IV.

How Raguel suggested to Moses to set Peoples in Order under their Rulers of Thousands, and Rulers of Hundreds, who lived without Order before: and how Moses compiled in all things with his Father-in-law’s Admonition.

1. This 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 sitting in a corner, 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, to the contrary, thought it not his part to judge, but rather not to be as 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 told him that he had made him in what he ought to do; and advised him to leave the trouble of lesser causes to others, but himself to take care of the greater, and of the people’s safety, for that certain others of the He- brews might be found that were disposed to do great causes, but that nobody but a Moses could take care of the safety of so many ten thousands. Be not therefore, says he, insensible of thine own virtue, and what thou hast done by ministering unto the people on the people’s petition. Permit therefore, the determination of common causes to be done by others, but dothown reserve thy- self to the attendance on God only; and look out for methods of preserving the multitude from the present distress. Make use of the method I suggest you to as human affairs; and take a review of the army, and appoint chosen rulers over tens of thousands, and then over thousands; then divide them into five hundreds, and again into hundreds, and into fifties; and set rulers over each of them, who may distinguish them into thirty, and keep them in order; and at last num- ber them by twenties and by tens: and let there be no man put over each other, to be dealt with by a nominated from the number of those over 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 controversies they have with one 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 even for their determination, let them send it to thee. By these means the advantages will be gained: that the Hebrews will have jus- tice done them; and thou wilt be able to attend constantly on God, and procure him to be more favorable.

2. This was the admonition of Raguel; and Moses received his advice very kindly, and acted according to his suggestion. Nor did he conceal his invention of this method, nor pretend to it himself, but informed the multitude who it was that invented it: say, he has named Raguel in the books he wrote as that person who invented this ordering of the people, as thinking it right to give a true testimony to worthy persons, although he might have gotten reputation by charging to himself the invention of other men. Whence we may learn the virtuous disposition of Moses: but of such his disposition, we shall have proper occasion to speak in other places of these books.

CHAP. V

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

1. Now Moses called the multitude together and told them he was going from them unto mount Sinai, to converse with God; to receive from him, and to bring back with him a certain oracle; but he enjoined them to pitch their tents near the mountain, and prefer the habituation that was nearest to God, before one farther remote. When he had said this, he ascended up to mount Sinai, which is the highest of all the mountains that are in that country, and not only was not to be ascended by men, on account of its vast alti- tude, but because of the sharpness of its precipi- tices also: nay, indeed, it cannot be looked at nor entered in; for the air was terrible and inaccessible, on account of the rumor that passed about, that God dwelt there. But the Hebrews removed their tents, as Moses had bidden them, and took possession of the lowest parts of the mountain; and were elevated 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 in a manner of fasting; and they sent with their wives for three days, as he had before ordered them to do. And they prayed to God, that he would favorably receive Moses in his conversing with him; and beseech some such gift of his, as would make the Hebrews live, which they also lived more plentifully as to their diet, and put on their wives and children more ornamental and decent clothing than they usually wore.

2. So they passed two days in this way of fasting; but on the third day, before the sun was up, a cloud spread itself over the whole camp of the Hebrews, such a one as none had before seen, and encompassed the place where they lay; and being cast and lifted up, was seen to stand on the mountain, and the air was clear, there came strong winds, that raised up large showers of rain, which became a mighty tempest. There was also such lightning as was terrible to those that saw it; and thunder with its thunderbolts were sent down, and declared God to be there present in a gracious way to such as Moses desired he should be gracious. Now, as to these matters, every one of my read- ers may think as he pleases: but I am under a necessity of relating this history, as it is descri- bed in the sacred books. This sight, and the amazing sounds that came to their ears, disturbed the Hebrews to a prodigious degree, for they were terrified, because they were accustomed, and then the rumor that was spread abroad, how God frequented that mountain, greatly astonish- ed their minds; so they sorrowfully contained themselves within their tents, as both supposing Moses in danger, from the disturbance that promised expecting the like destruction for themselves,
3. When they were under these apprehensions, Moses appeared as joyful and greatly exalted. We may see the merit both of his fear, and of his joy, in the scripture before us, taken together with the people to a congregation, in order to their hearing what God would say to them: and when they were gathered together, he stood on an eminence whence they might all hear him, and the voice of his words appeared, as if Hebrews, as he had formerly done; and hath suggested a happy method of living for you, and an order of political government, and is now present in the camp: I therefore charge you for his sake, and the sake of his works, and what we have done by his means, that you do not put a low value on what I am going to say, because the commands have been given by me that now deliver them to you, nor because it is the tongue of a man that delivers them to you; but you have a due regard to the great importance of the things themselves, you will understand the greatness of himself whose institutions they are, and who has not disclaimed to communicate the means for our comfort, but the means for it is now to be supposed, that the author of these institutions is barely Moses, the son of Amram and Jochebed, but who opposed the Nile to run back: he showed them by the means of the Egyptians by various sorts of judgments: he who provided a way through the sea for us: he who contrived a method of sending us food from heaven, when we were distressed for want of it: he who provided the water toissue out of a rock, when we had very little of it before: he by whose means Adam was made to partake of the fruits both of the land and of the sea: he by whose means Noah escaped the deluge: he by whose means the Hebrews wandered in the wilderness for forty years: he who provided the food of Canaan: he by whose means Isaac was born: he by whose means Jacob was adorned with twelve virtuous sons: he by whose means Joseph was made a potent lord over the Egyptians: he is it who conveys these instructions to you by me as his interpreter: and let them be to you venerable, and to your children, and to your children's children, and to your own children, and your own wives; for if you follow them, you will lead a happy life: you will enjoy the land fruitful, the sea calm, and the fruit of the womb born complete, as nature regards it, even as 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 practise, that the energy of what should be said might be the more weighty, by that tongue of a man, which could but imperfectly deliver it to their understanding. And they all heard a voice that came to all of them from above, standing in the tent and words escaped them, which Moses wrote in two tables; which it is not lawful for us to set down directly, but their import we will declare.

5. The first commandment teaches us that this is a law to God, that we ought to worship him only. The second commandments teach us to make the image of any living creature 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, for the sake of 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 when the multitude had heard God himself giving those precepts which Moses had discovered to them, they rejoiced at what was said, and the congregation was dissolved: but on the following days they came to his tent, and desired him to bring them, beside, other laws from God. Accordingly he appointed such laws: and afterward informed them in what manner they should act in all cases: which laws I shall make mention of in their proper time; but I shall reserve most of those laws for another work, and make there a distinct explication of them.

7. When matters 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 own distresses and the troubles of the nation. However, the camp durst not remove all this while, because Moses had bid them afore to stay there.

8. But when the forty days, and as many nights, were over, Moses was not 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 so would reveal to them how they should remove from this place; and that there would be no longer any occasion for going up to mount Sinai, but that he would come himself and pitch his tabernacle there, and be present at our prayers; as also, that the tabernacle was the means of such measures and construction 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, and the ten commandments engraved upon them, fire upon each table: and the writing was by the hand of God.
Concerning the Tabernacle which Moses built in the Wilderness, for the honor of God, and which seemed to be a Temple.

1. Therefore the Israelites rejoiced at what they saw. They then and heard of the conductor, and were not wanting in diligence according to their ability; but they brought silver, and gold, and brass, and of the best sorts of wood, and such as would not at all decay by putrefaction: camels' hair, goat's hair, ram's skin, sable skins, scarlet, and pure blue color, and some of a scarlet; some brought the flower for the purple color, and others for white: with wool died by the flowers aforesaid; and fine linen and precious stones, which those that used costly garments set in their tuches of gold; they brought also a great quantity of spices; for of these materials did Moses build the tabernacle, which did not at all differ from a moveable temple. When these things were brought together with great diligence, for every one was ambitious to further the work even beyond their ability, he set architects over the works, and this by the commandment of God; and indeed it was marvelous, to see the power of instruction, which the people themselves would have chosen, had the election been allowed to them. Now their names are set down in writing in the sacred books; and they were these, Bezaleel, the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah of the tribe of Judah. And Aholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan. Now the people went on with what they had undertaken with so great sincerity, that Moses was not able to do it without their help. And the providence, that what had been brought was sufficient, as the artificers had informed him. So they fell to work upon the building of the tabernacle. Moses informed them, according to the directions of God, both when the measure were to be, and its largeness; and how many vessels it ought to contain, for the use of the sacrifices. The women also were ambitious to do their parts, about the garments of the priests, and about other things that would be wanted in this work, both for ornament, and for the divine service itself.

2. Now when all things were prepared, the gold was melted and prepared, and the silver, and the brass, and all that was woven, Moses, when he had appointed beforehand that there should be a festival, and that sacrifices should be offered according to every one's ability, reared up the tabernacle. And when all were brought in, and the father of the tent was put, and the floor set, and fifty cubits long, and a hundred and four feet high, it was set up. Then were the pillars of brass, and the representation of the twelve tribes of Israel. And the eastern, and the west wall were six. Now all these tenons and sockets accurately fitted one another, so much that the joints were invisible, and both seemed to be one entire and unbroken piece. It was all of gold, both within and without. The number of pillars was equal on the opposite sides, and there were on each part twenty, and every one of them had the third part of a span in thickness: so that the number of thirty cubits, and its breadth was twelve [ten cubits. There were also pillars made of wood, twenty on each side; they were wrought into a quadrangular figure, in breadth a cubit and a half, but the thickness was four cubits. And then Moses placed of the sons of Aaron on the two sides, and of the tribe of Levi on the two sides, inwardly and outwardly; they 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. But on the west wall, on the other side, all the west wall were six. Now all these tenons and sockets accurately fitted one another, so much that the joints were invisible, and both seemed to be one entire and unbroken piece. It was all of gold, both within and without. The number of pillars was equal on the opposite sides, and there were on each part twenty, and every one of them had the third part of a span in thickness: so that the number of thirty cubits, and its breadth was twelve [ten cubits. But as to the wall behind, where the six pillars made up together only nine cubits, they made two other pillars, and cut them out of one pillar, and divided it in the middle. The nine cubits which had been made equal to the other. Now every one of the pillars had rings of gold affixed to their fronts outward, as if they had taken root in the pillars, and stood one row over against another, and another, and another, and another. And they set the inserted bars gilt over with gold, each of them five cubits long, and these bound together the pillars, the head of one bar running into another, after the nature of one tenon inserted into another. But for the wall behind, there was but one row of bars that went through all the pillars into which row ran the ends of the bars on each side of the longer walls, the male with its female being so fastened in their joints, that they held the whole firmly together; and for this reason was all this jointed so fast together, that the tabernacle might not be shaken, either by the winds, or by any other means, but that it might preserve its firmness and stability.

4. As for the inside, Moses parted its length into three partitions. At the distance of ten cubits from the most secret end Moses placed four pillars, whose workmanship was the very same with that of the west, and the like distance from the like bases with them, each a small matter distant from his fellow. Now, the room within those pillars was the 'Most Holy Place;' but the rest of the room was the Tabernacle, which was open for the priests. However, this proportion of the measures of the tabernacle proved to be an imitation of the system of the world: for that third part thereof which was within the four,
BOOK III.—CHAP. VI.

pilasters, to which the priests were not admitted, as it were a hand stretched from God, but the space of the twenty cubits, as it were, sea and land, on which men live, and so this part is peculiar to the priests only. But at the front, where the entrance was made, they placed pilasters of fine linen, another of purple, another of scarlet colors, embroidered. The first was ten cubits every way, and this they spread over the tabernacle on the ground, and the second a cubit above the first, and they kept the most holy place concealed within: and this was that which made this part not visible to any. Now the whole temple was called 'The Holy Place,' but that part which was within he twelve pillars which were added, was called 'The Holy of Holies.' This vault was very ornamental, and embroidered with all sorts of flowers which the earth produces, and there were interwoven into it a variety that might be an ornament, excepting the forms of animals. Another vault there was which covered the five pillars that were at the entrance: it was like the former in its magnitude, and texture, and there was the curtain the color of a pillar, a ring retained it from the top downwards half the depth of the pillars, the other half affording an entrance for the priest, who crept under it. Over this there was a vail of linen, on which was the name of the Lord, to show that it was to be drawn this way or that way by cords, whose rings, fixed to the texture of the vail, and to the cords also, were subservient to the drawing and undrawing of the vail, and to the fastenings of the same, and the covering of the head, so that there was no hindrance to the view of the sanctuary, especially on solemn days; but that on other days, and especially when the weather was inclined to snow, it might be expanded, and afford a shelter, nor was it done with a view to that custom of ours is derived, of having a fine linen vail after the temple has been built, to be drawn over the entrances. But the ten other curtains were four cubits in breadth, and twenty-eight in length, and had golden clasps, in order to join the one curtain to the other, which was done so exactly that they seemed to be one entire curtain; these were spread over the temple from the top to the bottom, and the pillars which were beside, having a ledge of four fingers depth, that went round about like a spiral, on the upper and lower part of the body of the work. Upon every one of the feet was there also inserted a ring, not fastened with the other, was a ring in the beam of wood beneath, but gilded, to be taken out upon occasion, there being a cavity where it was joined to the rings: for they were not entire rings, but before they came quite round they ended in scythe points, so that when they were inserted into the prominent part of the table, and the other into the foot; and by these it was carried when they journeyed. Upon this table, which was placed on the north side of the tent, and the other which was layed twelve unleavened loaves of bread, six upon each heap, one above another: they were made of two tenth deals of the purest flour, which tenth deal [a homer] is a measure of the Hebrews, containing seven Athenian cotsyles: and above those loaves were put two vials full of frankincense. Now after seven days other loaves were brought in their stead, on the day which is by us called the Sabbath, we call it by the name of the Sabbath: but for the occasion of this invention of placing loaves here, we will speak of it in another place.

7. Over against this table, near the southern wall, was set a candlestick of cast gold; hollow within, being the weight of one hundred pounds, which the Hebrews call cinchares, if it be turned into the Greek language, it denotes a talent. It was made with its knobs, and lilies, and pomegranates, and bowls, (which ornaments amounted to seventy in all,) by which stands the shaft elevated itself on high from a single base, and spread itself into as many branches as there are planets, including the sun among them, it terminated in seven heads, in one row, all standing parallel to one another; and these branches carried seven lamps, one by one, in imitation of the number of the planets; these lamps looked to the east and to the south, the candlestick being situate obliquely.

8. Now between this candlestick and the table, which, as we said, were within the sanctuary, was the altar of incense, made of wood, indeed, but of the same work of which the seven vessels were made, such as was not liable to corruption: it was entirely crusted over with a golden plate. Its breadth on each side was a cubit, but the length of it in the midst was a grate of gold, that was not extant above the altar, which had a golden crown encompassing it round about, whereunto belonged rings and bars, by which the priests carried it when they journeyed.
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 brazen plates as bright as gold. It had also a brazen hearth of network, for the ground underneath received the fire from the hearth, because it had no basis to receive it. Hard by this altar lay the basins, and the vials, and the censors, of gold, made of one piece; but the other vessels, made for the use of the sacrifices, were all of brass. And such was the construction of the tabernacle; and these were the vessels 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 Festivals, 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 'Cahannah' [priestly] garments, as also for the high priest, which they call 'Cahannah Rabben,' and denote 'the high priest's garments.' Such things, 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 that which is called 'Mechanean,' which means this: that is fastened on. It is a girdle, composed of fine twined linen, and is put about the privy parts, the feet being to be inserted into them, in the nature of breeches; but about half of it is cut off, and it ends at the thighs, and is there fastened.

2. Over this he wore a linen vestment, made of fine flax doubled: it is called 'Chethone,' and denotes 'linen,' for we call linen by the name of 'Chethone.' This vestment reaches down to the feet, and sits close to the body; and has sleeves that are tied fast to the arms: it is girded to the breast a little above the elbows, by a girdle often going round, four fingers broad, but so loosely woven, that you would think it was the skin of a young lamb, of the epheb, scarlet, and purple, and blue, and fine twined linen; but the warp was nothing but fine linen. The beginning of its circumscription is at the breast; and when it has gone often round, it is tied under both arms, and diverges from the neck; and the joint of the vestment is made with stitches of blue ribands: and thus it is fastened at the ankles: I mean this, all the time the priest is not about any laborious service, for in this position it appears in the most agreeable manner to the spectators; but when he is obliged to assist at the offering sacrifices, and to do the appointed service, that he may not be hindered in his operations by its motion, he throws it to the left, and bears it on his shoulder. Moses indeed calls this both 'Abaneth,' but we have learned from the Babylonians to call it Emia, for so is it by them called. This vestment has no loose or hollow parts anywhere in it, but only a narrow aperture about the neck; and it is tied with certain strings having within them a golden thread introd but in the back, and is fastened above each shoulder; it is called 'Massabazaan.'

3. Upon his head he wears a cap, not brought to a conic form, or enwrapping the whole head, but still covering more than the half of it, which is called 'Mas含まれมิวฟีกุอ์s: 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 in these places. This piece of fine linen covers the whole cap from the upper part, and reaches down to the forehead and the seams of the swathes. which would otherwise appear indecently: this abides closely upon the solid part of the head, and is fastened on behind with a black thread, and tied 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, as we have described, without abating one; only these he puts on a vestment of a blue color. This also is a long robe, reaching to his feet; in our language it is called 'Meisir, and is tied round with a girdle, embroidered with the same color and flowers as the former, with a mixture of gold interwoven;—to the bottom of which garment are hung fringes, in color like pomegranates, with golden bells,* by a beautiful curvitation: so that between two bells is one pomegranate, and between two pomegranates a bell. Now this vesture was not composed of two pieces, nor was it sewed together upon the shoulders and the sides, but it was one piece, so that it made a whole. The figure 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: it was also parted where the hands were.

5. Besides these, the high priest put on a third garment, which was called the Ephod, which resembled the Eponia of the Greeks. Its make was after this manner: it was woven to the depth of a cubit, of several colors, with gold intermixed, 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 colors of the ephod, and called 'Essen' (the breastplate,) which in the Greek language signifies the Oracle. This piece exactly filled up the void, and was made with rings on every corner, the like rings being annexed to the ephod, and a blue riband was made use of to tie them together by those rings; and that the space between the rings might not be seen either, they covered it, and set them by stitches of blue ribands. There were also two sardonixes upon the ephod, at the shoulders, to fasten it in the nature of buttons, having each end running to the sardonixes of gold, that they might be buttoned by them. On these were engraved 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 eleven side names were on the right shoulder. Twelve stones also were there upon the breast-plate, extraordinary in largeness and beauty; and they were an ornament not to be purchased by men, because of their immense value. These stones were set in the breast-plate according to a row, and were inserted into the breastplate itself, and they were set in ooches 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 sardonix, a topaz, and an

* The use of these golden bells at the bottom of the high priest's long garment, seems to have been this, that shaking them together at the time of his offering license in the temple, on the great day of expiation, or at other proper periods of his sacred ministrations through the year, the people might have notice of it, and might fall to their own prayers at the time of incense, or other proper periods; and so the whole congregation might at once offer those common prayers jointly with the high priest himself to the Almighty. See Luke i. 10, Rev. viii. 3. 4. Nor probably is the sense of dire they at the time of his offering license when he says of Aaron, the first high priest, Exclus, xlv. 9. "And God compassed Aaron with pomegranates, and with a gold breastplate on his shoulder, that there might be a sound and a noise made, that might be heard in the temple, for a memorial to the children of his people."
BOOK III.—CHAP. VII.

emerald. The second row contained a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire. The first of the third row was a ligure, then an amethyst, and 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 all. Now the names of all those sons of Jacob were engraved in these stones, whom we esteem the heads of our tribes, each stone having the honor of a name, in the order according to which they were born. And when they were set one against another, to bear the weight of the stones, they made two other rings of a larger size, at the edge of that part of the breastplate, which reached to the rafter, and yearly of the year, of the breastplate, to receive chains finely wrought, which connected them with golden bands to the tops of the shoulders, whose extremity turned backwards, and went into the ring, on the promissory above the sapphire, but the root is like that of a turnip, (for he that should compare it thereto would not be mistaken,) but its leaves are like to the leaves of mint. Out of its branches it sends out a calyx, cleaving to the branch, and a coat ensanches it; but nature is such, that as it is changing, in order to produce its fruit. This calyx is of the bigness of the bone of the little finger, but in the compass of its aperture, is like a cup. This I will further describe for the use of these who are unacquainted with it. 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 deeper at last, and then gradually grow wider again at the rim, such as we see in the navel of a pomegranate, with its notches. And indeed such a coat grows out on this pomegranate like a tabernacle, and that fruit 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 prickers. Now suppose the second by this same order in 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 the sapphire was a crown made, as far as from the hinder part of the temple of the temple; but this 'ephelis,' 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. And such were the ornaments of the high priest.

7. Now here one may wonder at the ill-will which men bear to us, and which they profess to be on account of our despising that Deity which they pretend to be the house or temple of; 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 minister. And we shall find that our legislator was a divine manner, and that we are many things attended by others; for if any one do without prejudice, and with judgment look upon these things, he will find they were every one made in way of denoting the sky, being like light, or 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 splendor of all the other superpowers of the ed. He also appointed the breastplate to be placed in the middle of the ephod to resemble the earth, for that has the very middle place of the world. And the girdle, which encompassed the work, and was round, signified that the earth goes round about and includes the universe. Each of the sardonyxes declares to us the sun and the moon, those, I mean, that were in the nature of buttons on the high priest's shoulders. And for the two stones, whether we understand by them the months, or whether we understand the like number of the signs of that circle which the Greeks call the zodiac, we shall not be mistaken in their meaning. And for the mitre, which was of a blue color, it seems to me most probable; for how otherwise could the name of God be inscribed upon it? That it was also illustrated with a crown, and that of gold also, is, because of that splendor with which it is pleased to heap upon us any explanation suitable at present, since the course of my narration will often, and at many occasions, and this the rather, because in the temple afterward there was a third, for the name of the Jewish high priest was itself preserved, not only till the days of Josephus, but of Origen; and that its inscription was a human character, see Antig. b. viii. ch. iii. sect. 8. Essay on the Old Test. p. 134, and Reland, De Spol. Templi, p. 132. Then Josephus, who hated the Jews, etc. It is very evident that this supposition of the tabernacle to have been parted into three parts, he means to esteem the bare entrance to be a third division, distinct from the holy and the most holy places.
sions, afford me the opportunity of enlarging on the virtue of our legislator.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Priesthood of Aaron.

1. When what has been described was brought to a conclusion, gifts not being yet presented, God appeared to Moses, and enjoined him to bestow the high priesthood upon Aaron his brother, as upon him that best of them all deserved to possess that honor, and his virtue. And when he had gathered the multitude together, he gave them an account of Aaron's virtue, and of his good-will to them, and of the dress which he was to wear for a type of grace. Upon which, when they had given testimony to him in all respects, and showed their readiness to receive him, Moses said to them, "O you Israelites, this work is already brought to a conclusion, in a manner most acceptable to God, and according to your abilities. And now, since you see that he is received into this tabernacle, we shall first of all stand in need of one that may officiate for us, and may minister to the sacrifices. And let us therefore have it put up for us. And indeed the inquiry after such a person been left to me, I should have thought myself worthy of that honor, both because all men are naturally fond of themselves, and because the more I am anxious toinstances, and the more I am anxious to instances, the more I can be persuaded that I have taken a great deal of pains for your deliverance: but now God himself has determined that Aaron is worthy of this honor, and has chosen him for his prince, and has consecrated him to be our most 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 altar, and to make provision for the sacrifices; and he is that must put up prayers for you to God, and which 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 honor, on account of his own stock, and gift of prophecy, and his brother's virtue. He had at that time forty and two years of age, and a beard down to his ears.

2. Now Moses commanded them to all the utensils which were more than were necessary to the structure of the tabernacle, for covering the tabernacle itself, for candlestick, and for the altar, and for the vessels, and for the vessels, that they might not be at all hurt when they journeyed, either by the rain, or by the raising of the dust. And when he had gathered the multitude together again, he ordained that they should offer half a shekel for every man as an oblation to God; which shekel is a piece among the Hebrews, and is equal to four Athenian drachmas.

Whereas when he wrote these Antiquities. In the mean time, it was not to be doubted, but in their education they must have both learned more Jewish interpretations, such as we meet with in the epistles of Barnabas, in that to the Hebrews, and elsewhere among the old Jews. Accordingly, when Josephus writes his books of the Jewish war for the use of the Jews, at which time he was comparatively young, and less used to Gentile books, we find one specimen of such a Jewish interpretation for there [b. v. ch. v. sect. 3.] he makes the seven branches of the temple candlestick, with their seven lamps, an emblem of the seven days of creation and rest, and of the seven planets. Nor certainly ought ancient Jewish emblems to be explained any otherwise than according to ancient Jewish sense. And as the Gentile notions. See Of the War, b. 1. ch. xxiii. sect. 2.

* It is well worth our observation, that the two principal points of the constitution of the first high priest, viz. that he should have an excellent character for virtuous and good actions, as also that he should have the approbation of the people, are here noted by Josephus, even where the nomina-

upon they readily obeyed what Moses had commanded, and the number of the offerers was six hundred and five thousand and 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 collected was spent in the uses of the tabernacle.

3. Moses now purified the tabernacle and the priests; which purification was performed after the coming in, he caused them to take five hundred and forty to a corner of the court, an equal quantity of cassia, and half the foregoing weight of cinnamon and calamus, (this last is a sort of sweet spice,) to best them small, and of a sweet smell, for the tabernacle. U. J. is our country measure, and contains two Athenian moms or consogues,) then mix them together, and boil them, and prepare them after the act of the apothecity, and make them into a very sweet ointment; afterward take an 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 sacred vessels of what they were formerly and were brought to the golden altar of incense; whose nature I do not now describe, lest it should be troublesome to me readers. But incense, was to be offered twice a day, both before sunrise, and after the evening. And the lamps, after they were already purified for the lamps, three of which were to give light all day long; upon the sacred candlestick, before God, and the rest were to be lighted at the evening sacrifice.

4. Now 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, and so acute in the art of what they were ignorants of; and of these Bezaleel was judged to be the best. Now the whole time they were about this work was the interval of seven months; and after this it was that was ended the first year since their departure out of Egypt. But at the beginning of the second year, on the month Nisan, as the Macedonians call it, but on the month Nisan, as the Hebrews call it, on the new moon, they consecrated the tabernacle, and all its contents, in the presence of all the people.

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, but had used, he came, and sojourned 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 a

tion belonged to God himself, which are the very same qualifications which the Christian religion requires in the choice of Christian bishops, priests, and deacons, as the Jewish priesthood necessary to the people of the Jews, at which time he was comparatively young, and less used to Gentile books, we find one specimen of such a Jewish interpretation for there [b. v. ch. v. sect. 3.] he makes the seven branches of the temple candlestick, with their seven lamps, an emblem of the seven days of creation and rest, and of the seven planets. Nor certainly ought ancient Jewish emblems to be explained any otherwise than according to ancient Jewish sense. And as the Gentile notions. See Of the War, b. 1. ch. xxiii. sect. 2.

* This weight and value of the Jewish shekel, in the days of Josephus, equal to about 2s. 6d. sterling, is by some writers accounted two hundred and sixty-seven of the old shekels, which determination agrees perfectly with the remaining shekels that have Samaritan inscriptions, coined generally by Simon the Macrabe, about 330 years before Josephus published his Antiquities, which never weigh more than 2s. 3d. and commonly less. See Relland, De Nummis Samaritanorum, p. 168.

† The Incense was here offered, according to Josephus, twice a day, the morning and at sun setting. But in the days of Pompey, according to the ancient Jews, the sacrifices were offered in the morning and at the ninth hour, A.T. b. xiv. ch. iv. sect. 2.

‡ Here Josephus corrects the opinions of the modern rabbinists, who say, that only one of the seven lamps burned in the daytime, whereas Josephus, an eye-wit- ness, says, they were three.
a sweet dew, and such as showed the presence of God to those that desired and believed it.

6. Now when Moses had bestowed such honourary presents on the workmen, as it was fit they should receive, who had wrought so well, he offered a sacrifice out of the carcases of the bullocks, calves, and sheep, as God commanded him, a bull, a bullock, and a kid of the goats, for a sin-offering. Now I shall speak of what we do in our sacred offices in my discourse about peace and war, and shall inform in what cases Moses bid us offer a whole burnt-offering, and in what cases the law permits us to partake of them as of food. And when Moses had sprinkled Aaron's vestments, blest the people, and consecrated the tabernacle, and all that were slain, and had purified them with spring waters and ointment, they became God's priests. After this manner did he consecrate them and their garments for seven days together. The same he did to the tabernacle, and the vessels thereto belonging, both with oil first anointed, as I said, and with the blood of bulls, and of rams, slain day by day one according to its kind. But on the eighth day he appointed a feast for the people; and committed the care of them to them according to their ability. Accordingly, they contended one with another, and were ambitious to exceed each other in the exercises which they brought, and in the honor which God's name had. But as the sacrifices lay upon the altar, a sudden fire was kindled from among them of its own accord, and appeared to the sight like fire from a flash of lightning, and consumed whatsoever was upon the altar.

7. Hereupon an affliction befell Aaron, considered as a man and a father, but was undergone by him with true fortitude; for he had indeed a firmness of soul in such accidents, and he thought that he was worthy of such honors, and that he was fit for the will: for whereas he had four sons, as I said before, the two elder of them, Nadab and Abihu, did not bring those sacrifices which Moses bade them bring, but such as they used to offer formerly, and were burnt to death. Now when the fire rushed upon them, and began to burn them, nobody could quench it. Accordingly, they died in this manner. And Moses bid their father, and their brethren, to take up their bodies, to carry them out of the camp, and to bury them in the place where they lay, and thus the multitude lamented them, and were deeply affected at this their death, which so unexpectedly befell them. But Moses entreated their brethren, and their acquaintance, and forbid them to follow in this their grief, and to prefer the honor of God before their grief about them, for Aaron had already put on his sacred garments.

8. But Moses refused all that honor which he saw the multitude ready to bestow upon him, for he had been accustomed to attend to nothing else but the service of God. He went no more up to mount Sinai; but he went into the tabernacle, and brought back answers from God to what he prayed for. His habit was also that of a 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 but to help and to assist in administering the form of their government, and those laws, by obedience whereunto they would lead their lives so as to please God, and so as to have no occasion to fear him. For all those who were appointed were such as God suggested to him: so I shall now discourse concerning that form of government, and those laws.

9. I will now treat of what I before omitted, the garments of the high priest: for he [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 when he pleased, and to be his accuser, since the execution of the sentence was in the hands of God. And the high priest must be an Hebrew only, but to those foreigners also who were there. But as to those stones, which we told you before, the high priest bore on his shoulders, which...
were sardonixs, (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 in the nature of a button on his right shouder, bright rays darting out thence; and being seen by no one else but the most remote; which splendor yet was not before natural to the stone. This has appeared a wonderful thing to such as have not so far indulged themselves in philosoph, as to despise divine revelation. Yet will I imagine must it astonish more than this, if God declared beforehand, by those twelve stones which the high priest bare on his breast, and which were inserted into his breastplate, when they should be victorious over their enemies, the greater that splender shone forth from them before the army began to march, that all the people were sensible of God's being present for their assistance. Whence it came to pass that those Greeks who had a veneration for our laws, because they could not possibly contradict this, called that breastplate The Oracle. Now this breastplate, and this sardonixs, left of shining two hundred years before I composed this book, God preserved it safe, and explained at length, as to each of his laws. Of which things we shall farther discourse on a fitter opportunity; but I will now go on with my proposed narration.

10. The tabernacle being being consecrated, and the priest being settled for the priests, the multitude judged that God now dwelt among them, and betook themselves to sacrifices and praises to God, as being now delivered from all enslaved and captivity, and having the hope and future as the most fulsome of better times hereafter. They offered also gifts to God, some as common to the whole nation, and others as peculiar to themselves, and these tribe by tribe; for the heads of the tribes were chosen together, and each tribe brought a wagon and a yoke of oxen. These amounted to six, and they carried the tabernacle when they journeyed. Besides which, every head of a tribe brought a bowl, and a charger, and a spoon, for burnt offerings, and incense; and 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 four were mingled with oil, such as they used on the altar about the sacrifices. They brought also a young bullock, and a ram, with a lamb of a year old, for a whole burnt-offering, as also a goat for the forgiveness of sins of the heads of the tribes. They brought also other sacrifices, called peace-offerings, for every day two bulls, and five rams, with lambs of a year old, and kids of the goats. These heads of tribes were twelve days in sacrificing, one sacrificing every day. Now Moses went no longer up to Mount Sinai, but went into the tabernacle, and learned of God what they were to do, and what laws should be made; which laws were preferable to what have been devised in the world, and shall be proved to be firmly observed for all time to come, as being the Roman empire, and that in the days of Nero, and before either Gaius, Otho, or Vitellius, were thought of to succeed him. Of the War, b. iii. ch. viii. sect. 7. Thus was it looked on in very least instance of any thing like the propitious Urin among the Jewish nation, and just preceded their fatal desolation. But because it could possibly come to pass, that such great men as Sir John Narrawam and Dr. Spencer should imagine that this oracle of Urin and Thummim, with this or that old or oldfashioned law of Moses, should have been ordained in imitation of some what like them among the Egyptians, which we never have seen; and I can never be sure of the Sibylls, and the Malmolèdes, or little earlier than the Christian era at the highest, is almost unaccountable; while the main business of the law of Moses was evidently to preserve the Jews from the dross and superstition idea of the neighboring Pagan nations; and while it is so undeniable, that the evidence for the great antiquity of Moses's law is incomparably beyond that for believed to be the gift of God, inasmuch that the Hebrews did not transgress any of those laws, either as reputed 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 concerning our laws.

CHAP. IX.

The Nature of our offering Sacrifices.

1. I will now, however, make mention of a few of our laws which belong to purifications, and the like sacred offices, since I am accidentally come to this matter of sacrifices. These sacrifices were of two sorts; of these sorts one was only for the sacred offices, the other found the Israelites for the people in general; and they are done in two different ways. In the one case, what is slain is burnt, as a whole burnt-offering, whence that name is given to it; but the other is a thank-offering, and is designed for feasting those that sacrifice. I will speak of the former. Suppose a private man offer a burnt-offering, he must slay either a bull, a lamb, or a kid of the goats, and the two latter of the first year, though of bulls he is permitted. Of these about a great part, and all burnt-offerings are to be of males. When they are slain, the priests sprinkle the blood round about the altar; then they cleanse the bodies, and divide them into parts, and some they lay upon the altar, while the pieces of wood are piled one upon another, and the fire is burning: they next cleanse the foot of the sacrifices, and the invards, in an accurate manner, and all the blood that is purged by the fire, while the priests receive the hides. This is the way of offering a burnt-offering.

2. But those that offer thank-offerings, do indeed sacrifice the same creatures, but such as are unblemished and without blemish, and they may take either males or females. They also sprinkle 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 and the backbone; and all this breast and the right shoulder to the priests, the offerers feast upon the remainder of the flesh for two days; and what remains they burn.

3. The rewards for sins are different in the same manner as is the thank-offering. But those who are unable to purchase complete sacrifices, offer two pigeons, or turtle-doves; the one of which is made a burnt-offering to God, the other they part with among the priests. But we shall treat more accurately about the obligation of these creatures in our discourse concerning sacrifices. But if a person fall into sin by ignorance, he offers a ow lamb, or female kid of the goats, of the same age; and the priests sprinkle the blood at the altar, not after the former manner, but at the corners of it. They also bring the kidneys and the rest of the fat, together with the lobe of the liver, to the altar, while the priests bear away the hind quarter and the shoulder, and they are burned and placed on the same day; * for the law does not the like or greater antiquity of such customs in Egypt or other nations, which indeed is generally none at all, it is most absurd to derive any of Moses's laws from the imitation of these heathen practices. It would hardly seem to us, how far inclination can prevail over evidence, in even some of the most learned part of mankind.

* What Reland well observes here, out of Josephus, as compared with the law of Moses, Lev. vii. 15. (that the law for sin offerings was to be made only on the day of atonement, and not on the day of the Passover,) is not true. See the book of Josephus, to be seen in Reland's note on Antiq. b. iv. chap. iv. sect. 4, and Reland's note b chap. vii. sect. 25.
permit them to lean upon it until the morning. But if it is the case, and is constantly practiced, but hath nobody that can prove it upon him, he offers a ram, the law enjoining him so to do; the flesh of which the priests eat as before, in the holy place, on the same day. And if the ruler offers sacrifices for their sins, they bear the same obligations that private men do; only they so far differ, 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, eight days, and they may be brought for a lamb the measure of one tenth deal, for a ram two, and for a bull three. This they consecrate upon the altar, when it is mingled with oil; for oil is also brought by those that sacrifices to expiate the sins of the people; but of those days a rams is to be burnt upon the altar for the third part of the same measure, and one quarter of it for a lamb. This is an ancient Hebrew measure, and is equivalent to two Athenian choises (or congusses). 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 handful into the fire with the ram, and any other animal. But if the priests take the rest for their food, either boiled, or mingled with oil, but made into cakes of bread. But whatsoever it be that a priest himself offers, it must of necessity all be burnt. Now the law extends this duty to the Passover in the beginning of our year, on the fourteenth day of the lunar month, when the sun is in Aries, (for on this month it was that we were delivered from bondage under the Egyptians,) the law ordained, that we should every year and year, on that day to sacrifice a bull, a ram, and seven lambs, and one kid of the goats, for an expiation for sins, and on the following days the same number of lambs, and one ram, two bulls, and fourteen lambs, and fifteen rams, with the addition of a kid of the goats, as an expiation for sins, and on the following days the same number of lambs, and two rams, and two bulls, and eight lambs, and one kid of the goats; but abating one of the bulls every day, till they amounted to seven only. On the eighth day all work was laid aside, and then, as we said before, they sacrificed to God a bullock, a ram and seven lambs, and one kid of the goats, for an expiation for sins. And this is the accustoms solemnity of the Hebrews, when they pitch their tabernacles.

5. In the month of Xanthicus, which is by us called Nisan, at the beginning of our year, they sacrifice a lamb, on the fourteenth day of the lunar month, when the sun is in Aries, (for on this month it was that we were delivered from bondage under the Egyptians,) the law ordained, that we should every year and year, on that day to sacrifice a bullock, a ram, and seven lambs, and one kid of the goats, for an expiation for sins, and on the following days the same number of lambs, and two rams, and two bulls, and eight lambs, and one kid of the goats; but abating one of the bulls every day, till they amounted to seven only. On the eighth day all work was laid aside, and then, as we said before, they sacrificed to God a bullock, a ram and seven lambs, and one kid of the goats, for an expiation for sins. And this is the accustoms solemnity of the Hebrews, when they pitch their tabernacles.

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

41. 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 sanctuary, on the eighth day. But they bring with the daily sacrifices, and they deliver to the priests take the rest for their food, either boiled, or mingled with oil, but made into cakes of bread. But whatsoever it be that a priest himself offers, it must of necessity all be burnt. Now the law extends this duty to the Passover in the beginning of our year, on the fourteenth day of the lunar month, when the sun is in Aries, (for on this month it was that we were delivered from bondage under the Egyptians,) the law ordained, that we should every year and year, on that day to sacrifice a bull, a ram and seven lambs, and one kid of the goats, for an expiation for sins, and on the following days the same number of lambs, and two rams, and two bulls, and eight lambs, and one kid of the goats; but abating one of the bulls every day, till they amounted to seven only. On the eighth day all work was laid aside, and then, as we said before, they sacrificed to God a bullock, a ram and seven lambs, and one kid of the goats, for an expiation for sins. And this is the accustoms solemnity of the Hebrews, when they pitch their tabernacles.

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6. When a week of weeks has passed over after this sacrifice, (which weeks contain forty and nine days,) then in the fifth day, which is called Pentecost, but is called by the Hebrews Asaartah, which signifies Pentecost, they bring to God a loaf, made of wheats flour, of two tenth deals, with leaven; and for sacrifices they bring two bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs, with two kids of the goats, for the priests; nor is it permitted to leave any thing of them till the day following. They also slay three bullocks for a burnt-offering, and two rams, and fourteen lambs, with two kids of the goats, for the sins; nor is there any of the festivals but in it they offer burnt-offerings; they also allow themselves to rest on every one of them. As
Antiquities of the Jews.

And for the lepers, he ordered them not to come into the city at all, nor to live with any others as if they were in effect dead persons; but if any one had obtained, by prayer to God, the recovery from that distemper, and had gained a healthful complexion again, he was permitted to come to God, with several sorts of sacrifices; concerning which we will speak hereafter.

4. Whence one cannot but smile at those who say, that Moses was himself afflicted with leprosy, as we understand the word; for he was the conductor of those who on that account left that country, and led them into the land of Canaan; for had this been true, Moses would not have made these laws to his own dishonor and disadvantage; he would have opposed, if others had endeavored to introduce them, and this the rather, because there are lepers in many nations, who yet are in honor, and not only free from reproach and avoidance, but have been great captains of armies, and been entrusted with high offices in the commonwealth; and have had the privilege of entering into holy places and temples; so that nothing but false and malicious aspersions can be imputed to the multitude that was with him, had been liable to such a misfortune, in the color of his skin, he might have made laws about them for their credit and advantage, and have laid no manner of barrier against them. Accordingly it is plain, that it is out of violent prejudice only that they report these things about us. But Moses was pure from any such distemper, and lived with countrymen who were pure of it also, and this is the reason he made the laws which concern the sacrifices that had the distemper. He did this for the honor of God. But as to these matters, let every one consider them after what manner he please.

5. As to the women, when they have borne a child, Moses forbade them to come into the temple, or to touch the sacrifices, before forty days were over, supposing it to be a boy; but if she had borne a girl, the law is, that she cannot be admitted before twice that number of days be over. And when, after the before-mentioned time appointed for them, they perform their sacrifices, the priests distribute them before God.

6. But God, if the father of the child has been guilty of adultery, he was to bring a tenth deal of barley-flour; they then cast one handful to God, and gave the rest of it to the priests for food. One of the priests set the woman at the door of the tent of meeting; and there sat the vail from her head, and wrote the name of God on parch-ment, and enjoined her to swear, that she had not at all injured her husband; and to wish, that if she had violated her chastity, her right thigh might be put out of joint; that her belly might swell, and that she might die thus: but that if her husband, by the violence of his affection, and of the jealousy which arose from it, had been rashly moved to this suspicion, that she might remain there on oath, and swear. Now when these oaths were over, the priest wiped the name of God out of the parchment, and wrung the water into a vial. He also took some of the water, and put it upon the two hands, and put a little of it into the vial, and gave it her to drink; whereupon the woman, if she were unjustly accused, conceived with child, and brought it to perfection in her womb. But if she had broken her faith of well-wishing to her husband, and had sworn falsely before God, she died in a reproachful manner; her thigh fell off from her, and her belly swelled with a droppy. And these are the ceremonies about sacrifices, and about the purifications thereto belonging, which Moses

with allusion to the latter city, temple, and holy house, which he knew so well long afterward.

Chap. XI.
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, taken from them of all springs, and with such sacrifices as were usually offered to God on the like occasions. He delivered to them also the tabernacle, and the sacred vessels, and the other curiosities 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 the Israelites were ordered to abstain from; which matters, when this work shall give me occasion, shall be further 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 others. He also 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 caul, and the fat of goats, and sheep, and bulls.

3. He also ordered that those whose bodies were afflicted with leprosy, and that had a gonorrhoea, should not come into the city. Nay, he removed the women, when they had their natural purgation, till the seventh day; after which he looked on them as pure, and permitted them to come in again. The law permits those also who have taken care of funerals to come in also. In any manner, when this number of days is over; but if any continued longer than that number of days in a state of pollution, the law appointed the offering two lambs as a sacrifice; the one of which they are to purify by fire, and for the other the priests take it for themselves. In the same manner do those sacrifice who have had the gonorrhoea. But he 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.

* We may here note, that Josephus frequently calls the camp the city, and the court of the Mosaic tabernacle a temple, and the tabernacle itself a holy house,
provided for his countrymen. He also prescribed the following laws to them.

CHAP. XII.

Several Laws.

1. As for adultery, Moses forbade it entirely, as esteeming it a happy thing that men should be wise in the affairs of wedlock; and that it was profitable to posterity, because it prevented the children of the same family from being 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 father’s wife, and with aunts, and sisters, and all persons that were related by blood, and consanguinity. He also forbade a man to lie with his wife when she was defiled by her natural purgation: and not to come near brute beasts, nor to approve of the lying with a male, which was after unlawful pleasures on account of beauty. To those who were guilty of such insolent behavior, he ordained death for their punishment.

2. As for the priests, he prescribed to them a double lot and emolument for the exercising them in the instances above, and moreover forbade them to marry harlots. He also forbade them to marry a slave, or a captive, or such as got their living by cheating trades, and by keeping inns: as also a woman parted from her husband on 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 allowed that to the priests, but he permitted him only to make a marriage to women who lived in his house; but that the high priest is not to come near to one that is dead, although the rest are not prohibited from coming near to their brethren, or parents, or children, when they are dead, but is to be separated from them, and to observe purity in their sacred ministrations, but in their daily conversation, that it might be unblamable also. And on this account it is, that those who wear the sacerdotal garments, are without spot, and eminent for the purity and sanctity; 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 wilderness, yet did he make provision how they might observe the same laws when they should have taken the land of Canaan; he gave them the rest to the land from ploughing and plasting every seventh year, as he had prescribed to them to rest from working every seventh day; and ordered, that, when the period of seven years, which in all fifty years: and that fiftieth year is called by the Hebrews the Jubilee, wherein debtors are freed from their debts, and slaves are set at liberty; which slaves became such, though they were of the stock of the former owner, these laws whose punishment was not capital, but they were punished by this method of slavery. This year also restores the land to its former possessors.

* These words of Josephus are remarkable, that the twelfth of the Jews required of the priests a double degree of purity, because they are of the people of the tribes of Levi, and give several instances in reference. It was for certain the case also among the first Christians, of the clergy, in consideration of the lofty, as the Apostolical Constitutions and canons everywhere inform us.

In the manner following: when the Jubailes 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 hand, 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 present possessor renders them to the former owner. Moses would have the same law observe in the cities of Levitical towns, and the villages, which were sold in villages; but he made a different law for such as were sold in a city: so 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 pur- chaser 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.

4. Now when this settlement of laws seemed to be well over, Moses thought fit at length to take a review of the host, as thinking it proper to settle the affairs of war. So he charged the heads of the tribes, excepting the tribe of Levi, to take an exact account of the number of those that were able to go to war; for as to the Levites they were holy, and free from all such burdens. Now, when he had heard this in it, it was found that 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 Manassah, the son of Joseph, and made a part of the tribe; and Ephraim in place of Joseph. It was indeed a desire of Jacob himself to Joseph, that he would give his sons to be his own by adoption, as I have before related.

5. When they set up the tabernacle, they received it into the midst of their camp, three of the tribes pitching their tents on each side of it, and roads were cut through the midst of these tents. It was like a well-appointed market; and every thing was there ready for sale in due order; and all sorts of artificers were in the shops; and it resembled nothing so much as a city that sometimes was movable, and sometimes fixed. The priests took the first places at the tabernacle, they thought proper to stay in the same place, as supposing that God there inhabited among them: but when that removed, they journeyed also.

6. Moreover, Moses was the inventor of the form of their trumpet, which was made of silver. Its description is this: in length it was little less than a cubit. It was composed of a narrow tube, somewhat thicker than a flute, but with so much sufficient power, that it was audible at an extent of 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, Asosra. Two of these were made, one of them was sounded when they pitched camp to the churches, and the other to congregations. When the first of them gave a sign, the heads of the tribes were to assemble, and to consult about the affairs to them.

* We must here note, with Reland, that the precepts given to the priests not to drink wine while they wore the sacred garments, is equivalent to being deposed from it all the while they ministered in the temple, because they fell always, and then only, wore those sacred garments, which were laid up there from one time of ministration 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 north 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 went behind; and the rest setting out then from 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 made their sacrifices 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 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 from the Borders of Canaan.

1. A LITTLE while afterward he rose up, and went from mount Sinai; and having passed through several nations to remove; when the anathema, 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 in their travels; and that when he had persuaded them of the great land of the Canaanites, they had lost that land, and instead of that happy state he had promised them, they were still wandering in their present miserable condition, being already so many of them dead by the want of water, and the means being unable to carry water, 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 bestowed 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 since were so entirely abused by them, encouraged them in their despairing condition, and promised that he would procure them a great quantity of flesh meat, and that not for a few days only, but for many days. This they were not long in believing; and if any had asked them, whence 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 appear to you. 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 before God punished the Hebrews for their insolence, and those reproaches they had used towards him, for no small number of them died. And still to this day the place retains the memory of this destruction, and is named Kibroth-hattaavah, which is, the graves of lust.

CHAP. XIV.

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

1. WHEN Moses had led the Hebrews away from thence to a place called Paran, which was near to the borders of the Canaanites, and a place difficult to be continued in, he gathered the multitude together to a congregation; and standing in the midst of them, he said, "Of the two things that God determined to bestow upon us, liberty, and the possession of a good inheritance, the one of them ye already are partakers of, by the gift of God, and the other you will quickly obtain; for we now have our abode near the borders of the Canaanites, and nothing can hinder our possession of a good inheritance."

Let us, therefore, prepare ourselves for the work, for the Canaanites will not fight against us. Let us then send spies, who may take a view of the fortifications round about them. They are the giants. But above all things, let us be of one mind, and let us honor God, who, above all, is our helper and assister."

2. When Moses had said thus, the multitude required a sign with marks of respect; and those twelve spies, of the most eminent men, one out of each tribe, who, passing over all the land of Canaan, from the borders of Egypt, came to the city Hamath, and to mount Lebanon: and having learned the nature of the country, and the strength of the Canaanites, they came home, having spent forty days in the whole work. They also brought with them of the fruits which the land bare: they also showed them the excellency of those fruits, and gave an account of the greatness of the good things, and the good good things, and that the land could not be passed over; and that the hills were so high, that they could not render traveling for them; that the cities were strong with walls, and their arm forces were mighty and strong. They told them also, that they had seen at Hebron the possession of the giants. Accordingly, these spies, who had seen the face of Canaan, when they perceived that all these difficulties were greater than they expected, that since they came out of Egypt, they were afflicted at them themselves, and endeavored to affright the multitude also.

3. So they supposed, from what they had heard, that it was impossible to get the possession of this land, and they turned away from Moses and Aaron, and so to return into Egypt.

4. But of the spies, there were Joshua, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim; and Caleb, of the tribe of Judah, that were afraid of the report that came into the midst of them, and stifled the multitude, and desired them to be of good courage, and neither to condemn God, as having told them lies, neither to hearken to those who had affrighted them by telling them what was in vain, in order to excite the Canaanites to the war; but to those that encouraged them to hope for good success; and that they should gain possession of the happiness promised them, because neither the height of mountains, nor the depth of rivers, could hinder men of true courage from attaining them, especially while God would take care of them beforehand, and be assistant to them. Let us then go, said they, against our enemies, and have no suspicion of ill success, trusting to
BOOK III.—CHAP. XV

God to conduct us, and following those that are to be our leaders. Thus did these two exhort them, and endeavor to pacify the rage they were in. But Moses and Aaron fell on the ground, and besought God, not for their own deliverance, but that he would put a stop to what the people were plotting: having now their minds to a quiet temper, which were now disorderly 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 beholding the fearful vengeance 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; and that just now they had been induced, by the timorousness of the spies, to think that their words were truer than his own promise to them; and that on this account, through their unbelief, they should not only not be allowed to enter 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 had promised to give that land to our children, and that he would make them possessors of those good things, which, by your ungodly passions, you have deprived yourselves of.

2. Yet Moses had desired them to them, according to the direction of God, the multitude grieved, 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 another trial on them. But he replied, that God would not submit to any such trial, for that God was not moved to this determination from any human policy, or anger, but that he had judicially commanded 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 been disobedient, they were now sensible that such disobedience was disadvantageous to them, and that they had still thereby fallen into calamities.

3. But this man was admirable for his virtue, and powerful in making men give credit to what he delivered, not only during the time of his natural life, but even there is still no one of the Hebrews, who does not act even now as if Moses were present, and ready to punish him. If he should do any thing that is indecent; nay, there is no one but is obedient to what laws he ordained, 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 honor of their temple; and yet, when they had offered their sacrifices, 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 on them, which our ancient customs made inconsistent therewith; some of these did not sacrifice 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 inclinations, even when they had no fear upon them that any body could convict them, but only out of a regard to the conscience. 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, that one tenth [decal of wheat]; was sold for four drachmas; and when so less than seventy cori of flour were brought into the temple at the feast of unleavened bread, (these cori are thirty-one Sicilian, but forty-one Athenian medimmi,) not one of the priests was so hardy as to eat one crumb of it, even while so great a distress was on the land, and this out of a regard to the law, of the strictest observance, of the word and ordinance of God, as the priest, that hate us, do confes, that he who 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. xix. chap. ii. sect. 6; and Acts xi. 28.

BOOK IV.

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

CHAP. I.

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

1. Now this life of the Hebrews in the wilderness was so disagreeable and troublesome to them, and they were so uneasy at it, that although God had forbidden them to meddle with the Canaanites, yet could they not be persuaded to be obedient to the words of Moses, and to be quiet; but supposing they should be able to beat their enemies, even without his approbation, they accused him, and suspected that he made it his business to keep them in a distress, that he might always stand in need of his assistance. Accordingly, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, and said, that God gave them their assistance, not out of regard to Moses's intercessions, but because he took care of their entire nation, on account of their forefathers, whose affairs he took under his own conduct; as also, that it was on account of their own virtue
that he had formerly procured them their liberty, and would be assisting to them, now they were willing to take pains for it. They also said, that they were of themselves of abilities sufficient for the conquest of their enemies, although Moses should be slain and from them; that however it was for their advantage to be 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 these, and permit them to subject themselves to be deluded, and to live according to his 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 his covenant with, and all the knowledge we have, and we must still learn it from him: that it would be a piece of prudence to oppose his arrogant pretences, and to put their conscience 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 difficult circumstances his heart and will would be worse with them, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, as submitting only to God, their supreme commander, and not waiting for and standing on their bezant from their legs.

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 this unforeseen misfortune made them quite despond; 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 glory, and should attack them, realising the fear with a host 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 with the care for them, their distresses could not be 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 favorable 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 upon ill success, to be hard to be pleased, and governed with difficulty, did also fall 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 not at all in order, and against one another, and against their leader, because of the distress they were in, and the calamities they then endured. Such a sedition overtook them, 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 remember that he 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 their disobedience to the commandments which he had sent them by Moses, he delivered them from those terrible calamities, which, without his providential care, had been brought upon them. So I will first speak of the cause whereof this sedition arose, and then give an account of the sedition itself; as also of what settlements Moses made for their government.

2. Corah, a 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, said that Moses was not the man of God, that was brought up in Egypt, and knew not the language of the Egyptians, but he spake the language, and was able to converse with them; and that Moses was nothing else but his own mother's son, and that Moses had taken his place and seat among them, and deposed him; and he said such a sentence against Moses as he could not endure, and envied him on that account, he was of the same tribe with Moses, and of the kin (to him,) was particularly grieved, because he thought he better deserved that honorable post on account of his great riches, and not inferior to him in his birth. So he raised a clanour against him among the Levites, who were of the same tribe, and especially among his kindred, saying, that it was a very bad thing that they should be ruled by him; and that his highness and power would be worse with them, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, as submitting only to God, their supreme commander, and not waiting for and standing on their bezant from their legs.

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BOOK IV.—CHAP. III.

raising a clamor before the tabernacle of God, to prosecute the tyrant, and to relieve the mul-
tiples of suffering which were immanent in the color of the divine commandments, laid violent ins-
uctions upon them; for that, had it been God who chose one that was to perform the office of a 

priest, he would have raised a worthy person to that dignity, and would not have produced such a one as was inferior to many others, nor have given him that office; and in that case had he judged it fit to bestow it on Aaron, he would have permitted it to the multitude to bestow it, and have left it to be bestowed by his own 

other.

4. Now, although Moses had a great while ago foreseen this calamity of Corah, and had seen that the people were irritated, and had not been frighted at it: but being of good courage, because he had given them good advice about their affairs, and knew that his brother had been made partaker of the priesthood at the command of God and not by his own favor to be in the assembly; and, as for the multitude, he said not a word to them, but spake as loud to Cor-

rah as he could; and being very skillful in making speeches, and having this natural talent among others, he might have been able to gather up the multitude, though they may not be so rich or so great as you are: nor have I taken and given this office to my 

brother, because he excelled others in riches, for those things were left under him, who, under 

with his discourses, he said, "O Corah, both thou, and all these with thee, (pointing to the two hun-
dred and fifty men,) seem to be worthy of this honor; nor do I pretend but that this whole congre-
gation might be under him, who, under 

wealth; nor indeed because he was of an em-

sent family, for God, by giving us the same com-

mon ancestor, has made our families equal; nay, 

nor was it out of brotherly affection, which an-
other had for another, that I appointed him; unless I had bestowed this honor out of regard to 

God and to his laws, I had not passed by my-

self, and given it to another, as being nearer of 

kin to myself than to my brother, and having a 

clearer intimacy with my mind 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 

accident upon another. But I am above such base 

practices; I would God I could believe, in truth it was with you approbation that he 

obtained it; for though God were the donor, yet do 

we not offend when we think fit to accept it with 

your good will; yet would it have been an in-

sult to God, if they should think fit to have 

used employment when he offered it; nay, it had 

been exceeding unreasonable, when God had 

thought fit any one should have it for all time to 
come, and had made them to have reserved it. 

However, he himself will judge again who it shall be whom he would have to offer 
sacrifices to him, and to have the direc-
tions of matters of religion; for it is absurd that 

Corah, who is ambitious of this honor, should 

depive God of the power of giving it to whom he 

pleases. Put an end therefore to your sedi-
tion and disturbance on this occasion; today and 

row morning do every one of you that desire the priesthood bring a censer from home, and come 

bitter with incense and fire; and do thou, O Co-

rah, 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 

content about this honorable employment may receive determination. And I suppose we 

will admit Aaron, with thy consent, to offer him-

to 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 

together, and offer your sacrifice in public before all the people; and when you offer it, he, whose sacrifice God shall accept shall be ordained to the priesthood, and shall be clear of 

the present calamity on Aaron, as if I had grant-

ed him that favor because he was my brother."

CHAP. III.

How those that stirred up this Sedition were de-

stroyed according to the Will of God; and how 

Aaron, Moses's Brother, both he and his Pos-

terity, retained the Priesthood.

1. WHEN Moses had said this, the multitude 

left off the tumult, and were not more disturbed, 

and the suspicion they had of Moses's detrimen-
ted what he had said, for those proposals 

were good, and so were esteeemed of the people. 

At that time therefore they dissolved the assem-

bly. But on the next day they came to the con-

cgregation, in order to be present at the sacrifice, 

and at the determination that was to be made 

between the candidates for the priesthood. 

Now this congregation proved a turbulent one, and 

the multitude with great satisfaction decided 

of what was to be done; for some of them 

would have been pleased if Moses had been con-

victed of evil practices, but the wiser sort desired 

that they might be delivered from the present 

disorder and disturbance; for they were afraid, 

that if this sedition went on, the good order of 

their settlement would rather be destroyed; but 

the whole body of the people do naturally delight 

in clamors against their governors, by changing their tongues and languages of 

every speaker, disturb the public tranquility. 

And now Moses sent messengers for Abiram and 

Dathan, and ordered them to come to the assem-

bly, and wait to hear the determination to be 

performed. But they answered the mess-

engers that they would not obey his summons; 

nay, would not overlook Moses's behavior, who 

was growing too great for them by evil practices. 

Now when Moses heard of this their answer, he 

desired the heads of the people to follow him 

and he went to the faction of Dathan, not think-

ing it any frightful thing at all to go to these insolent people; so they made no opposition, but 

went along with him. But when they arrived, they 

strangers, 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 say, and they had determined about 

them to defend themselves, in case Moses 

would use force against them.

2. But he came near, and lifted up his hands to 

heaven, and cried with a loud voice, that he 

must be heard by the whole multitude; and said, 

"O Lord of the creatures that are in the heavens, 

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 afforded 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 or thought escapes thy knowledge; so that thou wilt not disdain to speak what is true, for my vindication, without any regard to the unprofitable imputations of these men. As for what was done before I was born, thou knowest best, as not learning them by report, but seeing them, and being present with them when they were done; but I, in the exercise of these, and which of these men, although they know them well enough, unjustly pretend to suspect, be thou my witness. When I lived a private quiet life, I left those good things, which by my own diligence, and by the grace of God, I enjoyed with my father-in-law, and gave myself up to this people, and underwent many miseries on their account. I also bore great labors at first, in order to obtain the greatest part of it; thou, who didst preserve it, and always showed myself ready to assist them in every distress of theirs. Now, therefore, since I am suspected by those very men, whose being is owing to my labors, consider it is reasonable to trust thou wilt do so: thou, I say, who showedst me that fire at mount Sinai, and madest me hear its voice, and to see the several wonders which that place afforded me: thou, who commandedst me to go to Egypt, and openedst the doors of this people; thou, who disturbed the happy estate of the Egyptians, and gavest me 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 sea dry before us, when we were naked: thou who didst make the fountains that were corrupted to flow so as to be fit for drinking, and didst furnish us with water that came out of the rocks, when we were in the wilderness: thou, who didst keep the remnant of my intentions, as I had given the priesthood to Aaron, not at thy command, but out of my own favor to him: do thou at this time demonstrate, that all things are administered by thy providence, and that nothing happens by chance, but is governed by thy will, and thereby attains its end: as also demonstrate, that thou takest care of those that have done good to the Hebrews: demonstrate this, I beseech thee, both of the punishment of Ahab and Dathan, who condemn thee as an insensible being, and one overcome by my contrivance. This wilt thou do by inflicting such an open punishment on these men, who so madly fly in the face of thy glory, and throw themselves out of the world, not in an ordinary manner, but so that it may appear they do not die after the manner of other men; let that ground 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 sufferings will be an instruction of wisdom for those that entertain profound sentiments of thee. By this means I shall be found a good servant, in the midst of my enemies; for I will show them the unlawful imputations of these men. As for the calamities they have raised against me be true, mayest thou preserve these men from every evil accident, and bring all that destruction on me which I have impregnated upon them. And when thou art pleased, I beseech thee, to endeavor to deal unjustly with this people, bestow upon them concord and peace. Save that multitude that follow thy commandments, and preserve them free from harm, and let them not make of the punishment of others, that have sinned; for thou knowest thyself, it is not just, that for the wickedness of those men, the whole body of the Israelites should suffer punishment."

3. When Moses closed, they thought he was in 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 afflicted, and the ground的衣服 the wind, and the noise with a terrible sound, and carried whatsoever was dear to the seditions into itself, who so entirely perished, that there was not the least appearance that any man had ever been seen there: none knew what had come about them, closing again, and becoming entire as it was before, insomuch that such as saw it afterward did not perceive that any such accident had happened. Thus did these men perish, and was a demonstration of the fear of God. And truly, any one would lament them, not only on account of this calamity that befell them, which yet deserves our commiseration, but also on account of the use of the things they were made of; for they used with pleasure the fruits of the earth, and the fruits of Aaron also and Corah came forth, and they all 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 in those eruptions out of the earth, that are caused by subterraneous burnings, nor in such fires as rise of their own accord in the woods, when the agitation is produced by the trees rubbing one against another, but this fire was very bright, and had a terrible flame, such as is kindled at the command of God; by whose eruptions on them, all the company, and Corah himself, and all his band, fell down, and their very bodies left no remains behind them. Aaron alone was 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 people were amazed, and desirous that the memory of this judgment might be delivered down to posterity, and that future ages might be acquainted with it; and so he com

*It appears here, and from the Samaritan Pentateuch, and from the Latin text of the Pata/apis as also from the Apostolical Constitutions, from Clement's first epistle to the Corinthians, from Ignatius's epistle to the

Magnesians, and from Eusebius, that Corah was no

Moses, and was called the Levites of his own tribe. See Eusebius on the Old Testament, p. 64, 65.
BOOK IV.—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 many more, 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, could have it that things came thus to pass without God’s favor 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 the people as that God the first procured their punishment, because Moses procured their punishment; and that these men had been destroyed without any sin of theirs, only because they were zealous about the divine worship; and as also that he who had been the cause of it, had not only disappointed the hopes of all the other men, but of so many men, and those the most excellent of them all, besides his escaping any punishment himself, had given the priesthood to his brother so firmly, that nobody could any longer bring it with him. For so, if one were to remain from it, it would now be at his will, since he must have seen that those that first did so to have miserably perished. Nay, besides this, the kindred of those that were destroyed had a double reason for disliking him, because he only desired the heads of the tribes to bring their rods, with the names of their tribes inscribed upon them; and that he should receive the priesthood, in whose rod God should give a sign of the law. Therefore he said, So the Lord brought their rods, as did Aaron also, who had written the tribe of Levi on his rod. These rods Moses laid up in the tabernacle of God. On the next day he brought out the rods, which were known from one another by those who brought them, they having distinctly noted them, as had the multitude also; and as to the rest, in the same form Moses received them, in that they saw them still; but they were such that buds and branches grew out of Aaron’s rod, with ripe fruits upon them; they were almonds, the rod having been cut out of that tree. The people were so amazed at this strange sight, that though Moses and Aaron were afraid of the power of God, they now laid that hatred aside, and began to admire the judgment of God concerning them; so that hereafter they applauded what God had decreed, and permitted Aaron to enjoy the priesthood peacefully. And thus God ordained him priest three several times, and he retained that honor without farther 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 revenue, as the land of two thousand cubits would extend from the walls of the city. And besides this, he appointed that the people should pay the tithe of their annual fruits of the earth, both of the Levites and of 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 tithes which they every year receive of the people; as also, that it was but just to offer to God the first-born of their cattle, as well as the first-born of their flocks. For the first-born of all men, and the first-born of all beasts, are the multitudes of them which are not 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 cities; but the first-born of the land, and those first-born which are not appointed for sacrifices in the laws of our country, should bring a shekel and a half in their stead; but for the first-born of a man, five shekels: these they should also have the power of selling. And that is the eating of the sheep; and that when any baked bread corn, and made loaves of it, they should give somewhat of what they had baked to them. Moreover when they made bread of meal, to the priests, and those that are called ‘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 themselves to God, as a corban, which denotes what the Greeks call a ‘gift,’ when they are desirous of being freed from that ministration, are to lay down money for the priests; thirty shekels a head, five shekels a woman; if it be a female; but if any be too poor 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 to allot the head to the priest, as a right shoulder of the sacrifice, to the priests. With these Moses convinced that the priests should be plentifully main tained, 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 daughter, their wives, should partake, as well as themselves, excepting what came to them out of the sacrifices that were offered for sins: for of those none but the males of the families of the priests might eat, and this in the temple also, and that the same they might eat after the priestly custom.

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

* Concerning these twelve rods of the twelve tribes of Israel, see St. Clement’s account, much larger than that in our Bibles, 1 Epist. sect. 45, as Josephus’s present account in some measure larger also.

† Grotius, in Numh. vi. 18, takes notice, that the Greeks also, as well as the Jews, sometimes consecrated the hair of their heads to the gods.
as would allow his army liberty to buy provi-
sions; and, if he resisted it, he would pay
down a price for the very water they should
drink. 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 the water, and to hinder them, in case they
should endeavor to force their passage. Upon
which Moses consulted God by the oracle, who
would not have him begin the war first; and so
he withdrew his forces, and travelled round about
the wilderness, that he might not terrify them, that he
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 meet their passing over Amor. 

2. When the Amorites, the Amorite king
was disposed to enter upon hostilities with them,
he thought he ought not to bear that insult; and
determining to win the Hebrews from their in-
their cities, which were strong, from which they
had been used to the plough, or to husbandry: that
was complete in all its parts, and entirely of a
red color, at a little distance from the camp,
into a place perfectly clean. This heifer was
slaughtered in the open forest, and her blood sprinkled
with his finger, seven times before the taberna-
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
some salt, upon the midst of the fire; then a
clean man gathered all her ashes together,
and laid them in a place perfectly clean. When
therefore any persons were defiled by a dead
body, they put a little of these ashes into spring
water, and bathed in it; and of the rest of the
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
lands.

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 Hebrews esteemed
their metropolis, which was formerly called "Aree,"
but has now the name of "Petra," at this place
water, in the midst of which was mounted with
mountains. Here 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
them. He put off his pontilic garments, and
dressed himself in the priestly robe of the high
priesthood belonged, because he was the
elder brother, and died while the multitude look-
ed 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 the first
day of that lunar month which is called by the
Athenians 'Hecatombons,' by the Macedonians
"Lous," but by the Hebrews "Abba."

CHAP. V.

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

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

Josephus here uses this phrase, when the fortieth
year was completed, for when it was begun; as does St.
Lake, when the day of Pentecost was completed, Act R.

4 Whether Miriam died, as Josephus's Greek copy
temptly, on the first day of the month, may be doubted;
came the limit between the land of the Moabites
and the land of the Amorites. This land is fruit-
ful, and sufficient to maintain a great number of
men with the good things it produces. Moses,
therefore, sent messengers to Sihon, the king of
this country, desiring that he would grant his
army a passage, upon what security he should
please to require; he promised that he should be
noway 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 would be a slaughter of advantage, and he
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 meet their passing over Amor.

2. When the Amorites, the Amorite king
was disposed to enter upon hostilities with them,
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was complete in all its parts, and entirely of a
red color, at a little distance from the camp,
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cle of God: after this, the entire heifer was burnt
in that state, together with its skin and entrails,
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it has been now described, was over he caused
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wilderness, and through Arabia. And when he
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but has now the name of 'Peta,' at this place
water, in the midst of which was mounted with
mountains. Here 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
them. He put off his pontilic garments, and
dressed himself in the priestly robe of the high
priesthood belonged, because he was the
elder brother, and died while the multitude look-
ed 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 the first
day of that lunar month which is called by the
Athenians 'Hecatombons,' by the Macedonians
"Lous," but by the Hebrews 'Abba.'
they took the enemies prisoners, for they could
soway put a stop to them, since all the fighting
men were destroyed. Such was the destruction
which overtook the Amorites, who were neither
nagious in council, nor courageous in action.
Hence oppression against Jericho. The great
power of the 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 the sea, it beheld an unobstructed
name in haste to the assistance of his friend Si-
son. But though he found him already slain,
yet did he resolve still to come and fight the He-
sbrews, supposing he should be too hard for them,
and being desirous to try their valor; but falling
of his hope, he was both himself slain in the
battle, and all his army was destroyed. So Moses
passed over the river Jabbok, and over-
ran the kingdom of Og. He took up his
ambassadors, and treated them very kindly, and when he had sup-
pied, he inquired what was God's will; and what
this matter was for which the Midianites entreat-
ed him to come to them? But when God op-
posed him, he came to try them. And he told
them, that he was himself very willing and
desirous to comply with their request, but in-
firmed them that God was opposite to his inten-
tions; even that God had raised him to a great reputation, and on account of his predictions, for this army which they entreat-
ed him to come to curse, was in the favor of God; on which account he advised them to go home again, and not to persist in their enmity against the Israelites: and when he had given them that answer, he dismissed the ambassa-
dors.

3. Now the Midianites, at the earnest request
and fervent entreaties of Balasch, sent other am-
bassadors to Balsam, with the further aggravating
of the men, inquired again of God; but he was dis-
pelled at this [second] trial, and bid him by no
means to contradict the ambassadors. Now Bal-
sch did not imagine that God gave him this in-
junction in order to deceive him, for he sat along with the ambassadors; but when the
divine angel met him in the way, when he was in a
narrow passage, and hedged in with a wall on
both sides, and the angel stood and told him
that it was a divine spirit that met him,
and thrust Balsam into one of the walls, without
regard to the stripes which Balsam, when he was hurst by the wall, gave her; but when the
man, upon the angel's continuing to distress her,
and upon the stripes which were given her,
dfell down, by the will of God, she made use of
the voice of a man, and complained of Balsam,
as acting unjustly to her; that whereas he had no fault to find with her for her forbearance to
him, he now inflicted stripes upon her, as not un-
crimed. Josephus never scruples to admit, as ever co-
taining such wicked men justly and providentially de-
certed.) But it would be better, were we here to
expound the text, which says, Numbr. xxii. 30, 31, that God only
permitted Balsam to go along with the ambassadors, in
case they came and called him, or positively insisted on
his going along with them, on any terms; whereas Bal-
sam seems, out of impatience, to have risen up in the
morning and called his name, and rather to have called
them, than said for their calling him; so zealous does
he seem to have been for his reward of divination; his
conduct and the circumstances, see Numbr. xiv. 26, Psal. lii. 15; Jude 3, 11; which reward or wages the truly
religious prophets of God never required nor accepted,
as our Josephus strenuously opposed.)

CHAP. VI.
Concerning Balsam the Prophet, and what kind of
a man he was.

1. Now Moses, when he had brought his
army to Jordan, pitched his camp in the great
plain of Gennesaret, to gain himself the
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
eager 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 occa-
sion which he took for making war upon them
was this:

* What Josephus here remarks is well worth our re-
mark in this place also, viz. that the Israelites were ne-
ved to seek for squalor, either in the land of any
other people but those belonging to the land of Canaan,
and the countries of Bithynia and Os beyond Jordan, as
far as the desert and Euphrates, and that, therefore, no
other people had reason to fear the conquest of the Is-
raelites; but that those countries, given them by God,
remained in possession of the possessed nations; and that all who endeavored to possess them
might ever be justly destroyed by them.

The wages of unrighteousness are to be Balsam to be an
Idolater, nor to seek idolatrous enforcements, or to
prophecy falsely, but to be no other than an ill-disposed
prophet, and to the utter ruin of the state. For
when they were not permitted to go in the second time, permitting him to go was ironi-
cal, and on design that he should be deceived (which
sort of deception, by way of punishment for former

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understanding that she was bribed from serving him in what he was now going about, by the providence of God. And when he was disturbed by reason of the voice of the angel, which was that of a man, the angel plainly appeared to him, and blamed him for the stripes he had given his ass, and informed him that the brute creature was not in fault, and that he was himself responsible for his jouneyman being contrary to the will of God. Upon which Balaam was afraid, and was preparing to return back again, yet did God excite him to go on his intended way; but added this injunction, that he should do nothing but what he himself should suggest to his mind.

4. When God had given him this charge, he came to Balak; and when the king had entertained him in a magnificent manner, he desired him over the people of the Amorites. You take an interest of the state of the camp of the Hebrews. Balak himself came to the mountain, and brought the prophet along with him, with a royal attendance. This mountain lay over their heads, and was distant so as to try the world of the camp. Now when he saw them, he desired the king to build him seven altars, and to bring him as many bulls and rams; to which desire the king assented. They offered him these, slew the bulls, and offered them as burnt-offerings, that he might observe some signal of the flight of the Hebrews. Then said he, "Happy is this people on whom God bestows the possession of immortality; they have his own providence to be their assistant and their guide; so that there is not any nation among mankind but you will be esteemed superior to them in virtue, and in the earnest prosecution of the best rules of life, and of such as are pure from wickedness, and will leave those excellent rules to your children, and this out of the regard that God bears to you, and the provision of such things for you as may render you happier than any other people under the stars. You shall retain that land to which he hath sent you; and it shall ever be under the command of your children; and both all the earth, as well as the seas, shall be filled with your glory: and you shall be sufficient, and shall abound in prosperity. You shall shall be sufficient, and shall abound in prosperity. You shall be a light unto your God, and the light of the whole earth; and all the children of Canaan can now hold you, as being yet comparatively a few: but know ye that the whole world is proposed to be your place of habitation forever. The multitude of your posterity also shall live as princes on the earth, and shall be the terror of the earth even as of its princes. May the children of your enemies have an inclination to fight against you; and may they be so hard as to come to arms, and to assault you in battle, for they will not return with victory, for their return shall be slaughter of their children and wives. To so great a degree of valor will you be raised by the providence of God, who is able to diminish the influence of some, and to supply the wants of others."

And he spoke in general, as not being in his own power, but moved to say what he did by the divine Spirit. But when 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 was required to curse their enemies, he had made an encomium upon them, and had declared that they were the happiest of men. To which Balak replied, "O Balak, if thou rightly considerst the things I have said to thee, it is in our power to be silent, or to say anything when the spirit of God seizes upon us? for he puts such words as he pleases into our mouths, and such discourses as we are not ourselves able to use. Of that we will remove all that entreaties both you and the Midianites so joyfully brought me hither, and on that account I took this journey. It was my prayer that I might not put any afront upon you, as to what you desired of me but God shall make you in all respects to pursue the purposes I had made to serve you; for those that take upon them to foretell the affairs of mankind, as from their own abilities, are entirely unable to do it, or to forbear to utter what God saith to do, till men have seen it done; and for when he prevents us, and enters into us, nothing that we say is our own. I then did not intend to praise this army, nor to go over the several cities and the Midianites, as a manner of torturing them, but to build upon them a happy life, and eternal glory, he suggested the declaration of those things to me. But now, because you have desired this, he has also given you the Midianites, as well as the Midianites, whose entreaties it is not decent for me to reject. go to, let us again rear other altars, and offer the like sacrifices that we did before; that I may see whether I can persuade God to permit me to bless these men, even as the Midianites, whose entreaties it is not decent for me to reject. go to, let us again rear other altars, and offer the like sacrifices that we did before; that I may see whether I can persuade God to permit me to bless these men, even as the Midianites, whose entreaties it is not decent for me to reject."

Which, when Balak had agreed to, God would not, even upon second sacrifices, consent to his cursing the Israelites. Then fell Balaam upon his face, and foretold what calamities God would bring upon the Israelites and the nations, and the most eminent cities, some of which of old were not so much as inhabited; which events have come to pass among the several people concerned, both in the foregoing ages, and in time to come. Balak, the king of the Amorites, and the princes of the Midianites, and spake thus to them: "O Balak, and you Midianites that are here present, (for I am obliged, even without the will of God, to gratify you,) it is true no entire destruction can come upon the nation of the Hebrews, neither by war, nor by plague, nor by scarcity of the fruits of the earth, nor can any other unexpected accident be their entire ruin, for the providence of God is concerned to preserve them from such a misfortune, nor will it permit any such calamity to come upon them whereby they may all perish: but some small misfortunes, and those for a short time, whereby they may appear to be brought low, may still be for their good, whereby they may be reformed, and, again, to the terror of those that brought those mischief upon them. So that if you have a

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\(^*\) Whether Josephus had in his copy but two ajusions, the province of Balaam in all to curse Israel, or whether, by this his transferring the narrative, he meant to indicate that first time already mentioned, which yet is not very probable, cannot now be certainly determined. In the former, which latter conjecture, the whole attempt of Balaam to curse them in the present history, is such a large and distinct account of this perversion of the Israelites by the Midianitish women, of which all the other writers agree, but Josephus in the Samaritan xxxi. 16; 2 Pet. ii. 15; Jud. ver. 11. Apoc. ii. 14, is preserved, as Balsam informs us, in the Samaritan chronicles, in which of the writings of the Jews, as well as here by Josephus.
and 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 handsomest of such of your daughters as are most eminent for beauty, and proper to force and conquer the modesty of those that behold them, and these decked and trimmed to the highest degree you are able: then do you send them to be near the Israelites' camp; and give them in charge, that when the young men of the Hebrews desire their company, they may have no scruple in accepting it. And in them you see that they are enamored of them, let them take their leave; and if they entreat them to stay, let them not give their consent till they have persuaded them to leave off of their own accord, in their own strength of the worship of that God whom they established them, and worship the gods of the Midianites and the Moabites; for by this means God will be angry at them. " Accordingly, when he suggested this counsel to them, he went his way.

7. So when the Midianites had sent their daughters, as Balaam had exhorted them, the Hebrew young men were charmed by their beauty, and came "to discourse with them, and beg them not to grudge them the enjoyment of their beauty, nor to deny them their conversation. These daughters of the Midianites received their words gladly, and consented to it, and said with them, but marry them not; for that they are but the daughters of Midian, and their inclination to them were grown to ripeness, they began to think of departing from them; then it was that these men became greatly disconsolate at the women's departure, and contracted with them, and called God for the arbitrator of what they promised; and this with tears in their eyes, and all other marks of concern as might show how miserable they thought themselves without them, and so might move their compassion for them. So the women, as soon as they perceived they had made them their slaves, and had caught them with their conversation, began to speak thus to them:

8. You illustrious young men! we have houses of our own at home, and great plenty of good things there, together with the natural affectionate love of our parents and friends; nor is it out of our want of any such things that we consented to go with you, and become your slaves. This was not of your invitation with design to prostitute the beauty of our body for gain, but taking you for brave and worthy men, we agreed to your request, that we may treat you with such honors as hospitality required; and now, seeing you say that you have a great affection for us, and are troubled when you think we are departing, we are not averse to your entreaties; and if we may receive such assurance of your good will as will at this time inspire such confidence in you, as will lead our lives with you as your wives, but we are afraid that you will in time be weary of our company, and will then abuse us, and send us back again to the same men among whom we now are; and they desired that they would excuse them in their guarding against that danger. But the young men pressed them they would give them any assurance they should desire; nor did they at all contradict what they requested, so great was the passion they had for them. "If them, (said they) this be your resolution, since you make use of such customs and conduct of life as are entirely different from all other men, it is certain that your kinds of food are peculiar to yourselves, and your kinds of drink not common to others, it will be absolutely necessary, if you would have us for your wives, that you do worship the gods of this land nor can you possibly make any demonstration of the kindness which you say you already have, and promise to have hereafter to us, than this, that you worship the same gods that we do; for has any one reason to complain, that now your company becomes involved, you should worship the proper gods of the same country? especially while our gods are common to all men, and yours such as belong to nobody else but on account of the worthiness of their fathers, they must either come into such methods of divine worship as all others came into, or else they must look out for another world, wherein they may live by themselves, according to their own laws.

9. Now these young men were overcome by the fondness they had for these women, to think they spake very well, so they gave themselves up to what they persuaded them, and transgressed their own laws, and supposed there were many gods; and considering that they thought the Midianites and Moabites 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 the women would have them do, though in their own conscience they knew it was contrary to their own laws; and so they did, so that this transgression was already gone through the whole army of the young men, and they fell into a sedition that was much worse than the former, and in danger of the entire abolition of their own institutions; for when those men 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 worthiness of their fathers, they also were corrupted with the rest.

10. Even Zimri, the head of the tribe of Simeon, compassed with Cushi, a Midianitish woman, who was the daughter of Sur, a man of authority in that country; and being eloped 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 from his own, and by taking a stranger to wife. With those words the holy writer exhorts all 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 their hands; and that these things to be true constitude which offers not violence to their laws, but that which resists their laws. And besides that, he said, it was not a reasonable thing, when they did not take care how they lived, to act madly now they were in prosperity; and that they ought not to lose, now they have abun dance, what they had gained when they had lit
tis.” And so did he endeavor, by saying this, to correct the young men, and to bring them to repentance for what they had done.

11. But Zimri arose up after him, and said, “Yes, indeed, Moses, thou art at liberty to make use of such laws as thou art so fond of, and hast, by acquiescing thyself to them, made them firm; otherwise, if things had not been thus, thou hadst often been punished before now, and hadst known that the Hebrews are not easily put upon; but he always had the misfortune to follow, in thy tyrannical commands, for thou dost nothing else hitherto, but, under pretence of laws, and of God, wickedly impose upon us slavery, and gain dominion over us, while at the same time we are the vehicles of life, which consists in acting according to our own wills, and is the right of freemen, and of those that have no lord over them. Nay, indeed, this man is harder upon the done, the people held the peace, both out of fear of what might come upon them, and because they saw that their legislator was not willing to bring his insolence before the public any farther, or openly to contend with him, for he avoided that; but he never stirred in the following occasion: Phineas, a man in other respects better than the rest of the young men, and also one that surpassed his contemporaries in the dignity of his father, (for he was the son of Eleazar the high priest, and the grandson of Aaron) Moses his brother, who was greatly troubled at what was done by Zimri, resolved in earnest to inflict punishment on him, before his unworthy behavior should grow any further by impunity; and in order to prevent this, he sent a message from Phineas, the high priest, which would happen if the ringleaders were not punished. He was of so great magnanimity, both in strength of mind and body, that when he came to publish the following occasion, he did not leave it off still he overcome it, and got an entire victory; so he came into Zimri’s tent, and slew him with his javelin, and with it he slew Cozbi also. Upon which all those young men that were there at the time of this glorious action, imitated Phineas’s boldness, and slew those that were found to be guilty of the same crime with Zimri. Accordingly, many of those that had transgressed perished by the magnanimous valor of these young men: the rest all perished by a plague, which distemper God himself inflicted upon them: so 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 esteemed by God as partners in their wickedness, and died. Accordingly, there perished out of the army no fewer than fourteen [twenty-four] thousand at that same time.

13. This was the cause why Moses was provoked to send an army to destroy the Midianites: concerning which expedition we shall speak presently, and particularly when the Midianites were present; and do not intermit; for it is but just not to pass over our legislator’s due encomium, on account of his conduct here, because, although this Balanam, who was sent for by the Midianites to curse the nation, which Phineas was made mention a little 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 more or less infected: yet did he not do him great honor, by setting down his prophecies in writing. And while it was in 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 his attestation to him, and did him the honor 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.

11. 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 commander, and asked them to come with him, and they assembled their army together, and fortified the entrances into their country, and there awaited the enemy’s coming. When they were come, and they had joined battle with them, and were perfectly the most of the Midianites had fell, and could they be numbered they were very many: and among them fell all their kings, five in number, viz.: Évi, Zür, Rebas, Her, and Rekem, who was of the same name with a city, the chief and capital of all Arabs, which is till now so called by the whole Arabian nation, ‘Aрам,’ from the name of the king that built it, but is by the Greeks called ‘Petra.’ Now when the enemies were overcome, and the Hebrews spoiled their country, and took a great prey, and destroyed the men that were its inhabitants, together with the women; only they let the virgins alone, as Moses had commanded Phineas to do, who indeed came back with much spoil. But the Midianites, although they had done no harm, and a great deal of prey: fifty-two thousand besses, seventy-five thousand six hundred sheep, sixty thousand asses, with an immense quantity of gold and silver furniture that was destroyed, which was doubtless done for they were so wealthy, that they were very luxurious. There were also led captive about thirty-two thousand virgins.† So Moses divided

† The slaughter of all the Midianite women that had procreated for their husbands was, in a sort, a grant, that our very learned editors, Bernard and Hudson, have put the latter number directly into the text. I choose rather to put it in brackets.
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 sons of Levi, by lot: after which they lived happily, as having obtained an abundance of good things by their valor, and there being no misfortune that attended them, or hindered the enjoyment of that happiness.

2. But Moses was a hundred and twenty years old, and appointed Joshua for his successor, both to receive directions from God as a prophet, and for a commander of the army, if they should at any time stand in need of such assistance: for he had done; and by the command of God, that to him the care of the public should be committed. Now Joshua had been instructed in all those kinds of learning which concerned the laws and God himself, and many years been a priest. After this he lived with great sanctity, and that he had a mind to live in luxury and ease, while all the rest were laboring with great pains to obtain the land they were desirous to have, and that they were not willing to march along; and this was not the remaining part only of Israel, but by them, under the divine promise, to pass over Jordan, and overcome those our enemies which God had shown them, and so obtain their land. But these tribes, when they saw that Moses was old, and that he could not deny but he had a just cause to be displeased at their petition, made an apology for themselves: and said, "that it was not on account of their fear of dangers, nor on account of their inclination, but on account of the danger which they apprehended that they might leave the prey they had gotten in places of safety, and thereby might be more expedites, and ready to undergo difficulties, and to fight battles." They added also, that "we cannot possibly secure the young men and widows, of the land of Israel; we can also preserve their children, and wives, and possessions, if he would bestow upon them, they would go along with the rest of the army. Hereupon the lot was cast, on the west side of Jordan: so it was 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 brethren 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 ornament of life to them, for the future ages of the world.

3. Moses also now built those ten cities, which were to be of the number of the forty-eight [forty-eight] for command of God, are highly remarkable; and show, that even in nations otherwise for their wickedness doomed, there were not wanting individuals, who were particularly and providentially taken care of, and delivered from that destruction; which directly implies, that it was the will of God, that a part of the nation should preserve itself, and nothing else, that occasioned their excision. See Gen. xvi. 18, 16; 1 Sam. xv.10-12; 2 Cor. vii. 10-12. As with the Egyptians, 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 the Amalekites; and, implying, that 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 for-
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 also forfeit the favor of God; and when you have made war upon your enemy, you will be beaten in war; and will be treated as you treated others, and will be carried 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 as always have been the cause of your own ruin, and of the miseries 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 life. And I also farther exhorted 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, with fire. If you would not alone the safety of your own happy constitution, but also the event, 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 laws and the constitution of government, written in a book. Upon which the people fell into tears, and appeared already touched with the sense that they should have a great want of their conductor, because they remembered what a number of years he had been so zealous in what care he had taken of their preservation; they desponded about what would come upon them after he was dead, and thought they should never have another governor like him; and feared that God would 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 angry, and were in grief on those accounts too much, 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 affliction. However Moses gave them some consolation, saying, that knowing how much they were worthy he was of their weeping for him, he exalted them to keep that form of government he had given them; and then the congregation was dissolved at that time.

4. Accordingly, I shall now first describe this form of government, which was agreeable to the dignity and virtue of Moses; and shall thereby inform those that read these antiquities what our original settlements were, and shall also do them that are curious in that sort of business honor. Now those settlements are still in writing, as he left them; and we shall add nothing by way of ornament, nor any thing besides what Moses left us, only we shall still proceed to it so as to reduce the number of laws into a regular system, for they were by him left in writing as they were accidentally scattered in their delivery, and as he upon inquiry had learned them of God. On which account I have, as it were, to recapitulate what I have before delivered, and to bring the remembrance beforehand, lest any of my own countrymen should blame me, as having been guilty of an offence herein. Now part of our constitution will include the laws that belong to our political state. As for those laws which Moses left concerning our common conversation and intercourse one with another, I have reserved that for a discourse concerning our manner of life, and the occasions of those laws which I propose
to myself, with God's assistance, to write, after I have finished the work I am now upon.

5. When you have possessed yourselves of the land of Canaan, and have leisure to enjoy the good things of it, and when you have afterward determined to build cities, if you will do that is pleasing to God, you shall not build your city, but God shall build it for himself by prophetic revelations. Let there also be one temple therein and one altar, not reared of hewn stones, but of such as you gather together at random: which stones, when they are worn and rubbed, will afford some appearance, and be beautiful to the sight. Let the ascent to it be not by steps,\(^6\) but by an acclivity of raised earth. And let there be neither an altar, nor a temple in any other city; for God is but one, and the nation of the Hebrews is but one.

6. He that blasphemes God, let him be stoned, and let him hang upon a tree all that day, and then let him be buried in an ignominious and shameful manner.

7. Let those that live as remote as the bounds of the land which the Hebrews shall possess, come to that city where the temple shall be, and this three times in a year, that they may give thanks to God for his former benefits, and may expect those for those that are of the same stock, and under the same institution of laws, not to be unacquainted with each other; which acquaintance will be maintained by thus conversing together, and by seeing and talking with one another, and so being always friendly to each other. For, if they do not thus converse together continually, they will appear like more strangers to one another.

8. Let there be taken out of your fruits tenth, besides that which you have allotted to the priests and Levites. This you may indeed sell in the country, but it is to be used in these feasts and sacrifices that are to be celebrated in the holy city; for it is fit that you should enjoy those from your own stock. And then let there be no more possession, so as may be to the honor of the donor.

9. You are not to offer sacrifices out of the hire of a woman which is a harlot; for the Deity is not pleased with any thing that arises from such a source. And let none of you bid better of his goods than he is worse than this prostitute of the body. In like manner, no one may take the price of the covering of a bitch, either of one that is used in hunting.

\(^6\) This law, both here and Exod. xx. 25, 26, of not going up to God's altar by ladder steps, is on an allusion, as seems not to have belonged to the altar of the tabernacle, which was in all but three cubic cubits high, Exod. xxvii. 1, nor to that of Ezekiel, which was expressly to be gone up to by steps and ladders, Ezek. iv. 3. It is probably a general allusion to the ascent of any considerable altitude and largeness; as also probably to Solomon's altar, to which it is here applied by Jeremiah, as well as that in Zorobabel's and Herod's temple, which were, I think, all ten cubits high. See 2 Chron. iv. 1. and Antiq. B. viii. ch. iii. sect. 7. The reason that is given, that this ascent on an acclivity, and not by steps, is obvious, that before the invention of stairs, such as we now use, decency could not otherwise be preserved for in the loose garments which the priests wore, the law required. See Lamy of the Tabernacle and Temple, p. 444.

\(\text{\$} \) What book of the law was thus publicly read, see the note on Antiq. B. x. ch. v. sect. 3; and 1 Esd. ix. 36—38.

\(\|\) Whether these phylacteries, and other Jewish materials of the law here mentioned by Josephus, and by Moses in Num. xv. 37 were literally meant by God, I much doubt. That they have been long observed by the Pharisees in the religious acts of the Jewish nation, is certain; but, the Karaites, who receive not the unwritten traditions of the elders, but keep close to the written law, with Jerome and Groshein, I think they have not been so much understood, as Bernard and Reland here take notice. Nor indeed do I remember that either in the more ancient books of the Old Testament, or in the books we call 'Apocrypha,' there are any signs of such literal observations appearing among the Jews, though their oral or mystical interpreters, I. e., the Talmudists, have the Seer's memory and observation of the laws of God by Moses, be frequently inculcated in all the sacred writings.

\(\|\) Here as well as elsewhere, sect. 38 of his Life, sect. 14; and of the War, B. ii. ch. xx. sect. 5, are but seven accounts of small importance, in the midst of twenty-three, in the modern rabbinic; which means 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 first be disposed to determine that they think to be right, unless any one can show that they have taken bribes, to the perversion of justice, or can allege any other accusation against them, whereby it may appear that 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 dignity of the suitors, but that the judges should esteem what is right before all else. Otherwise, God will by that means be despised, and esteemed inferior to those, the dread of whose power has occasioned the unjust sentence; for justice is the power of God. He therefore that gratifies those in great dignity, supposes them more potent than God himself. But if these judges are unable to give a just sentence about the causes that come before them, (which case is not unfrequent in human affairs,) let them send the cause undetermined to the holy city, and to the high priest, the prophet, and the Sanhedrin, determine as it shall seem good to them.

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

16. If a murder be committed in any place, and he did that be not found, nor is there any sure mark of it, nor any other, he has killed the man, and so had killed him, let there be a very dili-
gen inquiry made after the man, and rewards proposed to any who will discover him; but if still no information can be procured, let the magis-
trate enter into the city, and let the heads of the houses, and 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 men of the near neighboring city thereto purchase a heifer, and bring it to a valley, and to a place therein where there is no land ploughed, or trees planted; and let them cut the sinews of the heifer; and the priests and Levites, and the chief men of the city, shall 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.

17. Aristocracy, and the way of living under it, is the best constitution; and may you never have an inferior to thee, he or she, and you may always love that form, and have the laws for your governors, and govern all your actions according to them; for you need no su-
preme authority but God. But if you shall de-
sign a king, let him be one of your own nation; let him be always careful of justice, and other virtues, perpetually; let him submit to the laws, and esteem God's commands to be his highest will. Nothing without God's will be offered to 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 house shall become like a king's house, and he shall be a king, according as they think to be right, unless any one can show that he has taken bribes, to the perversion of justice, or can allege any other accusation against him, whereby it may appear that he has passed an unjust sentence; for it is not fit that causes should be openly determined out of regard to gain, or to the dignity of the suitors, but that the judges should esteem what is right before all else. Otherwise, God will by that means be despised, and esteemed inferior to those, the dread of whose power has occasioned the unjust sentence; for justice is the power of God. He therefore that gratifies those in great dignity, supposes them more potent than God himself. But if these judges are unable to give a just sentence about the causes that come before them, (which case is not unfrequent in human affairs,) let them send the cause undetermined to the holy city, and to the high priest, the prophet, and the Sanhedrin, determine as it shall seem good to them.

18. Let it not be esteemed lawful to remove boundaries, neither our own, nor of those with whom we are at peace. Have a care you do not lose the fruits of your toil, which are, as it were, a divine and unshaken limitation of rights made by God himself, to last for ever, since this going beyond limits, and gaining ground upon others, is the occasion of wars and seditions; for the fruits are not, as men are nor far off an attempt to subvert the laws.

19. He that plants a piece of land whose trees produce fruits before 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 pro-
duced in its proper season; for when nature has a force put upon her at an unreasonable time, the fruit is not proper for God, nor for the master's use; but let the owner gather all that is a generous fruit, for then it is in its proper season. And let him that has gathered it, carry it to the holy city, and spend that, together with the title of his other fruits, in feasting with his family, with the orphan and the widow. But on the fifth year the fruit is his own, and he may use it as he pleases.

20. You are not to sow a piece of land with seed which is planted with vines, for it is enough to eat on the sowing and the harvest, and not harassed by ploughing also. You are to plough your land with oxen: and not to oblige other animals to come under the same yoke with them; but to till your land with those beasts that in the land of Egypt are not toiled with. The seeds are also to be pure, and without mixture, and not to be compounded of two or three sorts, since nature does not rejoice in the union of things that are not in their own nature alike; nor any mixture of the good and the bad, or gender together; for there is reason to fear that this unnatural abuse may extend from beasts of different kinds to men, though it takes its first rise from the evil practices about such smaller things. The same thing is to be allowed by im-
itiation whereof any degree of subversion may creep into the constitution. Nor do the laws neglect small matters, but provide that even these may be managed after an unblamable manner.

21. Let not those that reap, and gather in the corn that is reaped, gather in the gleanings also; but let them rather leave some handfuls 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 the increase of the abundance from the prolific ness of the earth. God will provide, that the land shall more willingly produce what shall be for the nourishment of its fruits, in case you do not merely take care of the same kind with care of the earth, 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 in the threshing-floor; for it is not just to restrain our fellow-laboring animals, and thus deprive them of the sustenance that arises out of their labours. 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 ELL.

* I have never observed else where that, In the Jewish government women were not admitted as legal wit-
nesses in courts of justice. None of our copies of the
themse/elves fail of what you have, and this whether they be of your own country, or strangers, as men glad of the opportunity of giving them some part of your fruits when they are ripe; but let it be given to them, and be 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 a kind of food, to eat of it, to partake of the good things that come into the world, according to God's will, and this while the season is at the height, and is hastening away as it pleases God. Nay, if, some out of base and low vanity of mind, are content to let them be encouraged to take of them, I mean those that are Israelites, as if they were themselves the owners and lords, on account of the kindness there is between them. Nay, let them desire and press one another to God, to distribute, 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 blesses also the generous and liberal soul; and let them for themselves reap the advantage, but also to give to others in a way of generosity; and he is desired by these means, to make known to others his kindness to himself. God has been slow and low freely he communicates happiness 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 cut off, as he was, and put to death as he was a public executioner; let him undergo this punishment, 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 proper for you who have rich land and have been made the objects 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 propitiation come from God, to distribute, to the same plenty, by the like sympathy, to such as stand in need of it.

22. Besides these two tithes, which I have already said you are to pay every year, the one for the Levites, the other for the festivals; there 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 orphans, and to the Levites, and to the priests, and to the stranger, and to the fatherless, and to the widow, which 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 sacrifices with which he has made it, let him bring, let them give the first-fruits to the priests. But when any one hath done this, and hath brought the tithes of all that he hath, together with those first-fruits that were for the Levites, and for the festivals; and when he has gone out of his house, 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, that he has given them a country large, and let them enjoy the fruits thereof; and when he hath openly testified that he hath fully paid the tithes [and other dues], according to the law of Moses, let him extort God that 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 given them, and by showing what it is still in 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 be that does not marry a virgin, let him be cut off, and corrupt another man's wife, and also his father's wife, and 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 for the dignity and worth of their persons; let them not govern those their affections. And farther, no one ought to marry a harlot; whose matrimonious obligations, arising from the prostitution of her body, God will not receive; for by these means, the dispositions of the children will be liberal and virtuous; I mean when they are not born of base parents, and of the lustful conjunction of such as marry women that are not free. If any one has been espoused to a woman as to a virgin, and does not afterward, let him be cut off, and be put to death, because he has, by such an action, and accuse her, and let him make use of such indications to prove his accusation as he is furnished withal, and let the father or the brother of the damsel, come and take her nearest of kin, to defend her. If the damsel obtain a sentence in her favor, 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, but she is to be free, and he to be deprived of 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 being received and saved as a slave to public execution, and pay fifty shekels to her father. But if the damsel be convicted, as having been corrupted, and is one of the common people, let her be stoned, because she did not preserve her virginity till she 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, and the other is of no account with him; and if the son of her that is beloved be the younger by birth than another born of the other wife, but endeavors to obtain the right of his father's substance, there 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 is to whom the son who is the elder by birth should be deprived of what is due to him, on the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother was not equally regarded by him. He that hath corrupted a damsel espoused to another man, in case he had her consent, 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 is the elder by birth should be deprived of what is due to her, on the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother was not equally regarded by him. He that hath corrupted a damsel espoused to another man, in case he had her consent, 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 is the elder by birth should be deprived of what is due to her, on the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother was not equally regarded by him. He that hath corrupted a damsel espoused to another man, in case he had her consent, 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 is the elder by birth should be deprived of what is due to her, on the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother was not equally regarded by him. He that hath corrupted a damsel espoused to another man, in case he had her consent, 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 is the elder by birth should be deprived of what is due to her, on the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother was not equally regarded by him.
nobody was present to come to her assistance, let him put her to death, and then kill himself, but he not being so inclined, he committed a virgin not yet espoused, marry her; but if the father of the damsel be not willing that she should be his wife, let him pay fifty shillings as the price of her prostitution. He that deserts his wife from her, is guilty for any cause, whatsoever, (and many such causes happen among men,) let him in writing give assurance that he never will use her as his wife any more, for by these means she may be at liberty to marry him again. If, however, he be before this bill of divorce be given, she is not to be permitted so to do: but if she be misled by him also, or if when he is dead, her first husband would marry her again, it shall not be lawful for her to return to him. If a woman's husband die, and she be not without children, let his brother marry her, and let him call the son that is born to him by his brother's name, and educate him as the heir of his inheritance; for this procedure will be for the benefit of the public, because thereby families will not fail, and the estate will continue among the kindred; and this will be for the solace of wives under their affliction, that they are to be married only to the nearest relation of the former husband. But if the brother will not marry her, let the woman come before the senate, and protest openly that his brother will not admit her for his wife, but will jeer at the memory of his deceased brother, and if she is willing to continue in the family, and to bear him children: and when the senate have inquired of him, for what reason it is that he is averse to this marriage, whether he gives a bad or a good reason, the matter must come to them in particular; and she shall be on the same footing as the widow of the brother, and shall spelt in his face, and say, "He deserves this reproachful treatment from her, as having injured the memory of the deceased." And then let him go away out of the city, and never heap anything upon him all his life long; and let her marry whom she pleases, of such as seek her in marriage. But now if any man take captive either a virgin, or one that hath been married, and has a mind to marry her, let him not be allowed to bring her to bed to him, or to live with her as his wife, before she hath her head shaved, and hath put on her mourning habit, and lamented her relations and friends; and if she still holds the same mind that by those means she may give vent to her sorrow for them, and after that may betake herself to feasting and merriment, for it is good for him that takes a woman in order to have children by her, to have no account 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 go away whither she pleases, to have that privilege of a free woman.

24. As to those young men that despise their parents, and do not pay them honor, but offer their fathers because 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 sufficient for becoming their judges,) and let them strive also to them: "That the creditor remain till what he lent be paid in again; but if he be poor, let him that takes it, return it before the going down of the sun, especially if the pledge be a garment, that the debtor not have it to wear, but they cohabited together, not for the sake of pleasure, nor for the augmentation of their riches, by joining both

*These words of Josephus are very like those of the Pharaoh to our Saviour upon this very subject. Matt. xix. 4. "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for any cause whatsoever?" (Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife "for any cause whatsoever," (Matt. xix. 4.)?"

† Here it is supposed that this captive's husband, if she were before a married woman, was dead before, or

their stocks together, but that they might have the mortgage of them, and might 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 blessed thee with great care, and spared 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 and let him be contented; and when he has once to bear part of that disfavor 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 inestimable punishment; of which punishment mayest thou never have the experience!" Now if the insolence of young men be thus cured, let them escape the reproach which their former errors deserved, for regard to the man, parents good, and parents happy, while they never be bold either a son or a daughter brought to punishment. But if it happen that these words and instructions conveyed by them, in order to correct them, prove ineffectual, and when the offender renders the laws implacable enemies to the insolence he has offered his parents; let him therefore be brought forth by these very parents out of the city, with a multitude following him, and with a multitude of reproaches upon him, good, and parents happy, while they never be bold either a son or a daughter brought to punishment. But if it happen that these words and instructions conveyed by them, in order to correct them, prove ineffectual, and when the offender renders the laws implacable enemies to the insolence he has offered his parents; let him therefore be brought forth by these very parents out of the city, with a multitude following him, and with a multitude of reproaches upon him, good, and parents happy, while they never be bold either a son or a daughter brought to punishment. But if it happen that these words and instructions conveyed by them, in order to correct them, prove ineffectual, and when the offender renders the laws implacable enemies to the insolence he has offered his parents; let him therefore be brought forth by these very parents out of the city, with a multitude following him, and with a multitude of reproaches upon him, good, and parents happy, while they never be bold either a son or a daughter brought to punishment. But if it happen that these words and instructions conveyed by them, in order to correct them, prove ineffectual, and when the offender renders the laws implacable enemies to the insolence he has offered his parents; let him therefore be brought forth by these very parents out of the city, with a multitude following him, and with a multitude of reproaches upon him, good, and parents happy, while they never be bold either a son or a daughter brought to punishment. But if it happen that these words and instructions conveyed by them, in order to correct them, prove ineffectual, and when the offender renders the laws implacable enemies to the insolence he has offered his parents; let him therefore be brought forth by these very parents out of the city, with a multitude following him, and with a multitude of reproaches upon him, good, and parents happy, while they never be bold either a son or a daughter brought to punishment. But if it happen that these words and instructions conveyed by them, in order to correct them, prove ineffectual, and when the offender renders the laws implacable enemies to the insolence he has offered his parents; let him therefore be brought forth by these very parents out of the city, with a multitude following him, and with a multitude of reproaches upon him, good, and parents happy, while they never be bold either a son or a daughter brought to punishment. But if it happen that these words and instructions conveyed by them, in order to correct them, prove ineffectual, and when the offender renders the laws implacable enemies to the insolence he has offered his parents; let him therefore be brought forth by these very parents out of the city, with a multitude following him, and with a multitude of reproaches upon him, good, and parents happy, while they never be bold either a son or a daughter brought to punishment. But if it happen that these words and instructions conveyed by them, in order to correct them, prove ineffectual, and when the offender renders the laws implacable enemies to the insolence he has offered his parents; let him therefore be brought forth by these very parents out of the city, with a multitude following him, and with a multitude of reproaches upon him, good, and parents happy, while they never be bold either a son or a daughter brought to punishment.
stainless thereto belonging, for a pledge, that the debtors may not be deprived of instruments to get their food withal, and lest they be undone by their necessities.

27. Let death be the punishment, for stealing a man; but he that hath purloined gold or silver, let him pay double. If any one kill a man that is stealing something out of his house, let him be exterminated guiltless, although the man were only breaking in at the wall. Let him that hath stolen cattle pay four-fold what is lost; excepting the case of an ox, for which let the thief pay five-fold. Let him that is so poor that he cannot pay what is due, then he becomes a servant to him of 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, and the day, and let them give him his children and wife, and let them be free also.

29. If any one find gold or silver in the road, let him inquire after him that lost it, and make proclamation of the place where he found it, and the same in writing on a rod. If any one do not make it right to make his own profit by the loss of another. And the same rule is to be observed in cattle found to have wandered away into a lonely place; and if a man have bought it, and then found it by another, let him that is the finder keep it with himself, and appeal to God, that he hath not purloined what belongs to another.

30. It is not lawful to pass by any beast that is in distress; when in a storm it is fallen down in the mire, but to endeavor to preserve it, as having a sympathy with it in its pain.

31. It is also a duty to show the roads to those who do not know them, and not to extort a man or hinder others' advantages by setting them in a wrong way.

32. In like manner let no one revile a person blind or dumb.

33. If men strive together, and there be no man to judge between them, let him that is smitten be avenged immediately, by inflicting the same punishment on him that smote him; but if, when he is carried home, he lie sick many days, and then die, let him that smote him not escape punishment; and if he die, let him pay for the death, and yet be at great expense for his cure, the smiter shall pay for all that has been expended during the time of his sickness, and for all that he has paid the physician. He that kicks a woman with child, so that the woman miscarry, 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 to 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.

34. Let not 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 poison was prepared.

35. He that maineth any one, let him undergo the like things, as the heathen do, and one member of the party of which he hath deprived the other, unless he that is mained will accept of money in instead of it, for the law makes the sufferer the judge of the value of what he hath suffered, and permits him to estimate it, unless he is under a sentence of death.

36. Let him that is the owner of an ox, which pusheth with his horn, kill him: but if he pushes and gores any one in the threshing-floor, let him be put to death by stoning, and let him not be set free. He that hath built a house and hath added to it as being known what his nature was, and hath not kept him up, let him be also 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 was smitten, which was that which was killed, and let the owners of them divide their price between them.

37. Let those that dig a well or a pit be careful to lay planks over it, and so keep them shut up, not in order to hinder any person from drawing water, but that he may not fall into it, and let no one's beast fall into such a well or pit thus digged, and not shut up, and perish, let the owner pay the price to the owner of the beast, which is a man that 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 he be a man or a woman, no, not although he or she were to go to him and say, thou mayest not do it, but he, or she, do what he or she will, and this where he cannot be convicted of it by any body, for it is fit that a man's own conscience, which knows what he hath, should in all cases oblige him to do well. Let this conscience be his witness, and let him not be so mean as to procure commendation from others; but let him chiefly have regard to God, from whom no wicked man can lie concealed; but if he in whom the without, but put any but in 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 intention, and that he hath not made 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 hath received, after the same manner as in those trusts it is to be, if any one defraud those that undergo bodily labor for him. And let it be always remembered, that we are not to defraud a poor man of his wages, as being sensible that God has allotted that wages to him, instead of land, and other possessions; but let it be, that if any one may be not to be delayed, but to be made that very day, since God is not willing to deprive the laborer of the immediate use of what He hath labored for.

* Philo and others appear to have understood this law, Exodus xxii. 18, 19, as permitting the prosecution of a robber of cattle, even after the mother were quick, and so the infant had a right to be preserved, which was more upon the mother than the other, yet if the mother escaped, the offender should only be fined, and not put to death; while the law seems rather to mean, that though he escape the mother, the offender must be put to death, and not only when the mother is killed, as Josephus understood it. It seems this was the exposition of the Pharisees in the days of Josephus.

† What we render a witch, according to our modern notions of witchcraft, Exodus xxii. 18, was understood by Philo and Josephus understood of a poisoner, or one who attempted by secret and unlawful drugs or philtres, to take away the senses or to put one to death.

‡ This permission of redeeming this penalty with money is not in our copies, Exodus xxi. 25, 26; Lev. xiv. 24, 25.

§ Deut. xiii. 24.

¶ We may here note, that 30 shekels, the price our Saviour was sold for by Judas to the Jews, Matt. xxvi. 15; xxvii. 2. It was the usual value of a bought servant; or slave among the people.
39. You are not to punish children for the faults of their parents, but on account of their own virtue rather torouchase them commissination, because they were born of wicked parents, than hatred because they were born of bad ones.

Now indeed we see that it is impossible for children to do 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.

41. Let there be made themselves ennuina be had in detestation: and do 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 the earth: let such be driven away, as if they had killed their children, since they beforehand have lost what shall procure them; for evident it is, that while their soul is become effeminate, they with malice transferred that affections to your fathers, and so lose the laws whihf they treat all that is of a monstrous nature when it is looked on; nor is it lawful to gild either men or any other animals.*

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

44. This was the form of political government which was left us by Moses. Moreover, he had already delivered laws in writing, in the fortieth year, after they came out of Egypt, concerning which we will discourse in another book. But now, in this place, we intend to make use of those things which may be seen in the book, wherein he has not at all deviated from the truth. Accordingly he delivered these books to the priests, with the ark; into which he also put the ten commandments, written in two tables. But then, he delivered them to your Levites, and appointed them to walk before the ark, and to be watchmen. And he haroched the people, that when they had conquered the land, and were settled in it, they should not forget the injuries of the Amelekites, but make war against them, and inflict punishment upon them for what Abiezer did them, when they were in the wilderness: and that when they had got possession of the land of the Canaanites, and when they had destroyed the inhabitants thereof, as they ought to do, they should erect an altar on the rising sun, not far from the city of Shechem, between the two mountains, that of Gerizim situate on the right hand, and that of Ebal on the left; and that the Levites should ascend the mountain, and that six tribes should stand upon each of the two mountains, and with them the Levites and the priests. And that first, those that were upon mount Gerizim should pray for the best blessing, and those that were upon mount Ebal should curse, about the worship of God, and the observation of his laws, and who did not reject what Moses had said to could then have no oxen which are gelt, but only bullocks and cows in Judea.

* This law against castrations is, even of virtues, said to be so rigorous elsewhere as to inflict death on him that does it, which seems only a Semitical interpretation in the days of Joseph of that law. Lev. xiii. 29, and xxii. 24; only we may hence observe, that the Jews

† These laws seem to be those above-mentioned sect.

‡ What laws were now delivered to the priests, see the note on Antig. B. iii. chap. 1, sect. 7.
them, while the other wished them all manner of happiness also; and when these last put up the like prayers, the former promised them, that if this city were destroyed, and among those that should transgress those laws, they answering one another alternately, by way of confirmation of what had been said. Moses also wrote their blessings and curses, that contained and upon 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 altar on each side of it; where he says also the blessings, 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 constitutions of Moses; and the Hebrew nation still preserve them.

45. On the next day, Moses called the people together, with the women and children, to a congregation, so as the very slaves were present also, that they might engage themselves to the observation of these laws by oath: and that, considering the meaning of God in them, they might not, either for favor of their kindred, or out of fear of any one, or indeed for any motive whatsoever, think any thing ought to be preferred to the fear of God, or to the performance of these laws. That in case any one of their own blood, or any city, should attempt to confound or dissolve their constitution of government, they should take vengeance upon them, both in general, and if they should have conquered their adversaries, should overturn their city to the very foundations, and, if possible, should not leave the least footsteps of such madness: 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 taught them also by what means their sacrifices might be most acceptable to God; and how they should go forth to war, making use of the stones [in the high priest's breastplate] for their direction, as I have before signified. Joshua also prophesied while Moses was present. And when Moses had recapitulated what he said, and desired the observation of the people, both in their wars and in peace, and had composed them a body of laws, and procured them an excellent form of government, he foretold, as God had decreed to him. That they should be a holy and perfect temple, that should be burned; that they should be sold for slaves to such men as would have no pity on them in their afflictions: that they would then repent, when that repentance would noways profit them under their sufferings. Yet (said he) will that God who founded your nation, restore your cities to your citizens, with the temple also, and you shall lose these advantages not once only, but often.

47. Now when Moses had encouraged Joshua to take the charge of the army, and left him, he told him, telling him that God would assist him in all his undertakings, and had blessed the whole multitude, he said, "Since I am going to my forefathers, and God has determined that this should be the day of my departure to them, I return him thanks while I am still alive, and present with you, for that providence he hath exercised over you, which hath not only delivered us from the miseries we were under, but has brought us to a state of prosperity upon us; as also, that he hath assisted me in the pains I took, and in all the contrivances I had in my care about you, in order to better your condition, and hath on all occasions showed himself favorably to you: whether he was first conducted our affairs, and brought them to a happy conclusion, by making use of me as a vicarious general under him, and as a minister to those that were willing to do you good: on which account I think it proper, to bless that divine Power which will take care of you for the time to come, and this in order to repay the debt which I owe him, and the leave behind me, and to be consecrated to worship and honor him, and to keep those laws which are the most excellent gift of all those he hath already bestowed upon us, or which, if he continue favorable to us, he will bestow upon us hereafter. Certainly a human legislator is a terrible enemy, when his laws are abrogated, and are made to no purpose. And may you never experience that displeasure of God, which will be the consequence of the neglect of these his laws which he, who is your Creator, hath given you!"

48. When Moses had spoken thus at the end of his life, and had foretold what would befall to every one of their tribes afterward, with the addition of a blessing to them, and ended his speech with tears, and inasmuch that even the women, by beating their breasts, made manifest the deep concern they had when he was about to die. The children also lamented still more, as not able to contain their tears; and they declared, that even at their age they were sensible of his virtue, and mighty deeds: and truly there seemed to be a strife between the young and the old, who should most grieve for him. The old grieved, because they knew what a careful protector they were to be deprived of, and so lamented their future state; but the young grieved not only for that, but also because it so happened that they were to be deprived by him before they had fully tasted of his virtue. Now as many as grew up at the excess of this sorrow and lamentation of the multitude, from what happened to the legislator himself; for although he was always persuaded that he was a temple, and the approach of death, since the undergoing it was agreeable to the will of God, and the law of nature, yet what the people did, so overborne him, that he wept himself. Now as he went thence to the place where he memorial dish 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 exhaled those that were near to him that they would not render his departure so lamentable. Whereas they thought they ought to grant him that favor, to let him depart according as he himself desired, so they restrained themselves, though weeping still toward one another. All those who accompanied him, were the senate, and Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua their commander. Now as soon as they were come to the mountain called 'Abarim,' (which is a very high mountain situate over against Jericho, and one that affords to such as are upon it a branch; which oath he and the other rulers durst never break; See Scripture Politics, p. 85, 86: and this snare they were brought into because they *did* ask counsel at the mouth of the Lord." Josh. ix. 14.

* Of the exact place where this altar was to be built, whether nearer Mount Gerizim or Mount Ebal, according to Josephus, see Essay on the Old Testament, P. 1134.
† Dr. Bernard well observes here, how unfortunate this neglect of consulting the Urium was to Joshua himself, in Deut. xxxiii. 10, where Moses 'blessed Israel for the best: God blessed him, and prospered him; and he took possession of the west, and ended him, together with the rest of the Jewish rulers, with a solemn oath to preserve them, contrary to his commumication to extirpate all the Canaanites root and branch; which oath he and the other rulers durst never break. See Scripture Politics, p. 85, 86: and this snare they were brought into because they *did* ask counsel at the mouth of the Lord." Josh. ix. 14.

Since Josephus assures us here, as is most naturally to be supposed, and as the Septuagint gives the text, but 1 Chron. xii. 11; and the Samaritans, that Moses himself and not the priest of Simeon, was a channel of the blessing of Israel, it is evident that Simeon was not omitted in his copy, as it unhappily now is, both in our Hebrew and Samaritan copies.
prospect of the greatest part of the excellent land of Canaan,) he dismissed the senate: and as he was going to embrace Eleazar and Joshua, and was still discoursing with them, a cloud stood over him on the sudden, and he disappeared in a certain valley, although he wrote in the holy books that he died, which was done out of fear lest any should think that was said by him of his extraordinary virtue he went to God.

49. Now Moses lived in all one hundred and twenty years: a third part of which time, abating on his weakness, he was the prophour of this new nation; and he died on the last month of the year, which is called by the Macedonians 'Dystrus,' but by us 'Adar,' on the first day of the month. He was one that exceeded all men that ever were, in understanding, in the best of what he was master of. And this shall suffice for the declaration of the manner of the death of Moses.

BOOK V.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FOUR HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIX YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF MOSES TO THE DEATH OF EEL.

CHAP. I.
How Joshua, the Commander of the Hebrews, made War with the Canaanites, and overcame them, and destroyed them, and divided their Land by Lot to the Tribes of Israel.

§ 1. Whence Moses was taken away from among men, in the manner already described, and when all the solemnities belonging to the mourning for him were finished, and the sorrow for him was over, Joshua commanded the multitude to get themselves ready for an expedition. He also sent spies to Jericho, to discover what forces they had, and what were their intentions; but he put his camp in a convenient place, so as to pass over Jordan at a proper season. And calling to him the rulers of the tribe of Reuben, and the governors of the tribe of Gad, and of the half tribe of Manasseh, for half of this tribe had been permitted to have their habitation in the country of the Amorites, which was the seventh part of the land of Canaan; he put them in mind what they had promised Moses; and he exhorted them, that for the sake of the care that Moses had taken to them, and for the good that had never been in taking pains for them, no, not when he was dying, and for the sake of the public welfare, they would prepare themselves, and readily perform what he had commanded, to be so good enough to send them those men whom he had called, and marched from Abila to Jordan, sixty furlongs.

2. Now when he had pitched his camp, the spies came to him immediately, well acquainted with the whole state of the Canaanites: for, as the Amorites were one of the seven nations of Canaan. Hence Rahab, wishing to support that Josephus did not here mean that their land beyond Jordan was a seventh part of the whole land of Canaan, but meant the Amorites as a seventh nation. His reason is, that Josephus, as well as our poets, generally distinguished the land beyond Jordan from the land of Canaan; nor can it be denied, that in strictness they were different; yet after two tribes and a half of the twelve tribes came to inherit it, it might, in a general way altogether, be well included under the land of Canaan, or Palestine, or Judea; of which we have a clear example here in Josephus, whose words evidently imply, that taking the whole land of Canaan, or that inhabited by all the twelve tribes, but not the parts, the land beyond Jordan was in quantity of ground one seventh part of the whole. And this well enough agrees to Reuben, which country they had taken notice, Numbers x. 1, 4, 10, that it maintained about a fifth part of the whole people.

3. It plainly appears by the history of these spies, and first, before they were at all discovered, they took a full view of the city of Jericho without disturbance, and saw which parts of the walls were strong, and which parts were otherwise, and what the water, and which order 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 strangers, who used to be very curious in observing every thing in the city, and did not take them for enemies; but at even they retired to a certain inn that was near to the wall, whither they went to eat their supper; which supper they had done, and were in motion to come out of the city, the innkeeper gave them 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 learn what their business was there. As soon as Rahab had made certain 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, and said to the messengers that were sent by him and came to him, that her housekeeper had supped with her a little before sunsetting, and were gone away, who might easily be taken it they were any terror to the city, or likely to bring any danger to the king: so these messengers being thus deceived by the woman, and sus
pecting no imposition, went their ways without so much as searching the inn, but they immediately pursued them along those roads which they most probably supposed them to have gone, and pursued they the swiftest horses that they had; for they could hear no tidings of them; so they left off the pains of any farther pursuit. But when the tumult was over, Rahab brought the men down, and desired them, as soon as they should have other tidings of them, to inform her of them. Now, it would be in their power to make her amends for her preservation of them, to remember what danger she had undergone for their sakes; for that if she had been caught concealing them, she could not have been so happy in her old age, or, as she and all her family with her, and so bid them go home: and desired them to swear to her, to preserve her and her family, when they should take the city, and destroy all its inhabitants, as they had agreed to do. So the soothsayer, and the highwaysman, had been assured by those divine miracles of which she had been informed. So these spies acknowledged, that they owed her thanks for what she had done already, and intimated to her to reserve her kindness; not only in words but in deeds: but they gave her this advice, that when she should perceive that the city was about to be taken, she should put her goods, and all her family, into her chamber, and hang seven scarlet threads out of her windows, or doors, before it; and then she would be saved. And then the commander of the Hebrews might know her house, and take care to do her no harm; for, said they, we will inform him of the same as soon as we can. And then they left her, and went round about with some part of the armed men to be a guard to it. These priests went forward, blowing with their seven trumpets, and exhorted the army to be of good courage, and went round about the city, with the seven following them; and when the priests had only blown with the trumpets, for they did nothing more at all, they returned to the camp. And they fulfilled this; and, when they had done this, the prophet, as they had promised, went about to the seventh Joshua gathered together the armed men, and all the people together, and told them this good tidings, that the city should now be taken, since God would on that day give it them by the falling down of the walls, and this off their own accord, and without their labor. However, he charged them to kill every one they should take, and not to abstain from the slaughter of their enemies, either for weariness, or for pity, and not to fail one, and not to convert them from pursuing their enemies, as they ran away; but to destroy all the animals, and to take nothing for their own peculiar advantage. He commanded them also to bring together all the first-fruits unto God out of this glorious exploit, as having gotten 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. 

2. Now, while Joshua the commander was in the camp, and the whole multitude of the river ran with a long current, and could not be passed over with bridges, for there never had been bridges laid over it hitherto, and while he hesitated, that if he should attempt to make a bridge, the current might overwhelm it, and make it impossible to perfect it, and so for ferry-boats, they had none, God promised so to dispose of the river, that they might pass over it, and that by taking away the main part of its waters. So Joshua, after two days, caused the men and the whole multitude to pass over in the manner following: the priests went first of all, having the ark with them; then went the Levites, bearing the tabernacle and the vessels which belonged to the sacrifices; after which went the multitude following them to their tribes, having their children and their wives in the midst of them, as being afraid for them, lest they should be borne away by the stream. But when they had passed over, the ark being first, it appeared forable, the depth of the water being restrained, and the sand appearing at the bottom because the current was neither so strong nor so swift as to carry it away by its force. So these men, when they had passed the river, appeared first, and the priests came out and, permitted the current to run freely, as it used to do before. Accordingly, the river, as soon as the Hebrews were come out of 'it, arose again presently, and came to its own depth as before.

3. So the Hebrews went on farther forty 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, on the side of the river which brought them, and 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 sacrifical to God; and in that place celebrated the passover, and had great thanksgiving, and enumerated the multitude of all the inhabitants of Jericho, to the west and the south of it; for, they reap the corn of the Canaanites, which was now ripe, and took other things as prey, for then it was that their former food, which was manna, and of which they had eaten forty years, failed.

4. Now, while the Israelites did this, and the Canaanites did not attack them, but kept themselves quiet within their own walls, Joshua resolved to besiege them; so on the first day of the feast (of the passover,) this priest laid out the ark round about, with some part of the armed men to be a guard to it. These priests went forward, blowing with their seven trumpets, and exhorted the army to be of good courage, and went round about the city, with the seven following them; and when the priests had only blown with the trumpets, for they did nothing more at all, they returned to the camp. And they fulfilled this; and, when they had done this, the prophet, as they had promised, went about to the seventh Joshua gathered together the armed men, and all the people together, and told them this good tidings, that the city should now be taken, since God would on that day give it them by the falling down of the walls, and this off their own accord, and without their labor. However, he charged them to kill every one they should take, and not to abstain from the slaughter of their enemies, either for weariness, or for pity, and not to fail one, and not to convert them from pursuing their enemies, as they ran away; but to destroy all the animals, and to take nothing for their own peculiar advantage. He commanded them also to bring together all the first-fruits unto God out of this glorious exploit, as having gotten 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. 

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

6. So they entered into Jericho, and slew all the men that were therein, while they were astonished 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 ways and others as caught in their houses; nothing afforded them assistance, but they all persisted, even to the women and the children, and the city was destroyed, and none escaped. They also burnt the whole city and the country about it; but they saved alive Rahab and her family, who had fled to her, and, as they gave their thanks for her preservation of the spies. So he said he would not appear to be behind her in his benefaction to her; whereupon he gave her certain lands immediately, and had in great esteem ever afterward.

7. And if any part of the city escaped the fire, he overthrew it from the foundation; and he denounced a curse against its inhabitants, if any one should desire to rebuild it, how, upon his
laying the foundation of the walls, he should be deprived of his eldest son, and upon finishing it, he should depart in that state; and what we have hereupon we shall speak of hereafter. 9. Now there was an immense quantity of silver and gold, and besides those of brass also, that was heaped together out of the city when it was taken, no one transcendeth the degree, nor is there any purloining for their own peculiar advantage; which spoils Joshua delivered to the priests, to be laid up among their treasures. And thus did Jericho perish.

11. Now there was one 'Achar,' i.e. the son of 'Charni, the son of Zebedias, of the tribe of Judah, who, finding a royal garment woven entirely of gold, and a piece of gold that weighed two hundred shekels, and thinking it a very hard thing for them and their posterity that it should be an easy matter to gain, has spared it, that he might take it away from his master and sell it; so God, who stood in need of it, while he that wanted it must go without it, made a deep ditch in his own bowels, and laid it up, as it were, in a strong place, that the people of Israel, who, being after upon it, should not only be concealed from his fellow-soldiers, but from God himself also.

12. Now, a few days after the calamity that befell Jericho, he sent three thousand armed men to take Ai, a city situate above Jericho; but upon the sight 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 sad, and exceeding disconsolate, not so much because of the relation the men that were destroyed bare to them, though those that were destroyed were all good men, and a part of them the special harbingers of the victory; for while they believed that they were already, in effect, in possession of the land, and should bring back the army out of the battles without loss, as God had promised beforehand, this now saw unexpected in their enemies bold with success; so they put sackcloth over their garments, and continued in tears and lamentation all the day, without the least inquiry after food, but laid what had happened greatly to heart.

13. Now the people of Ai had been sith, and possessed with forebodings of evil as to their whole expedition, he used freedom with God, and said, 'We are not come thus far out of any rashness of our heart, nor over ourselves to subdue this lead with our own weapons, but at the instigation of Moses thy servant for this purpose, because thou hast promised us by many signs, that thou wouldst give us this land for a possession, and that thou wouldst make our army always superior in war to our enemies, and accordingly some success has always attended us, agreeably to thy promises; but because we have now unexpectedly been foiled, and have lost some men out of our army, we are grieved at it, as fearing what those hast promised us, and what Moses foretold us, cannot be deprived of us, and yet we have no expectation troubles us more, because we have met with such a disaster in this our first attempt. But do thou, O Lord, free us from these suspicions, for thou art able to find a cure for them, and show them who it is that they should pit upon and punish the offender, he would ever take care they should have the victory over their enemies.'

This Joshua told the people; and calling for Eleasar, 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 action; and so much aid was given them by the inhabitants being upon the walls, nay, others of them being in perplexity, and coming to see those that were without the gates. Accordingly, these made a move at the city wall, as they were used to do; but Joshua forced those that came against him, to come to a close sight, 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 now able to defend themselves, because they had none to support them. Now when this case came before the common people, but 'Achar, as here in Josephus, and in the Apostolical Constitution, B. v. ch. 2. and elsewhere, is evident by the situation to that name in the case of Joshua, he said, 'Why hast thou troubled us? The Lord shall trouble thee.' Where the Hebrew words ali'um only to the next disorder, by giving us victory, which will both take away the grief we are in at present, and prevent our distrust as to what is to come.'

14. These intercessions Joshua put up to God, as he lay prostrate on his face; whereupon God answered, 'Thou didst not require of me;' and threatened that he should make a law to refer his host from the pollution which was got into it: that things consecrated unto me have seen impudently stolen from me: and that this has been the occasion why this defeat has happened to them, and so they shall enter into a new field, and punish the offender, he would ever take care they should have the victory over their enemies.'

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15. When Joshua had thus purified the host, he led them against Ai; and having by night laid an ambush round about the city, he attacked the enemies as soon as it was day; but as they advanced they were met with, and the net they were set in caught them, whereupon he was immediately put to death; and attained no more than to be buried in the night in a disgraceful manner, and such was the manner of the constrained salefeer.

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lunacy 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 hers of cattle, and a great deal of money, for this was a rich country: and whether Joshuuah came to Gilgal, he divided all these spoils among the soldiers.

16. But the Gibeonites, who inhabited very near to Jerusalem, when they saw what miseries had happened to the inhabitants of Jericho, and to Jericho, and to Eglon, and to Gibeon, and to all the other cities of the Canaanites, which were the seven cities of the Amorites, they came to Gilgal, and divided all these spoils among themselves. They did not think fit to ask for mercy of Joshua, for they supposed they should find little mercy from him, while he was propitious to their enemies; but they went to the nation of the Canaanites, but they invited the people of Caphirah and Kiriatjearim, who were their neighbors, to join in league with them; and told them, that neither could these 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 endeavor to escape the forces of the Israelites. Accordingly, upon their agreement, they sent messengers to the ambassadors to Joshuah, to make a league of friendship with him, and those such of the citizens as were best approved of, and most capable of doing what was most advantageous to the multitude. Now, when the Gibeonites had sent, they said to the people of Israel that those who were sent from them, and were great men among the people of Gibeon, and of the circumcised cities, which were very remote from the land where they now were, to make such a league of friendship with them, might prove very advantageous to the multitude among their forefathers; for when they understood, that, by the favor of God, and his gift to them, they were to have the possession of the land which he had promised to their fathers, 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, were aware of them, that they would esteem them their friends and associates, and would attempt nothing that should be unfair against them, the multitude also assenting to the oaths that were made to them. So those were admitted, by deceiving the Israelites, went home; but when Joshuah led his army to the bottom of the mountain 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 made; but they alleged on their own behalf, that they had no other way to save themselves but that, and were therefore forced to have recourse to it. So he called for Eleazar the high priest, and for the senate, who thought right to resolve upon the thing; and he might not break the oath they had made to them, and they ordained them to be so. And this was the method by which these men found safety and security under the calamity that was ready to overtake them.

17. But the king of Jerusalem took it to heart that the Gibeonites had gone over to Joshuah; so he called upon the kings of the neighboring nations to join together and to 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 camp at a certain fountain not far from their city, and were getting ready for battle, they called upon Joshuah 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 that came for the destruction of the Canaanites, and that it was not to their interest to confess themselves to be Canaanites, but thought they might, by this contrivance, avoid the danger, namely, by saying that they bore no relation to any of those kings; but dwelt at a great distance 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 the truth of what they said, they showed him the land they inhabit, in the senate, that he might see that they 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 tare garments on purpose that they might make him believe this. So they were received 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, to make such a league of friendship with them, that they might be of advantage to them in the multitude among their forefathers; for when they understood, that, by the favor of God, and his gift to them, they were to have the possession of the land which he had promised to their fathers, 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, were aware of them, that they would esteem them their friends and associates, and would attempt nothing that should be unfair against them, the multitude also assenting to the oaths that were made to them. So those were admitted, by deceiving the Israelites, went home; but when Joshuah led his army to the

* Whether this lengthening of the day, by the standing still of the sun and moon were physical, and real, by the miraculous stoppage of the diurnal motion of the earth for about three hours, are still uncertain; but, according to the Jewish tradition, by a certain person, imitating the sun and moon as stationary so long, while clouds and the night hid the real sun and moon, and taking care to give sufficient light for Joshua's pursuit and complete victory, (which was the person in other shapes have been more than a thousand years ago,) it was determined; philosophers and astronomers will naturally embrace this hypothesis. In the mean time, the fact itself was mentioned in the book of Joshuah now, the sun and moon stood still.
itess; and they, instead of being full of hopes of good success, were superstitiously timorous, with the great terror with which they were stricken. Whereupon God upbrided them with the fear they were in; and asked them, Whether they desired a greater help than he could afford them? and promised them that they should overcome their enemies; and withal charged them to make their enemies' horses useless, and to burn their chariots. So Joshua became full of courage upon the word of God, and went out ordin- singly against the enemies, and after five days' march he came upon them, and joined battle with them, and there was a terrible fight, and such a number were slain as could not be believed by those that heard it. He also went on in the pursuit a great way, and destroyed the entire army of the enemies, few only excepted, and all the kings fell in the battle; insomuch that when they were slain, the horses and chariots were all over their country without opposition, no one daring to meet him in battle; but he still went on, taking their cities by siege, and again laid waste all the land. 

18. The fifth year was now past, and there was not one of the Cannanites remained any longer, excepting some that had retired to places of great strength. So Joshua removed his camp to the mouth of the Jordan, and placed the altar of 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 their affairs would permit them to build a temple; and from hence he went to Shechem, and fulfilled all the promises that had been made as to the altar where Moses had before directed; then did he divide the army, and placed one half on mount Gerizim, and the other half on mount Ebal, in the same manner as before; he also placed there the tribe of Levi, and the priests. And when they had sacrificed and denounced the [blessings and the] curse, and had left them engraved upon the altar, they returned to Shiloh. 

20. And now Joshua was old, and saw that the cities of the Cannanites were not easily to be taken, not only because they were situated in such strong places, but because of the strength of the walls themselves, which being built round about the natural strength of the places on which the cities stood, seemed capable of repelling their enemies from besieging them, and of making those enemies despair of taking them; for when the Cannanites had learned, that the Israelites cannot be easily overcome by the art of destruction that they were busy all that time in making their cities strong; so he gathered the people together to a congregation at Shiloh; and when they, with great heart, were come thither, he observed 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 worthy 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 every army, how great soever it were, that confided in their own power, and fought with their desire, yet, in so much, they were not so much as any of their posterity remained. And as for the cities, since some of them were taken, but the others must be taken in length of time, by long sieges, both on account of the strength of the places, and of the confidence the inhabitants had in them thereby, he thought it reasonable that those tribes that came along with them from beyond Jordan, and had parted of the dangers they were in, having their own kindred, should now be disbanded and sent home, and should have thanks for the pains they had taken together with them. As also, he thought it reasonable that they should send one man out at every tribe, and be such as had the testimony of extraordinary virtue, who should measure the land faithfully, and without any falsity or deceit should inform them of its real magnitude.

21. Now Joshua, when he had thus spoken to them, found that the multitude approved of his proposal. So he sent men to measure their country, and sent with them some geometers. Whose duty it was to view the whole of the land on account of their skill in that art. He also gave them a charge to estimate the measure 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 Jordan, that one part is the one large plains, and such as are exceeding fit to produce fruit, which yet, if they were compared to other parts of the country, might be reckoned excepted, signed him by lot the part of Judas, resting fields about Jericho, and to those that belong to Jerusalem, will appear to be of no account at all. And although it so falls out, that these people have but a very little of this sort of land, and that part of it is mountainous, belonging to it not come behind other parts, on account of its exceeding goodness and beauty: for which reason Joshua thought the land for the tribes should be divided by estimation of its goodness, rather than by the lot; and the allotment of that land, measuring that one acre of some sorts of land was equivalent to a thousand other acres. Now the men that were sent, which were in number ten, travelled all about, and made an estimation of the land, and in the end came to him to the city of Shiloh, where they had set up the tabernacle.

22. So Joshua took both Eleazar, and the se- nators of Judah, and all the heads of the children of Egypt and Arabia. The lot of Simeon, which was the second, included that part of the mountain border, upon it not come behind other parts, on account of its exceeding goodness and beauty: for which reason Joshua thought the land for the tribes should be divided by estimation of its goodness, rather than by the lot; and the allotment of that land, measuring that one acre of some sorts of land was equivalent to a thousand other acres. Now the men that were sent, which were in number ten, travelled all about, and made an estimation of the land, and in the end came to him to the city of Shiloh, where they had set up the tabernacle.

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you to suppose, that there is no limit to be set to the intimate relations between us; and that you will not imagine, that because you are 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 and yours 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 continue in those laws, you must also show himself merciful and assisting to you; but if you imitate the other nations, and forsake those laws, he will reject your nation."

When Joshua had spoken thus, and saluted them all, both those in authority one by one, and the whole multitude in common, he himself stayed where he was, but the people conducted those tribes on their journey, and that not without tears in their eyes; and indeed they hardly knew how to part one from the other.

26. Now when the tribe of Reuben, and that of God, and as many of the Manassites as followed them, were passed over the river, they built an altar on the place of the escape, and one of their chief men, and in the place of the Upper Galilee. He also distributed among them the rest of the prey not yet distributed, which was very great, whereby they had an assurance of great riches, both in general, and very considerable, in the arts of gold and of vestments, and of other furniture, besides a multitude of cattle, whose number could not be told.

25. After this was over, he gathered the army together to a congregation; and spake thus to those tribes that had their settlement in the land of the Amorites beyond Jordan: for 50,000 of them had armed themselves, and had gone to the war along with them: "Since that God, who is the King and Lord of the Hebrew nation, has now given us this land for a possession, and promised to preserve us in the enjoyment of it as our own for ever; and since you have with alacrity opposed yourselves to the provision of assistance, on all occasions according to his command; it is but just, now all our difficulties are over, that you should be permitted to enjoy rest, and that we should tresspass on your alacrity to promote the public welfare, and again stand in need of it, we may readily have it on any future emergency, and not tire you out so much 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 it not at this time only, but we shall always be thus disposed, and be so good as to remember our friends, and to preserve in mind what advantages we have had from them, and hope that they will continue in the same degree of happiness for our sake, and have labored for what we have now, by the good-will of God, obtained, and resolved not to enjoy your own prosperity till we have provided for yours. However, you have, by joining your labor with ours, gotten great plenty of riches, and will carry home with you much prey, with gold and silver, and what is more than all these, our goodwill towards you, and a mind willing and willing 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 of you, nor have you despised him because he 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 relations between us; and that you will not imagine, that because you are 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 and yours 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 continue in those laws, you must also show himself merciful and assisting to you; but if you imitate the other nations, and forsake those laws, he will reject your nation."

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ARK, and that altar 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 repent now, and proceed no farther in your madness, but pay a due reverence to, and keep in mind the laws of your country; but if you persist in your sins, we will not grudge you the pains to prepare the Canaanites, but we will destroy them, we will be upon Jordan and defend them, and defend God also, and shall esteem of you as of men nayther differing from the Canaanites, but shall destroy you in the like manner as we destroyed them. Do not you imagine, that because you are over the river, that you are got out of the reach of God's power; you are 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 that your settlement here will be any obstruction to your conversion to what is good, nothing need hinder us from dividing the land anew, and leaving this old land to be for the enjoyment of the Canaanites, but to return to your duty, and to leave off these new crimes: and we beseech you, by your children and wives, not to force us to punish you. Take, therefore, such measures in this assembly, as will strengthen you in the good resolution you have made of getting rid of those that are dearest to you, is therein concerned, and believe that it is better for you to be conquered by words, than to continue in your present prejudice, and to experience deeds and war thereafter.

27. When Phinehas had discoursed thus, the governors of the assembly and the whole multitude began to make an apology for themselves, confessing that they were accounted of, and they said, "That they neither would depart from the relation they bare to them, nor had they built the altar by way of innovation; and they owned one and the same common God with all the Hebrew people, that built an 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 their relation to you forever, and a necessary caution to us to act wisely, and to continue in the laws of our country, but not a handle for transgressing them, as you suspected."

28. Thus did the Governor of Caldon (as themoderated witness, that this was the occasion of our building this altar: whence we beg you will have a better opinion of us, and do not impute such a thing to us as would render any of the posterity of Abraham well worthy of the attempt to bring in new rites, and such as are different from our usual practices.

29. When they had made this answer, and Phinehas had commended them for it, he came to Joshua, and explained before the people the answer they had received: now Joshua was glad that he was under no necessity of setting them in array, or of leading them to shed blood, and make war against such of their own kindred; and according to the tribe of thanksgiving to God for the same: so Joshua after that dissolved this great assembly of the people, sent them to their own inheritances, which himself lived in Shechem. But in the twentieth year after this, when the people were assembled, those of the greatest dignity in the several cities, with those in authority, and the senate, and many of the common people as accorded: now some time, he put them in mind of all the benefits God had bestowed on them, which could not but be a great many, since from a low estate they were advanced to so great a degree of glory and plenty, and exhorted them to observe the laws of God, which he had been so gracious towards them; and told them, that the Deity would continue their friend by nothing else but their piety: and that it was proper for him, now he was about to depart out of this life, to leave such an admonition to them, and that he desired that they would keep in memory this his exhortation to them.

29. So Joshua, when he had thus discoursed to them, died, having lived a hundred and eight years; forty of which he lived with Moses, in order to learn what might be for his advantage afterward. He also became their commander after his death for twenty-five years. He was a man that wanted not wisdom nor eloquence to declare what was the duty of the people in both accounts. He was of great courage and magnanimity, in action and in danger: and very sagacious in procuring the peace of the people. He was not guilty at all proper a time to sit in judgment of the cases: he was buried in the city of Timnah, of the tribe of Ephraim. About the same time died Eleazar the high priest, leaving the high priesthood to his son Phinehas. His monument also and sepulchre are in the city of Gabbatha.

CHAP. II.

How after the death of Joshua their commander, the Israelites transgressed the Laws of their Country, and experienced great Afflictions; and when there was a Sedition, the Tribe of Benjamin was destroyed, excepting only as hundred Men.

I. After the death of Joshua and Eleazar, Phinehas prophesied, that according to God's will, they should commit the government to the tribe of Judah, and that this tribe should destroy the Canaanites for the sins of their fathers, who were concerned to learn what was the will of God. They also took to their assistance the tribe of Simeon, but upon this condition, that when those that had been tributary to the tribe of Simeon should hold to their faith, they should do the like for the tribe of Simeon.

2. But the affairs of the Canaanites were at this time in a flourishing condition and they expected the Israelites with a great army at the city Bezek, having put the government into the hands of Adonibezek, which name denotes the Lord of Bezek, for Adoni, in the Hebrew tongue, is called lord. Now they hoped to have been too hard for the Israelites, because Joshua had before them that had joined battle with them, I mean the two tribes before me

* Since not only Procopius and Suidas, but an earlier author, Moses Chorenensis, p. 22, 53, and perhaps from his authority, the catholicon as Alexander the Great, sets down the famous inscription at Tygur concerning the old Canaanites driven out of Palestine by Joshua, take the following as that author's own words: "We are those exiles that were governors of the Canaanites, but have been driven away by Joshua, the robber, and are come to inhabit here." See the note there. Nor is it unworthy of our notice, what Moses Chorenensis adds, p. 53, and this upon a diligent examination of those records: one of those records being sent the Canaanites came at the same time into Armenia, and founded the Genthunian family or tribe, and this was confirmed by the manners of the same family or tribe, as being like those of the Canaanites."

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touched they fought gloriously, and slew above ten thousand of them, and put the rest to flight: and in the pursuit they took Adoni-bezek, when his fingers and toes were cut off by them, said, "Nay, indeed, I was not always to lie concealed from God, as I find by what I now endure, while I have not been ashamed to do the same to thee, but what thou hast given me shalt deliver up the city to them, they would preserve him and his kindred: so he awoke, that upon these terms he would put the city into their hands. Accordingly, he that thus betrayed the city, was preserved by his lie; but the Israelites slew all the inhabitants, and retained the city for themselves.

7. After this, the Israelites grew affaminated as to fighting any more against their enemies, but applied them to the cultivation of the land, which producing them great plenty and riches, they neglected the regular disposition of their settlement, and indulged themselves in luxury and pleasures, nor were they any longer careful to him some assurance that if he stood in the political government: whereupon God was provoked to anger, and put them in mind first, how, contrary to his directions, they had spared the Canaanites, and after that, how these Canaanites, as opportunity served, used them with barbarity. But the Israelites, though they were in heaviness at these admonitions from God, yet were they still very unwilling to go to war, and since they got large tributes from the Canaanites, and were supplied with meat and drink by their luxury, they suffered their aristocracy to be corrupted also, and did not ordain themselves a senate, nor any other such magistrates as their laws had formerly required, but these were very much given to taking their father's goods, in order to get wealth; which great indulgence of theirs brought a terrible sedition upon them, and they proceeded so far as to fight one against another, from the following occasion:

8. There was a Levite, a man of a vulgar family, that belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and dwelt therein; this man married a wife from Bethhem, which is a place belonging to the tribe of Judah, and having a great number of children, sorely galled those that attacked them: so these tribes, when they were grown very rich by this war, retired to their own cities, and laid aside their weapons of war.

5. But the Benjaminites, to whom belonged Jerusalem, permitted its inhabitants to pay tribute; so they all left off, the one to kill, and the other to expose themselves to danger, and had the very peaceable part of the land. The tribes imitated what of Benjamin, and did the same; and contenting themselves with the tributes that were paid them, permitted the Canaanites to live in peace.

4. Now the tribes of Judah and Simeon took the cities which were in the mountainous part of Canaan, as also Askelon and Ashdod, of those that lay near the sea, but Gaza and Ekron escaped, being given to the tribe of Judah, and having a great number of children, sorely galled those that attacked them: so these tribes, when they were grown very rich by this war, retired to their own cities, and laid aside their weapons of war.
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

em, having gone already thirty furlongs, the servant advised him to take in some where, lest some misfortune should befall them if they travelled in the night, especially since they were not far off enemies, that season often giving reason for suspicion of dangers from every side. But the husband, who 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 up his lodgings in some lodging in the city. And 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 that night so late; and he was looking for provisions for supper when it was dark. To which an old man 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; and, as was usual, for the kindness and generosity of the old man's family; and because they lived in the same tribe, as also because they had thus accidentally met together, took him in to lodge with him. Now certain young men of the inhabitants of Gibeah, heard of the woman in the market-place, and admiring her beauty, when they understood that she lodged with the old man, came to the doors, as contemning the weakness and fewness of the old man's family; and when 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 the old man alleged that the Levite was of his house, and that they were not guilty of horrid wickedness if they suffered themselves to be overcome by their pleasures, and so offend against their laws, they despised his righteous adjuration, and laughed him to scorn. They also threatened to kill him if he became an obstable to their inclinations; whereupon, when he found himself in great distress, and yet was not willing to overlook his guests, and see them abuse and ill-treat 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 should by this means prevent any injury to be done. But then the old man, abased of his earnings for the strange woman, but insisted absolutely on their desires to have her, he entertained them not to perpetrate any such act of injustice; but they proceeded to take her away by force, and indulging still more the violence of their inclinations, they took the woman away to their house, and when they had satisfied their lust upon her the whole night, they let her go about daybreak. So she came to the house where she was brought up, and he esteemed it the greatest afflication at what had happened, and was very sorrowful upon occasion of what she had suffered, and durst not look her husband in the face for shame, for she concluded that he would never forgive her for what he had done, and therefore he laid himself down, and gave up the ghost; but her husband supposed that his wife was only fast asleep, and thinking nothing of a more melancholy nature had happened, he, as before, alighted upon her, and correcting her, resolving to speak comfortably to her, since she did not voluntarily expose herself to these men's lust, but was forced away to their house; but as soon as he perceived she was dead, he acted prudently as the greatness of his misfortunes were made up by the loss of his wife, and his [proper name of a place Bethel] he now say notes the house of God, or the tabernacle. Judg. xx. 18. so that the tabernacle was ever at Bethel; only the word Bethel, which word the House, or the tabernacle in the days of the Judges, was not far from Bethel.
give them the victory and power over their enemies. Accordingly, God promised them so to do by the prophet of Pethahiah: 

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 Benjaminites, and the people of that city pursued them, while the Hebrews retired by slow degrees, as very desirous to draw them entirely from the city, and the others followed them as they retired, till both the old men and young men went out of the city, and they did not fall to fight, came running out together with them, as willing to bring their enemies under. However, when they were a great way from the city, the Hebrews ran away no longer, but turned back to fight them, and then the signal they had agreed on to those that lay in ambush, who rose up, and with a great noise fell upon the enemy. Now, as soon as ever they perceived themselves to be deceiv'd, they knew not what to do, and when they were driven into a certain hollow place which was in a valley, they were shot at by those that encompassed them, till they were all destroyed, excepting six hundred, which formed themselves into a close body of men, and forced the enemy to charge them, and they fled to the neighboring mountains, and taking upon them, remained there; but the rest of them, being about twenty-five thousand, were slain by the sword. 

2. And there were slain the women and the males that were under age, and did the same also to the other cities of the Benjaminites. And indeed they were enraged to that degree, that they sent twelve thousand men out of the land, and gave them a schedule of the names of the Benjaminites, and said to destroy Jabez Gilead, because it did not join with them in fighting against the Benjaminites. Accordingly, those that were sent slew the men of war, with their children and wives, excepting five thousand. To prevent this, they proceeded in their anger, because they not only had the suffering of the Levite's wife to avenge, but the slaughter of their own soldiers. 

3. However, they afterwards were sorry for the calamity they had brought upon the Benjaminites, and appointed a fast on that account, although they supposed those men had suffered justly for their offence against the laws: so they recalled, by a general resolution, one half of those that had escaped. These had seated themselves on a certain rock called 'Rimmon,' which was in the wilderness; so the ambassadors lamented not only the disaster that had befallen the Benjaminites, but themselves also, by this destruction of one of God's holy places, and persuaded them to take it patiently, and to come and unite with them, and not, so far as in them lay, to give their suffrage to the utter destruction of the tribe of Benjamin and said to them, "We give you leave to take the whole land of Benjamin to yourselves, and as much prey as you are able to carry away with you." So these men with sorrow confessed, that what had befallen was by the command of God, and had happened for their own wickedness, and assented to those that invited them, and came down to their own tribe. The Israelites also gave them four hundred virgins of Jacob and Joseph, for servants, but they, in all two hundred, deliberated about it how they might compass wives enough for them, and that they might have children by them; and whereas they had, before the war began, taken an oath that no one would give his daughter to wife to a Benjaminite, some advised them to have no regard to what they had sworn, because the oath had not been taken advisedly and judicially, but by the multitude, to be no law against God, if they were able to save whole tribe which was in danger of perishing, and that perjury was then a sad and dangerous thing, not when it was done out of necessity, but when it is done with a wicked intent. But when the senate were afield at the very name of perjury, a certain person told them, that he could show them a way whereby they might procure the Benjaminites wives enough, and yet keep their oath. He said, "That the spoil was?" He said, "That three times in a year when we meet in Shiloh, our wives and our daughters accompany us; let then the Benjaminites be allowed to steal away, and marry such as they can catch, if they neither incite them nor forbid them; and when their parents take it ill, and desire us to inflict punishment upon them, we will tell them, that they were themselves the cause of what had happened, and that they were not able to prevent it, and that they ought not to be over angry at the Benjaminites, since that anger was permitted to rise too high already." So the Israelites were persuaded to follow this advice, and decreed, that the Benjaminites should be allowed thus to steal themselves wives. So when the festival was coming on, these two hundred Benjaminites lay in ambush before the city, by two and three together, and waited for the coming of the virgins, in the vineyards and by the wayside, where they could be concealed. Accordingly, the virgins came along playing, and suspected nothing of what was coming upon them, and walked after them, an unwary people, and those that were in the road rose up and caught hold of them; by this means these Benjaminites got them wives, and fell to agriculture, and took good care to recover their former happy estate. And thus was this tribe of the Benjaminites a sign to them that they had been in danger of entirely perishing; saved in the manner forementioned, by the wisdom of the Israelites; and accordingly it presently flourished and soon increased to be a multitude and name in all the land as a city of happy ease. 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 Othniel, who ruled over them forty Years.

1. Now it happened that the tribe of Dan suffered in like manner with the tribe of Benjamin; and it came to do so on the occasion following: when the Israelites had already left off the exercise of their arms for war, and were intent upon their husbandry, the Canaanites despised them, and brought them an arm which they expected to suffer by them, but because they had a mind to have a sure prospect of treating the Hebrews ill when they pleased, and might thereby, for the time to come, dwell in their own cities the more securely; they prepared therefore their chariots, and gathered their soldiers together, their cities also combined together, and drew over to them Askelon and Ekron, which were within the tribe of Judah, and all those of those that lay in the plain. They 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 live in the plain land enough to sustain them, they sent five of their men into the midland country to see for a land to which they might remove their habitation: so these men went as far as the neighborhood of mount Libanus, and the fountains of the lesser Jordan; at the great plain of Sidon, a 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, when they saw they made an expedition against 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. Thus there was a fondness in the hearts of the people towards the son of Jacob, who was the reigning young man of the tribe of Benjamin, whose name was Eshub, the son of Gers, a man of very great courage in bold under takings, and of a very strong body, fit for hard labor, but best skilled in using his left hand, in which was his whole strength; and he also dwelt at Jericho. Now this man became familiar with Eglon, and that by means of presents, with which he obtained his favor, and inducted himself into the king's favor, and he also adored those that were about the king. Now when on a time he was bringing presents to the king, and had two servants with him, he put a dagger on his right thigh secretly, and went in to him, it was then a midwinter, and the morn of the sabbath, when the guards were not strictly on their watch, both because of the heat, and because they were gone to dinner. So the young man, when he had offered his presents to the king, took the dagger out of his bosom, and hid it, and stood conveniently to avoid the heat, he fell into discourse with him, for they were now alone, the king having bid his servants that attended him to go their ways, because he had a mind to talk with Eshub. He then expected Eshub's seal was very strange to him, and gave him a deathly stroke, and not give him a deadly wound, so he 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 window, and perished out of the dream; so Eshub smote him to the heart, and leaving his dagger in his body, he went out and shut the door after him. Now the king's servants were very much surprised at seeing that the king had composed himself to sleep.

3. Hereupon Eshub informed the people of Jericho privately of what he had done, and exhort ed them to recover their liberty; who heard him, and finding he had no imposter, they came to their Eiphrasites. Hereupon Othniel, who had given such proofs of his valor, received from the multitude authority to judge the people; and when he had ruled over them forty years, he died.

CHAP. IV.
How our People served the Moabites eighteen Years, and were then delivered from Slavery by one Eshub, who retained the Dominions eighty Years.

§ 1. When Othniel was dead, the affairs of the Israelites fell again into disorder, while they neither paid to the God of honor due to him, nor submitted properly to the laws of God, which increased, till Eglon, king of the Moabites, did so greatly despise them, on account of the disorders of their political government, that he made war upon them, and overcame them in several battles, and made the most courageous to submit, and entirely subdued their army, and ordered them to pay him tribute. And when he had built him a royal palace at Jericho, he omitted no method whereby to 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 freed them from the hard usage they had met with under the Moabites. This liberty he procured for them in the following manner.

2. There was a very young man of the tribe of Benjamin, whose name was Eshub, the son of Gers, a man of very great courage in bold undertakings, and of a very strong body, fit for hard labor, but best skilled in using his left hand, in which was his whole strength; and he also dwelt at Jericho. Now this man became familiar with Eglon, and that by means of presents, with which he obtained his favor, and inducted himself into the king's favor, and he also adored those that were about the king. Now when on a time he was bringing presents to the king, and had two servants with him, he put a dagger on his right thigh secretly, and went in to him, it was then a midwinter, and the morn of the sabbath, when the guards were not strictly on their watch, both because of the heat, and because they were gone to dinner. So the young man, when he had offered his presents to the king, took the dagger out of his bosom, and hid it, and stood conveniently to avoid the heat, he fell into discourse with him, for they were now alone, the king having bid his servants that attended him to go their ways, because he had a mind to talk with Eshub. He then expected Eshub's seal was very strange to him, and gave him a deathly stroke, and not give him a deadly wound, so he 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 window, and perished out of the dream; so Eshub smote him to the heart, and leaving his dagger in his body, he went out and shut the door after him. Now the king's servants were very much surprised at seeing that the king had composed himself to sleep.

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JAEL KILLING SISERA.
same name with the son of Jacob, and of the same name with their own tribe. 2. The Israelites grew so indolent and unready of taking pains, that misfortunes came heavier upon them, which also proceeded in part from their contempt of the divine worship; for when they had once fallen off from the regularity of their political government, they indulged themselves farther in living according to their own pleasure, and according to their own will, till they were full of the evil doings that were common among the Canaanites. God therefore was angry with them, and they lost their happy state, which they had obtained by innumerable labors, by their luxury; for when Chusian, king of the Assyrians, had made war against them, they lost many of their soldiers in the battle, and when they were besieged, they were taken by force; nay, there were some who, out of fear, voluntarily submitted to him, and though the tribute paid 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: 3. There was one whose name was Othniel, the son of one of the tribe of the Danites, a siod man, and of great courage. He had an admonition from God not to overlook the Israelites in such a distress as they were now in, but to endeavor boldly to gain them their liberty; so when he heard that 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 they joined battle with the Assyrians, and drove them entirely before them. They came and conquered the Edomites. Hereupon Othniel, who had given such proofs of his valor, received from the multitude authority to judge the people; and when he had ruled over them forty years, he died.

CHAP. IV.

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

1. WHEN Othniel was dead, the affairs of the Israelites fell again into disorder, and while they were to follow God the blessings which he had given to him nor were obedient to the laws, their afflictions increased, till Ehlon, 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 subdite, and entirely subdued their army, and ordered them to pay him tribute. And when he had built him a royal palace, after which he emitted no method whereby he might distress them, 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 freed them from the hard usage they had met with under the Moabites. This liberty he procured for them in the following manner:

2. There was a young man of the tribe of Benjamin, whose name was Ehud, the son of Gera, a man of very great courage in bold under takings, and of a very strong body, fit for hard labor, but his eyesight was but small, whereby he was also beloved of those that were about the king. Now when on a time he was bringing presents to the king, and had two servants with him, he put a dagger on his right thigh secretly, and went in to him: it was then night and time, and the king sat in the middle of the day, when the guards were not strictly on their watch, both because of the heat, and because they were gone to dinner. So the young man of the tribe of Benjamin, who then resided in a small parlour that stood conveniently to avoid the heat, he fell into discourse with him; for they were now alone, the king having bid his servants that attended him to retire a while, because it was then night and time. He was sitting on his throne; and fear seized upon Ehud lest he should miss his stroke, and not give him a deadly wound, so he raised himself up, and said he had a dream to labor, but his sight was too dim to understand which the king leaped out of his throne for joy of the dream; so Ehud smote him to the heart, and leaving his dagger in his body, he went out and shut the door after him. Now the king's servants were still in the room, and not knowing that the king had composed himself to sleep.

3. Hereupon Ehud informed the people of Jericho privately of what he had done, and exhorted them to recover their liberty; who heard him gladly, and went to the king's palace, and the guards over the country, that should sound trumpets of rams' horns, for it was our custom to call the people together by them. Now the attendants of Ehud were ignorant of what mischief 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 were in great disorder, for they knew not what to do. But when the guards could be got together, the multitude of the Israelites came upon them, so that some of them were slain immediately, and some were put to flight, and ran away toward the country of Moab. Ehud therefore, who was a man of a great 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, nor did one of them escape out of their hands; and by this means it was that the Hebrews freed themselves from slavery under the Moabites. Ehud also was on this account dignified with the government over all the multitude, and held the government eighty years. He was a wise and prudent man, and a good recommendation, even besides what he deserved for the forementioned act of his. After him Shammgar, the son of Anath, was elected for their governor, but died in the first year of his government.

* It appears by the sacred history, Judg. I. 66, ll. 13, that Ehon's pavilion, or palace, was at the city of palm-trees: Jericho was not to the nearest of Nazareth, but to the nearest of Jericho, his city of palm-trees only, speak here more accurately than Josephus.

† These 50 years for the government of Ehud are necessary to Josephus's usual large numbers between the exodus and the building of the temple, of 320 or 360 years for the 500 years, but not for the smallest number, 330 years, of 1 Kings vi. 1, which lesser number Josephus sees sometimes to have followed. And since in the beginning of the time of King David, the number was by the Chaldean, or by the Medes, 25 and 26 years; and that number was to his time, for the length of time for the Israelites before Jabin came and subdued them, it is highly probable that some of these periods in his time had here only 8 years instead of 25, as had that of Theophilus of Antioch, Ad Apost. L. iii. and this most probably from his copy of Josephus.
BOOK V.—CHAP. V. VI.

CHAP. V.

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

1. And it came to pass, that the Israelites, taking no warning by their former misfortunes to amend their manners, and neither worshiping God, nor submitting to the laws, were brought under slavery by Jabin, the king of the Canaanites, and that before they had a short breathing time after the Microsilus, under the Mounts of Millo, came out of Hazor, a city that was situated over the lake Semochonitis, and had in pay three hundred thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, but far fewer than three hundred thousand cavalry. Sisera was the commander of all his army, and was the principal person in the king's favor. He so sorely beat the Israelites when they fought with him, that he ordered them to pay tribute.

2. Being then in those miseries, and having that fear for twenty years, as not good enough of themselves to grow wise by their misfortunes. God was willing also hereby the more to subdue their obstinacy and ingratitude towards himself: so when he saw a camp so far from the ends of his country. The Israelites were so wise as to learn that their calamities arose from their contempt of the laws, they be- sought Deborah, a certain prophetess among them, (which name in the Hebrew tongue signifies "a fruit of the earth," and was given to her because she was a great fruit of God's grace and goodness, and not to overlook them, now they were ruined 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 "a thunder.")

3. So Deborah sent for Barak, and bid him choose him out ten thousand young men, to go against the enemy, because God had said, that that number was not far from the ends of his country. But when Barak said, that he would not be the general unless she would also go as a general with him, she had indignation at what he said, and replied, "Thou, O Barak, deliverest not the Israelites, unless thou bring me with thee, into the band of a woman, and I do not reject it." So they collected ten thousand men, and pitched their camp at Mount Tabor, where, at the king's command, Sisera met them, and pitched their camp on the east side of the Jordan. But Barak and the Israelites pitched their camp on the west side of the Jordan. So they came to the battle, and attacked the Israelites, and slew a great number of them, so that some of them fell by the Israelites, some fell by their own horses, which were put into disorder, and not a few were killed by their own chariots. At last 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 something to drink, she gave him sour milk, of which he was so refreshed, that he fell asleep, and she put an iron in his head, 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 so was this liberty, purchased by a woman, as Deborah had foretold. Barak also fought with Jabin at Hazor; and when he met with him he slew him; and when the general was fallen, Barak overthrew the city to the foundation, and was commander of the Israelites for forty years.

CHAP. VI.

How the Midianites and other nations fought against the Israelites, and beat them, and 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 Arabsians to their assistance, and made war against the Israelites, and were too hard for them. Yet a few there were that had taken the fruits of the earth, they might have fruits for them to carry away. Indeed, there ensued a famine, and a scarcity of food, upon which they betook themselves to their supplications to God, and besought him to save them, and give them success, in time they recovered.

2. Gideon also, the son of Joash, one of the principal persons of the tribe of Manasseh, brought his sheaves of corn privately, and thrashed them; and when he saw the sheaves of his enemies, to thrust them openly in the threshing-floor. At this time somewhat appeared to him in the shape of a young man, and told him, "That he was a happy man and beloved of God." To which he immediately replied, "A mighty indication of God's favor to me, that I am forced to use this winewinepress instead of a threshing-floor!" But the appearance exhorted him to be of good courage, and to make an attempt for the recovery of his country. 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 a thing. He could not, therefore, mislead him, that God would supply what he was defective in, and would afford the Israelite victory under his conduct.

3. Now therefore, as Gideon was relating this to some young men, they believed him, and immediately there was an army of ten thousand men got ready for fighting. But God stood by Gideon in his sleep, and told him, "That mankind were too few of themselves, and their arms were few in number, so that they might not pass God over, but ascribe the victory to him, and might not fancy it obtained by their own power because they were a great army, and said of themselves they had taken the victory; but might confess that it was owing to his assistance, he advised him to bring his army about noon, in the violence of the heat, to the river, and to esteem those that went down on their knees, and so drank, to be men of counsel, 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 founded the first such great multitude of the people that were taken with their hands tumultuously, so God bid him take these men, and attack the e., etc. Accor-
ingly 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 told him beforehand, that he should set upon his enemies in the night-time: but God, being willing to shield him from his fear, hid him one of his soldiers, and so near to the Midianites' tents, for that he should from that very place have his courage raised, and grow bold. So be obeyed, and went and took his servant Pharaoh with him; and the captain of the guard 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 a dream of his own, and that so plainly, that Gideon could hear him. The dream was this: he said: 'I saw a barley cake, and it was one as could hardly be eaten by men, it was so vile, rolling through the camp, and overthrowing the royal tent, and the tents of all the soldiers. Now the other soldier explained this vision to mean the seed called barley was all of it allowed to be the vilest sort of seed, and that the Israelites were known to be the vilest of all the nations; he therefore agreed to give up the seed of barley; and that what seemed to look big among the Israelites, was this Gideon, and the army that was with him: and since thou sayest thou didst see them fleeing our tents, I am afraid lest God hast granted the victory over us to Gideon.'

5. When Gideon had heard this dream, good hope and courage came upon 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 Gideon divided his army into three parts, and brought it out about the fourth watch of the night, each containing a hundred men: they all bare empty pitchers, and lighted lamps in their hands, that their onset might not be discovered by their enemies. They had also each of them a ram's horn, in his right hand, which he used instead of a trumpet: the enemies' camp took up a large space of ground, for it happened they had a great many camels: and as they were divided into different nations, so they were all contained in one circle. Now when the Hebrews were ordered to hand, upon their approach to their enemies, and on the signal given, sounded with their rams' horns, and broke their pitchers, and set upon their enemies with their lamps, and a great shout, and cried, 'Gad, bless our battle, God with our valour,' and order and a fright seized on the other men while they were fast asleep, for it was night-time, as God would have it; so that a few of them were slain by their enemies, but the greatest part by the Israelites soldiers, or account of the diversity in 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 they took great quantities of men. And as the report of Gideon's victory came to the Israelites they took their weapons and pursued their enemies, and overtook them in a certain valley, encompassed with torrents, a place which these enemies had before, so did they pursue them, and slew them all, with their kings, Orcbe and Zeeb. But the remaining captains led those soldiers that were left, which were about eighteen thousand, and pitched their camp a great way off. However, Gideon's men did not grudge his praise, but pursued them with all his army, and joining battle with them, cut off the whole enemies' army, and took the other leaders, Zebah and Zalmunna, and made them captives. And Gideon in his triumph, slew the kings of the Midianites, and of their auxiliaries, the Arabsians, about a hundred and twenty thousand; and the Hebrews took a great prey, gold, and silver, and garments, and camels, and asses. And when Gideon was come to his own country of Ophra 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 temper, and that excelled in every virtue, pleaded, 'That it was not the result of his own authority or reasoning that made him attack the enemy without them, but that it was the command of God, and still the victory belonged to them as well as to those in the army.' And by this method ofcooling their passions, he brought more to his side, and, by the success he had against these enemies, for he thereby delivered them from a sedition which was arising among them; yet did this tribe afterward suffer the punishment of this their injurious treatment of us, of which we will give an account in due time.

7. Hereupon Gideon would have laid down the government, but was over-persuaded to take it, which he enjoyed forty years, and distributed among his sons, and wrote what was to be done in their differences; and what he determined was esteemed valid by all. And when he died, he was buried in his own country of Ophra.

CHAP. VII

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

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

2. Now, when on a certain time there was a public festival at Shechem, and all the multitude was there gathered together, Jotham his brother whose escape we before related, went up to rise to his mouth, and said, 'And Abimelech, and other of the multitude, who were attentive to him. He desired they would consider what he was going to say to them: so when silence was made, he said, 'That when the trees had a human voice and there was an assembly of them gathered to gether, they desired that the fig-tree would rule over them; but when that tree refused so to do, it became a question between them and the olive, which belonged peculiarly to the fruit in the land and not that which should be derived to it from abroad, the trees did not leave off their intentions to have a ruler, so they thought proper to make the old tree to make his way to the vine, but when the vine was chosen, it made use of the same words which the fig-tree had used before, and excused itself from accepting the government, and when the olive-tree had done the same, the bramble came forward to be king, and the kingdom, (it is a sort of wood good for firing,) promised to take the government, and to be jealous in the exercise of it, but that they must sit down under its shadow, and if they should break it with their battle-axe, the fire of the vine was in it should destroy them. He told them, that what he said was no laughing matter: for that when they had experienced
many blessings from Gideon, they overlooked Abimelech, when he overruled all, and had joined with him 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 repented themselves of having slain the sons of Gideon, drove Abimelech away, both from their city and their 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 fruits, for fear Abimelech should do them some mischief. Now it happened that there had come to them a man of authority, one Gaal, that so taunted Abimelech, that he roused his kinsmen with him: so the Shechemites desired that he would allow them a guard during their vintage, whereupon he accepted of their desires, and so the people went out, and Gaal with them. And as the people gathered their fruit with safety, and when they were at supper in several companies, they then ventured to curse Abimelech openly, and the magistrates laid ambushes in places about the city, and set upon Abimelech's followers, and destroyed them.

4. Now there was one Zebul a magistrate of the Shechemites, that had entertained Abimelech. He sent messengers, and informed him how they had assaulted the guards, and invited him to come with them, and excused him to lay ambushes before the city, for that he would persuade Gaal to go out against him, which would leave it in his power to be revenged. When Abimelech knew what was doing on, he said to Zebul, that some armed men were coming; but the other replied, they were only shadows of huge stones; and when they were nearer, Gaal perceived what was reality, and said, they were shadows, but mere lying in amousness. Then said Zebul, didst thou reproach Abimelech for cowardice? why dost thou not then show how very courageous thou art thyself, and go and fight him? So Gaal, being in the suburbs, saw the armed men coming on, he said to Zebul, that some armed men were coming; but the other replied, they were only shadows of huge stones; and when they were nearer, Gaal perceived what was reality, and said, they were shadows, but mere lying in amousness.

5. Now it was that Jair the Gileadite, ⁹ of the tribe of Manasseh, took the government. He was a man brave and valiant, and in other respects particularly in his children, who were of a good character. They were thirty in number, and very skillful in riding on horses, and were instructed with the government of the cities of Gil-lead. He kept the government twenty-two years, and died an old man, and he was buried in Canaan, a city of Gilead. And now all the affairs of the Hebrews were managed uncertainly, and cumbred to disorder, and to confusion, because of the absence of a commander. So the Ammonites and Philistines had them in contempt, and laid waste the country with a great army; and when they had taken all Peres, they were so insolent as to attempt to gain the possession of all the rest; but the Hebrews being now amends 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 move by their prayers to leave off the anger of their God. So God became more merciful to them, and was ready to assist them.

6. When the Ammonites had made an expedition into the Jordan country, the inhabitants of the country met them at a certain mountain, but wanted a commander. Now there was one whose name was Jephtha, who, both on account of his father's virtues, and on account of that army in which he was bred, and at the opening of the expense, was a potent man: the Israelites therefore sent to him, and entreated him to come to their assistance, and promised him dominion over them all his lifetime. But he did not admit of their entreaty; and accused them, that they did not come to his assistance when he was unjustly treated, and commentators conclude, that in Josephus's time of the political controversies of the twenty-five years are included; hence we are to confine, that somewhat has been here lost out of his copies.
this in an open manner by his brethren; for they cast him off, as not having the same mother with them; and it is true, there was a strong and furious dispute among them about his being their kinsman; and this they did out of a contempt of his inability to vindicate himself. So he dwelt in the desert, and was hired by a man; and this woman was 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 swear 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 Mizpeh, and sent a message to the Ammonite, [Heb 2:4.] complaining of his unjust possession of their land. But that king sent a contrary message; and complained of the exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt, and desired them to go out of the land of the Amorites, and yield it up to him, as at first his paternal inheritance. 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 delivered the land of the Amorites to them, since Moses could have taken it also; and that neither would he recede from that land of their own, which God had obtained for them, and that he had now inhabited [above] three hundred years, but that it was the time of the tribe of Ephraim." And when 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 would offer a thousand bullocks; and a vow was made if he should come safe, that he would sacrifice a bullock, he should have his son; but if he should fall, he should have his son. And when he had came, it was found that the enemy was about to attack them, and that Jephtha joined battle with them. And in his pursuit slew the enemies all along as far as the city of Mininith. He then passed over to the land of Ephraim, and destroyed many of their cities, and took their prey, and fed his own people from that slavery which they had undergone for eighteen years. But as he came back, he fell into a company; but they accused him to the great actions he had done; for it was his daughter that came to him; she was also an only child, and a virgin: upon this, Jephtha heavily lamented the greatness of his affliction, and began to offer a prayer, saying, if God would be so good as to bring him, he would have vowed to sacrifice her to God. However, this action that was to befall her was not ungrateful to her, since she should die upon occasion of her father's victory, and the liberty of the people; and in that only would her father gain the revenge he had resolved to give her leave for two months, to bewail her youth with her fellow-citizens: and then she agreed, that at the forementioned time, he might do with her according to his will. Accordingly, when that time was over, he sacrificed his daughter as a burnt-offering; offering such an oblation as was neither conformable to the law, nor acceptable to God, not weighing with himself with what opinion the hearers would have of such a practice.

11. Now the tribe of Ephraim fought against him, because he did not take them along with him in his expedition against the Ammonites; but he was afraid, lest, by coming in the midst of the Ephraimites, the cause which was done to himself, as to which he said, first, that they were not ignorant how his country had fought against him, and that when they were invited, they did not come to his assistance, whereas he thought that this would quickly, even before they were invited. And in the next place, that they were going to act unjustly; for while they had not courage enough to fight against him, they did not take his only child to perpetual virginity, at the tabernacle or elsewhere, which I rather suppose. If he had vowed her for a sacrifice she ought to have been redeemed, and they could not make it a law for God's assistance he would inflict a punishment upon them, unless they would grow wiser. But when the Ephraimites saw that they were not to be so fitly attacked by those forces which he sent for out of Gilgal, and he made a great slaughter among them; and when they were beaten he pursued them, and seized on the passages of Jordan by a part of his army, and had sent before and slew about forty-two thousand of them.

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

13. Now when Jephtha was dead, Ibsan took the government, being of the tribe of Judah and of the city Bethlehem. He had sixty children, thirty of them sons, and the rest daughters; all of whom he left alive behind him, giving the daughters in marriage to husbands, and taking wives for his sons. He did nothing in the seven years of his administration that was worth recording or deserved a memorial. So he died, and was an old man, and was buried in his own country.

14. When Ibsan was dead after this manner, neither did Helon, who succeeded him in the government, and kept it ten years, do anything that was of any note or moment.

15. Abdon, also, the son of Hillel, of the tribe of Ephraim, and born at the city Pyrathon, was ordained their supreme governor after Helon. He is only recorded to have been happy in his reign, and to have done nothing to bring guilt upon himself, whether as a judge, or as a private person. And he marched in state with these seventy, who were of the standing men of Ephraim, and he killed them all alive after him. He died an old man; and obtained a magnificent burial in Pyrathon.

CHAP. VIII.
Concerning the Portitude of Samson, and whatAccessTypefe he brought upon the Philistines.

1. After Abdon was dead the Philistines covered the great cities of Ephraim with contempt, and kindled a flame among them, and they sent them forty years; from which distress they were delivered after this manner.

2. There was one Manoah, a person of such great virtue, that he had few men his equals, and he was without number, and his name was known in every part of the country. He had a wife celebrated for her beauty, and excelling her contemporaries. He had no children; and being uneasy at this want of posterity, he entertained God to give them seed of their own bodies to succeed after him; and with that intent he came constantly into the suburbs, together with his wife, which suburbs were in the great plain. Now, he was fond of his wife to the degree of madness, and on that account was unmeasureably jealous of her. Now, when his wife was once alone, an apparition was seen by her; it was an angel of God, and resembled a young man beautiful and tall, and brought her the good news, that she should have a son, born by God's providence, that should be a goodly child, of great strength, by whom, when he was grown up to man's estate, the Philistines should be afflicted. He exhorted her also not to poll his hair, for that would be a sign of God's providence, and was an angel of God, and was a term of drink, (for so had God commanded,) and be

Lev. xxviii. 1-8; but of the sense of verses 28, 29, as relating not to things vowed to God, but devoted to destruction, see the note on Antiq. b. vi. ch. ix. sect. 5.
entirely contended with water. So the angel, when he had delivered that message, went his way, his coming having been by the will of God. Now, the wife being thus and for some time not being able to bear children, she perceived then, of what the angel had said, who shewed 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 perceived that his wife was excited by that passion: but she was devious of having her husband's unreasonable sorrow taken away; accordingly she entreated God to send the angel again, that he might be seen by her husband, and this time let him be as the messenger of the most bountiful of God, while they were in the suburbs, and appeared to her when she was alone, without her husband. She desired the angel to stay as long till she might bring her husband; and this was soon granted; and Manoah saw the angel, he was not yet free from suspicion, and he desired him to inform him of all that he had told his wife: but when good came, it was sufficient that she alone knew what he had said, he then sent of the angel of him to tell him who he was, that when the child was born they might remember him, and give him a present. He replied that he did not want anything, but that he desired that the woman might have good news of the birth of a son out of the want of any thing. And when Manoah had entreated him to stay, and partake of his hospitality, he did not give his consent. However, he was persuaded, and he stayed till the woman had given birth, and then the child stayed so long 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, when he had dressed the child, upon a rock which, when he 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 heaven, and was seen 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 at no fear, for that God appeared to them for their benefit.

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 weaned, Manoah, because that is 'strong.' So the child grew space, and it appeared evidently that he would be a prophet, both by the moderation of his diet, and the permission of his hair to grow.

5. And the time when he came to his parents to Timnath, a city of the Philistines, when there was a great festival, he fell in love with a maid of that country, and he desired of his parents that they would procure him the damsel for his wife: but they refused so to do, because she was not of the stock of Israel; yet because this marriage was of God, who intended to convert it to the benefit of the Hebrews, he over-persuaded them to procure her to be espoused to him. And as he was feeding his father's flock, he met a lion, and though he was naked, he received his onset, and strangled him with his hands, and cast the wild beast into a woody piece of ground as it were, in the midst of the rocks.

6. And when he came another time to the damsel, he lighted upon a swarm of bees making their combs in the breast of that lion, and taking three honeycombs away, he gave them, together with the rest of his present, to the damsel. Now the people of Timnath, out of a dread of the young man's strength, gave him during the time of the wedding feast, (for he then feasted them all,) thirty of the most stout of their youth, in pretense to be his companions but in reality to guard him; but he did not attempt to give them any disturbance. Now as they were drinking merrily and playing, Samson said, as was usual at such times, "Come, if I propose you a riddle, and you can expound it in these seven days, then I will give you a certain reward; but if you cannot, I will give you a shirtless shirt and a garment, as a reward of your wisdom." So they being very ambitious to obtain the glory of wisdom, together with the gains, desired him to propose his riddle: he said, "That a great thing, the horsemen that came from the north of the territory of Japhlet, a people that stood in guard of itself, though itself were very disagreeable." And when they were not able, in three days' time, to find out the meaning of the riddle, they desired the damsel to discover it by the means of her husband, and, if she list, she, an angry, and resented to burn her if she did not tell it them. So when the damsel entreated Samson to tell it her, he at first refused to do it, but when she lay hard at him, and fell into tears, and made his refusal to tell it a reproach of his unkindness, she formed of her slaughter a lion's bone, and how he found bees in his breast, and carried away three honeycombs, and brought them to her. Thus she suspected, from the signal of death, the riddle, and she revealed it to those that desired to know it. Then on the seventh day, whereon they were to expound the riddle proposed to them, they met together before the setting of the sun, and I said, "Nothing is more agreeable to those that light on it, 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, and disappointed me of you." Accordingly, he gave them the presents he had promised them, making such Ackelotites as he met upon the road his prey, who were themselves Philistines also. But he divorced this his wife, and, bringing her up, he married to his companion, who made the former match between them.

7. At this injurious treatment Samson was so provoked, that he resolved to punish all the Philistines, as they were not being to their good 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 through the fields of the Philistines, 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 Timnah, 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 the anger of Samson's wife. The Philistines therefore, when they saw that 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 in the roek with armed men, 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 they would come and take him, and deliver him up to them, and put him into their power; so they desired him to bear this willingly. Accord-
ingly, 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 countrymen. 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 action there performed by Samson, though of old it had no such name at all, the Philis-
tines who had pitched their camp so far off, came to meet him with joy, and shouting, as having done a great thing, and gained what they desired; but Samson broke his bonds asunder, and caused a Bowie of an ass's jawbone to lie down at his feet; fell upon his enemies, and smiting them with his jawbone, 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 a dread of him, that some of his enemies fell, and some were carried away upon his vainglorious use of the jaw-bone." But when a great thirst came upon him, he considered that human courage is nothing, and bare his testimony that all is to be ascribed to God who brought him to it; 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 misfortune he was under. Accordingly, God was 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 sight Samson held the Philis-
tines in contempt, and came to Gaza, and took up his lodgings in a certain inn. When the rulers of Gaza were informed of his coming thither, they seized upon the gates, and placed men in ambush about them, that he might not escape without being perceived. But Samson, who was acquainted with their contrivances against him, arose about midnight, and ran by force upon the gates, with their posts and beams, and the rest of the stuff that obstructed them away on his shoulders, and bore them to the mountain that is over Hebron, and there laid them down.

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 Deliah, and he lived with her. So those that administered the public affairs of the Philistines came to her, and with promises in-
duced 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 like conversation together, she pretended to admire the actions he had done, and contrived to get out of him what she desired by what means he was much exc-
celled others in strength. Samson, in order to delude Deliah, for he had not lost his senses, replied, that if he were bound with seven such great grey goats, and with a vine as might be tied about them, he should be weaker than any other man. The woman said no more than this, 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 his waking him, she told him some of the people were upon him; but he broke the withes, and endeavored to de-
fect himself; as though some of the people were upon him. Now this woman, in the constant conversation Samson had with her, pretended that she took it very ill that he had such little confidence in her; and therefore, not to tell her what she desired, as if she would not conceal what she knew it was far his interest to have concealed. However, he deluded her again, and told her, that if they bound him with seven cords, he should lose his strength; but 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, the truth was not discovered. At length Samson, upon Deliah'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 thence it is 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 learned thus much, and had deprived him of his hair, she delivered him up, and he was not able to defend himself from their attempts upon him; so they put out his eyes, and bound him, and had him led about among them.

12. But the 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 the room wherein they were, had its roof supported by twelve pillars;) so they desired Sam-
son, 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 be able to revenge himself when he was insulted, persuaded the boys 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 them, he rushed with force against them; 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 this man, when he had ruled over the Israel-
ites 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 ensnared by a woman, that is to be ascribed to human nature, which is too weak to resist the temptations to that sin: but we ought to bear him witness, that in all other respects he was one of extraordinary virtue. But his kindness took away his body, and buried it, his own country with the rest of his family.

CHAP. IX.

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

§ 1. Now after the death of Samson, Eli one his sons, (the son of Phinehas,) was twenty-two 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 ensnared by a woman, that is to be ascribed to human nature, which is too weak to resist the temptations to that sin: but we ought to bear him witness, that in all other respects he was one of extraordinary virtue. But his kindness took away his body, and buried it, his own country with the rest of his family.

* This fountain, called Lah, or the Jaw-bone, is still in use by the inhabitants of Gaza, and is very
vane in the days of Josephus, and has been known by the same name in all the past ages. See Antiq. B.
vii. ch. xii. sect. 4

† See this justly observed in the Apostolical Constitut-
tions, which is now laid before the reader. It is true, a man has not heard but that it was before this transgression
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his family under so sore a distress, took with him Naomí 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 for his sons wives of the Moabites, Orphah for Chilion, and Ruth for Mahlon. But in the compass of some years they died, and went to their fathers, while he was yet alive; and after them the sons of Orphah and Ruth, his daughters-in-law, died. And there should see that she had lain down by him, because it was but prudent to avoid any reproach that might arise on that account, especially when there had been nothing done that was ill. But to return to the present case, the woman that should rest here, 'He that is nearer of kin than I am, shall be asked whether he wants to take thee to wife; if he says he does, 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 of the women together, and when he had sent for Ruth, he called for her kinsman also; and when he was come, he said, "Dost thou retain the inheritance of Elimelech his father?" He answered, "I do 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 the laws by halves, but do every thing according to the law; for the woman that we have in our house 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 wife 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 spit in his face, according to the law; and when this was done, Booz married Naomí. And thus, after a year's time, Naomí was herself a nurse to this child; and by the advice of the women called him 'Obed,' as being to be brought up in order to be subservient to her in her old age, for Obed, in the Hebrew dialect, signifies a servant. The servant that Obed was Jesse, and David was his son, who was king, and left his dominions to his sons for one and twenty generations. I was therefore obli-
ged to relate this story, because it had a mind to demonstrate the power of God, who, without difficulty, can raise those that are of ordinary parentage to dignity and splendor, 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 Eli. 1. And now upon the ill state of the affairs of the Hebrews, they made war again upon the Philistines. The occasion was this: Eli the high priest had two sons, Hophni and Phineas. These sons of Eli were afflicted with such a state of rebellion and of impiety towards God, and abstained from all sort of wickedness. Some of their gifts they carried off, as belonging to the honorable employment they had, others of their spoils they took away by violence. They were also guilty of im-

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Antiquities of the Jews.

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

2. I will first despatch what I have to say about the prophet Samuel, and after that will proceed to the account of the sons of Eli, the miseries they brought on the whole people of the Hebrews. Ecananah, a Levite, one of a middle condition among his fellow-citizens, and one that dwelt at Ramathaim, a city of the tribe of Ephraim, had two wives, Hananah and Penannah. He had children by the latter, but he loved the other best, although she were barren. Now Ecananah came with his wives to the city Shiloh to sacrifice, for there it was that the tabernacle to beseach God to give her seed, and make a man of her for whose sake she should create the first son she should bear to the service of God, and this in such a way, that his manner of living should not be like that of ordinary men. And as it was at prayer a long time, the Lord came to Eli, the high priest, for he sat there before the tabernacle, bid her go away, thinking she had been disordered with wine; but when she said she had drunk water, but was in sorrow for want of seed, and was barren, in the state of mourning for her, she had no seed, he bid he be of good cheer, and told that God would send her children.

3. So she came to her husband full of hope, and ate her meal with gladness; and when they had eaten, they returned to their own country, she found herself with child, and they had a son born to them, to whom they gave the name of Samuel, which may be styled one that was asked of God. They therefore came to the tabernacle to offer sacrifices for the birth of the child, and presented their tithes with them; but the woman remembered the vow she had made concerning her son, and delivered him to Eli, dedicating him to God, that he might become a prophet. Accordingly he was consecrated, and his name was by long custom water. So Samuel dwelt and was brought up in the temple. But Ecananah had other sons by Hannah, and three daughters.

4. Now, when Samuel was twelve years old he began to judge the children of Israel. For when he was once saleep, God called to him by his name, but he, supposing he had been called by the high priest, came to him: but when the priest said he did not call him, God did so thrice. Eli was then so far illuminaed, that he said to him, "Indeed, Samuel, I was silent now as well as before; it is God that calls thee: do thou therefore signify it to him, and say, I am here ready." So when he heard God spake, he desired to be subscribed, and to deliver what vessels he pleased to him, for he would not fail to perform any ministration whatsoever he should make use of him in; to which God replied, "Since thou art here ready, learn what ministration coming upon the families, such indeed as words cannot declare, nor faith believe: for the sons of Eli shall die on one day, and the priesthood shall be transferred into the family of Eleanar, for Eli hath loved his sons more than he had loved his wealth, and thus his name is not for their advantage." Which message Eli obliged the prophet by oath to tell him, for otherwise he had so inclination to afflict him by tell- ing it. And now Eli had a far more sure ex-pectation of the pessidion of his sons; but the glory of Samuel increased more and more, 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 most協會.

1. About this time it was that the Philistines made war against the Israelites, and pitched their camp at the city Ashek. Now when the Israelites had expected them a little while, the very next day they joined battle, and the Philistines were vanquished, and pursued 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 and to the high priest, and desired that they would bring the ark of God 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 condemned them to endure these calamities was the ark of God, and one could not say what that ark came to be honored. So the ark came, and the sons of the high priest with it, having received a charge from their father, that if they did not succeed in carrying the ark, they should come no more into his presence; for Phinees officiated already as high priest, his father having resigned the office to him, by reason of his great age. So the Hebrews were full of courage, and they besought the ark in which the opening of the ark they should be too hard for their enemies: their enemies also were greatly concerned, and were afraid of the ark's coming to the Israelites; however, the upshot did not prove as the officers of the ark expected, for when the battle was joined, that victory which the Hebrews expected, was gained by the Philistines, and that defeat the Philistines were afraid of, fell to the lot of the Israelites, and thereby that they put their trust in the ark in vain, for they were presently beaten as soon as they came to a close fight with their enemies, and lost about thirty thousand men, among whom were the sons of the high priest: but Eli, high in age, and his son and his grandson, 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 the young man, and when he un- understand what had happened in the battle, he was not much uneasy as to his sons, or what was told him within about the army, as having beforehand known by divine revelation that these things would happen, and having foretold them beforehand, for what bad things come unexpect- edly they distress men the most; but as soon as the ark was carried captive by their enemies, he was very much grieved at it, because it fell out quite differently from what he expected; and he fell down from his throne, and died, having in all lived ninety-eight years, and of them retained the government forty.

4. On the same day his son Phinees's wife died also, and was buried to survive the misfortune of her husband; for they told her of her husband's death as she was in labor. However, she bare a son at seven months, who lived, and to whom they gave the name of Icabod, which name signifies that the glory of the family was gone, for many as have spoken, have likewise foresaid of those days." See also Acts xiii. 20: the others were rather sometimes called righteous men, Matt. x. 47; xiii. 17.
BOOK VI.—CHAP. XI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-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 their own god who was called Dagon, as one of their gods; and that these were sent into his 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 basis wherein he had stood. So 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 in very great distress and confusion. At length God sent a very destructive disease upon the city and country of Ashdod, for they died of the dysentery or flux, a sore distemper, that brought death upon them very suddenly; for the people of Ashdod, as well as the Philistines, were kept alive when their lives were like 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, like to those that devoured and destroyed their country; and this done, they carried the five people of Ashdod was not disagreeable to those of Askelon, so they granted them that favor. But when they had gotten the ark, they were in the same miserable condition, for the ark carried along with it the disasters that the people of Ashdod had suffered, to those who received it from them. Those of Askelon also sent it away from themselves to others: nor did it stay among them, but it went from one to another, and all the time was spent in disease and death by the same disasters, they still sent it to the neighboring cities; so that the ark went round, after this manner, to the five cities of the Philistines, as though it executed these disasters as a tribute to be paid for it; and so the power which observations are highly suitable to this history.

1. This device of the Philistines, of having a yoke of oxen to draw this cart into which they put the ark of the Hebrews, is greatly illustrated by Banchoniathe's account, under his ninth generation, that Agorues, or Agrotes the husbandman, had a much-worshipped statue and temple, carried about by one or more yokes of oxen, or cows, in his lifetime; and this is exactly as the Philistines. See Cumberland's Banchoniathe, p. 27, and 247, and Essays on the Old Testament, Append. p. 178.

that heard them were taught thereby not to admit the ark among them, since they paid so dear a tribute for it, at length they sought for some contrivance and method how they might get free from it: so the governors of the five cities, Gath, and Ekron, and Askelon, as also of Gaza and Ashdod, meeting together, determined what was fit to be done; and at the first they thought proper to send the ark back to its own people, as allowing that God had avenged its cause; that the miseries they had undergone came along with it, and that these were sent upon their 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 their miseries to it, because it 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 exerted them to be quiet, and to take patiently what had befallen them, and to suppose there was no other cause of it but nature, which at certain revolutions of time produces such mutations in the bodies of men, in the earth, in plants, and in all things that grow out of the earth. But the Ark remained there, and the people that were 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 of what was to be done, and to yoke mill chine 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 dana, and that the demons might return the faster out of a desire of those calves; then to drive these milch kine that carried the ark, and leave it at a place where three ways met, and to leave it to the king, and assign 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 misfortunes; but if they turned from the king, they came, which is the will pursue after it, and conclude it has no such force in it."

*Dagon, a famous maritime god or idol, is generally supposed to have been like a man above the navel, and like a fish beneath it."
3. So they determined that these men spoke well; and they immediately confirmed their opinion by doing 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 kine 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 could stand still, and to whom they were driven.

Now the people of the tribe of Judah, whose name was Beth-shemesh, and to that village did the kine go; and though there was a great and good plain before them to proceed in, they went not further, but stopped the cart there. This was a sight to those of that village, and they were very glad; for it being then summer time, and all the inhabitants being then in their fields gathering in their fruits, they left off the labors 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 the ark and the vessel to God, and fastened the mice and the offerings, they offered the cart and the kine as a burnt-offering; and when the lords of the Philistines saw this they returned back.

4. And now it was that the wrath of God overtook them, and struck seventy persons dead of the village of Beth-shemesh, 8 who, not being priests, and so not worthy to touch the ark, had approached to it. Those of that village wept for these, that thus suffered, and made such a lamentation as was naturally to be expected on so great a misfortune that was sent from God; and every one mourned for his own relation. And since they acknowledged themselves unworthy of touching the ark's abode with them, they sent to the public senate of the Israelites, and informed them that the ark was restored by the Philistines; which when they knew, they brought it away to Kirjath-jearim, a city in the neighborhood of Beth-shemesh. In this city lived one Abinadab, by birth a Levite, and who was greatly commended for his righteous and religious course of life; so they brought the ark to his house, as to a place fit for God himself to abide, for he himself had told them to do so. His sons also ministered to the divine service of the ark, and were the principal curators of it for twenty years, for so many years it continued in Kirjath-jearim, having been but four months with the Philistines.

CHAP. II.

The Expedition of the Philistines against the Hebrews, and the Hebrews' Victory under the Conduct of Samuel the Prophet, who was their General.

1. Now while the city of Kirjath-jearim had the ark with them, the whole body of the people took themselves all the time to offer prayers and sacrifices to God, and appeared greatly concerned and zealous about his worship. So Samuel the prophet seeing how ready they were to do that, thought it a proper time to speak to them, while they were in this good disposition, about the recovery of their liberty, and of the blessings that accompanied the same. Accordingly, he spake such words to them as he thought would most likely to excite that inclination, and to persuade them to attempt it: "O you Israelites," said he, "to whom the Philistines are grievous enemies, but to whom God begins to be gracious, it behooves you not only to be desirous of liberty, but to take the proper methods to obtain it. Nor are you to be contented with an inclination to get clear of your lords and masters, while you still do what will procure your continuance under them: be righteous then, and cast wickedness out of your souls, and by your worship supplicate the divine majesty with all your hearts, and persevere in the honor you pay to him; for if you act thus, you will enjoy prosperity and a secure enjoyment of your enemies, and will get the victory over your enemies; which blessings it is not possible you should attain neither by weapons of war, nor by the strength of natural forces, but only by the virtue of your assistants: for God has not promised to grant these blessings by those means, but by being good and righteous men; and if you will be such, I will be security to you for the performance of God's oaths. [see 1 Sam. xiv.] When Samuel had said this, 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 public assembly, and signified in the Hebrew tongue, a watch tower; there they drew water and poured it out to God, and fasted all day, and betook themselves to their prayers.

2. This their assembly did not escape the notice of the Philistines: so when they had learned that so large a company had met together, they fell upon the Hebrews with a great army and took away the ark without any one being able to resist them, and did not expect it, nor were prepared for it. This thing affrighted the Hebrews, and put them into disorder and terror; so they came running to Samuel, and said, "that their souls were sunk by distress, and that they were afraid of the Philistines." Hereupon Samuel bid them be of good cheer, and promised them that God would assist them; and taking a sucking lamb, he consecrated it for the multitude, and burnt it as a sacrifice. and sent him forth, and said to them, from the Philistines." His sons also ministered to the divine service of the ark, and were the principal curators of it for twenty years, for so many years it continued in Kirjath-jearim, having been but four months with the Philistines.
able to keep their feet, and made them fall down; and by opening its chasms, he caused that others should be hurried down into them; after which he caused a great number of the Canaanites to be taken among them, and made very lightning shine so terribly round about them, that it was ready to burn their faces: and he so suddenly shook their weapons out of their hands, that he made them fly and return to return to them, and the Canaanites pursued them to Bethcar, a place so called: and there he set up a stone as a boundary of their victory, and their enemies' flight, and called it the stone of a witness, because he was the power God had given them against their enemies.

3. So the Philistines, after this stroke, made no more expeditions against the Israelites, but lay still out of fear, and out of remembrance of what they had done, and what they had done the Philistines had formerly against the Hebrews, that, after this victory, was transferred to the Hebrews. Samuel also made an expedition against the Philistines, and slew many of them, and entirely subdued and entirely subjugated them, and took on them that country, which, when they were formerly conquerors in battle, they had cut off from the Jews, which was the country that extended from the borders of Gath to the city Ekron, but the remnant of the Canaanites were at this time in friendship with the Israelites.

CHAP. III.

How Samuel, when he was so infirm with old age, that he could not take care of the Public Affairs, assigned them to his Sons; and for the evil Administration of the Government by them, the Multitude were so angry, that they required to have a King to govern them, although Samuel was much displeased therewith.

1. But Samuel the prophet, when he had ordered the affairs of the people after a convenient manner, and left them to his Sons; and for the evil Administration of the Government by them, the Multitude were so angry, that they required to have a King to govern them, although Samuel was much displeased therewith.

2. But afterward he found himself oppressed with old age, and not able to do what he used to do, he yielded the care of the multitude to his sons; the elder of whom was called Joel, and the name of the younger was Abiah. He also enjoined them to reside, and judge the people, the one at the city Bethel, and the other at Geba, and divided the people into districts that should be under the jurisdiction of each of them. Now these men afforded us an evident example and demonstration, how some children are not of the like dispositions with their parents, but sometimes perhaps good and moderate, though born of wicked parents, and sometimes showing themselves to be wicked, though born of good parents; for these men, turning aside from their father's good counsellors, resolved, for want of care, to be themselves, perverted justice for the filthy lucre of gifts and bribes, and made their determinations not according to truth, but according to bribery, and turned away from the business of living, so that, as in the first place they practised what was contrary to the will of God, so did they, in the second place, what was contrary to the will of the prophet their father, who had taken a great deal of care to assign the care of the multitude to his sons; and said, 'that as he was himself old already, and too infirm by that age of his to oversee their affairs in the manner he used to do, so they begg'd of him, and made a request of him, that the care of them be turned over to another person; 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, on account of his own children; and, though he disapproved of the project of turning over the government, for he was very fond of an aristocracy, as what made the men that used it of a divine and happy disposition; nor could he either think of estate or title, or the children of the king; and the torments of mind at what they had said, but all the night long did he continue awake, and resolved those notions in his mind.

4. While he was thus disposed, God appeared to him, and comforted him, by saying, 'The Lord hath heard the voice of thy words: the Lord has not abhorred the nation, nor forsaken his inheritance.' Then he went and abhorred the nation, nor forsaken his inheritance. And God, in the midst of his heart, and the very day 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 futurity; that they would have sufficiently repented. He then said, 'I will be ungrateful conduct they had used towards me, and towards thy prophetic office. So I command thee to ordain such a one as I shall name beforehand to be their king; and when his kingdom is first described what mischief kingly government will bring upon them, and openly testify before them unto what a great change of affairs they are hastening.'

5. When Samuel had heard this, he called the Jews early in the morning, and confessed to them that he was to ordain a king; but he said that he was first to describe to them what would follow, what treatment they would receive from their kings, and then say, that he 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 others of them to be runners before them, and captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds; they will also make them their artificers, and of the workmen in iron; they will make them their husbandmen also, and the curators of their own fields, and the diggers of their own vineyards; nor will there be any thing which they will not do at their commands, nor if they were not willing; they will take away your money. They will also appoint your daughters to be conquerors, and cooks, and bakers; and these will be obliged to do all sorts of work, which women slaves, that are in fear of stripes and torments, submit to. They will, besides, 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, shall be ruled over by a king, and will become noway superior to his slaves; and when you suffer thus, you will thereby be put in mind of what I now say. And when you repent of what you have done, you will seek God to have mercy upon you; and you will grant you a quick deliverance from your kings; but he will not accept your prayers, but will neglect you, and permit you to suffer the punishment your evil conduct has brought upon you.'

6. But the multitude was still so foolish as to be deaf to these predictions of what would befall them: and too peevish to suffer a determination which they had injudiciously once made, to be taken off from their minds; for, though they could not be turned from their purpose; nor did they regard the words of Samuel, but perversely in-
Antiquities of the Jews.

was himself the person, he led him in to supper and assured him that the asses were found which he had been to seek, and that they were the greatest he had to offer; he replied, "Sir, I am too inconsiderable to hope for any such thing, and of a tribe too small to have kings made out of it, and of a family smaller than several of the Gentile families; but thou tellst me this in jest, and maketh me an object of laughter when thou dost not know me of greater matters than what I stand in need of." However, the prophet led him to the feast, and made him sit at the head of the table, and next him above the other guests that were invited, which were seventy in number; and he gave order to the servants to set the royal portion before Saul. But when the time of going to bed was come, the best rose up, and every one of them went home; but Saul stayed with the prophet, he and his servant, and slept with him.

2. But as soon as it was day, Samuel raised up Saul out of his bed; and conducted him home; and when he was out of the city, he desired him to cause his servant to go before, but to stay behind himself, for that he had somewhat to say to him, when nobody else was present. And when they were the last that followed him; then did the prophet take a vessel of oil, and poured it upon the head of the young man, and kissed him, and said, "Be thou a king, by the ordinance of God, against the Philistines that have striven against thee; and all things that were the not have suffered by them; of this thou shalt have a sign, which I will have thee take notice of, as soon as thou art departed hence, thou wilt find three men upon the road, going to worship God at Ramah; and they shall speak kindly to thee; they shall give thee two of their loaves; which thou shalt accept of. And thence thou shalt come to a place called Rachel's Monument, where thou shalt meet with those that will tell thee thy sires are found; and, when thou comest to them, thou shalt ovetake a company of prophets, and thou shalt be seized with the divine Spirit, and prophesy along with them, till every one that sees thee shall be astonished, and wonder, and say, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" and at this degree of happiness? And when these signs have happened to thee, know that God is with thee; then do thou salute thy father, and thy kindred. Thou shalt also come when I send for thee to Ramah, for he hath offered secret burnt offerings to God for these blessings."

When Samuel had said this, and foretold these things, he sent 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 other 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 the prophet, nor how he told him the asses were found; but he said nothing to him about the kingdom, and what belonged thereof, which was the first word he had to speak when such things are heard, they are not easily believed; nor did he think it prudent to tell those things to him, although he appeared very friendly to him, and one whom he loved above counselors, and that he was to act not like a sole monarch, but with the advice and direction of these 71 individuals, with the Bethshan medrim, and the Bethshemesh, which yet we never read that he consulted afterward. An instance of this divine favor we have after this in 1 Sam. viii. 25, where we read that Saul was "like Jdg, iii. 10; vi. 34; xii. 25; xIII. 52; and xV. 6."
be rest of his relations, considering, I suppose, what human nature truly is, that no one is a firm friend, neither among our intimates, nor of our kindred, nor do they preserve that kind disposition when God advances men to great prosperity, but 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, in the name of the Lord God of Israel, saying, Thus saith the command of God: That "when he had granted them a state of liberty, and brought their enemies into subjection, they became unmindful 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 best of beings; for God is the best of beings, and they chose to have a man for their king; while kings will use their subjects, the 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 endeavor to preserve the race of mankind as exempt away, and concealed himself, which, for that very reason, God would take care of. But since you have come to a fixed resolution, and this injurious treatment of God has quite prevailed over you, dispose yourselves by your own volition, and select a king, and cast lots for the same, which shall be king of the children of Israel, and be their leader, and shall divide the land among the tribes of Israel."

5. When the Hebrews had so done, the lot fell upon the tribe of Benjamin; and when the lot was cast for the families of this tribe, that which fell was in the Tribe of Benjamin, and when the lot was cast for the single persons of that family, Saul, the son of Kish, was chosen for their king. When the young man knew this, he prevented [their sending for him, and] immediately went away, and hid himself among the hill-country of his father, because he would not have it thought that he willingly took the government upon himself; nay, he showed such a degree of command over himself, and of modesty, that while the greatest part are used to make their joy appear in the gaining of small advantages, but presently show themselves publicly to all men, this man did not only show nothing of that nature, when he was appointed to be the lord of so many and so great a nation, but took care to conceal himself, of the sight of those he was to reign over, and made them seek him, and that with a good deal of trouble. So when the people were at a loss, and solicitous, because Saul disappeared, the prophet of God appeared to a certain man, and cast lots to this effect: that man was, and to produce him before them. So when they had learned of God the place where Saul was hidden, they sent men to bring him, and among the multitude of the people Saul was found, and many good men there were who paid him the respect that was due to him; but the greater part were ill men, who despised him, and derided the others, who neither did bring him presents, nor did they in affection, or even in words, regard to please him.

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 save the king! the prophet wrote down what would come to pass in a book, and read it in the hearing of the king, and laid up the book in the chamber of the principal youths of the land; the sons of the prophet, to be shown 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, immediately, sent messengers to him, and said many good men there were who paid him the respect that was due to him; but the greater part were ill men, who despised him, and derided the others, who neither did bring him presents, nor did they in affection, or even in words, regard to please him.

*Take here Theodore's note, cited by Dr. Hudsom. He that exposes 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 shakes out that eye makes men useless in war.
be cut the sinews of his oxen, and threatened to do the same to all such as did not come with their armor to Jordan the next day, and follow him and Samuel the prophet whithersoever they should go. But they, being a thousand, were so afraid 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 seventy thousand. So he passed over Jordan, and proceeded in marching all that night, thirty furlongs, and came to Jordan before sunrising. So he divided the army into three companies, and fell upon their enemies on every side on the sudden, and when they expected no such thing; and joining battle with them, they slew a great multitude of the Canaanites, as they had done in Bashan. This glorious action was done by Saul, and was related with great commendation of him to all the Hebrews; and he thence gained a wonderful reputation for his valor; for, although the same image with them of that contumelied him before, they now changed their minds, and honored him, and esteemed him as the best of men; for he did not content himself with having saved the inheritance of Judah only, but he made the Canaanites into the country of the Amnonites, and laid it all waste, and took a large prey, and so returned to his own country most gloriously: so the people were greatly pleased at the work he performed, and rejoiced that they had constituted him their king. They also made a clamor against those that pretended he would be of no advantage to their affairs; and they said, "Where now are these nations which our fathers said, the Amorites, be as locusts, with all the like things that multitudes do usually say, when they are elevated with prosperity, against those that had lately despised the authors of it. But Saul, although he took the good-will and the assistance of the people, and was acknowledged king yet still he was aware that he would not see any of his countrymen slain that day, since it was a secret to mix this victory, which God had given them, with the blood and slaughter of those that were of themselves; and that it was more agreeable to be men of a friendly disposition, and so to betake themselves to feasting.

4. And when Samuel had told them that he could not long enjoy this liberty, and authority by a second ordination of him, they all came together to the city Gilgal, for thither he did command them to come. So the prophet anointed Saul with the holy oil, in the sight of the multitude, and declared him to be the second and third time that the government of the Hebrews was changed into a regal government; for in the days of Moses, and his disciple Joshua, who was their general, they continued under an aristocracy; but after the death of Joshua, for eighteen years in all, the multitude had no settled form of government, but were in an anarchy; after which they returned to their former government, they then perceiving themselves to be judged by him who was praised and commended to the people with whosoever else. And so it was, that the term of eighteen years was called the Judges, the time that it was called this interval of their government, 'The Judges.'

5. Then did Samuel the prophet call another assembly, and assembled them to the waters of Jerisco. I solemnly adjure you by God Almighty, who brought such exalted brethren, I mean Moses and Aaron, into the world, and delivered our fathers from the Egyptians, and from the slavery they endured under them, that you will not speak what you say to gratify me, nor suppress any thing out of fear of me, nor be overborne by any other passion, but say, what have I ever done that was cruel or unjust; or what have I done out of lucrative or covetousness, or to gratify others? Bear witness against me, if I have taken an ox or a sheep, of my flock, and killed it, or taken of the flock, to be support of my flesh. But if I did the same, I am as innocent as if I had not done it by him, but that he had presided over the nation after a holy and righteous manner.

6. Hereupon Samuel, when such a testimony had been given him by them all, said, "Since you grant that you are not able to lay any ill thing to my charge hitherto, come on now, and do you hearken while I speak with great freedom to you. Now I hearken, is it against God in asking you a king? It behoves you to remember, that our grandfather Jacob came down into Egypt, by reason of a famine, with seventy souls only of our family, and that their posterity multiplied to ever so many thousands, whom the Egyptians brought into slavery and hard oppression; that God himself, upon the prayers of our fathers, sent Moses and Aaron to be brought up, and gave them power to deliver the multitude out of the Egyptian bondage, and this without a king. These brought us into this very land which you now possess: and when you enjoyed these advantages from God, you gave yourselves to idolatry, and to worship them. However, when you were brought under the bands of your enemies, he delivered you, first by rendering you superior to the Assyrians and their forces; he then made you to overcome the Ammonites and the Moabites, and last of all, the Philistines; and these things have been achieved under the conduct of Jephtha and Gideon. What madness therefore possessed you to fly from God, and to desire to be under a king? yet have you observed the only one thing, that you might not be subject to the kings. However, that I may make it plain to you, that God is angry and displeased at your choice of kingly government, I will so dispose him that he shall declare this very plainly to you by strange signals; for what none of you ever saw before, I mean a winter storm in the midst of harvest, I will entreat of God, and will make it visible to you. Now, as soon as he had said these words, he turned to the people; and the wild beasts, and lightning, and the desecration of hail, as attest the truth of all the prophet had said, insomuch that they were amazed and terrified, and confessed they had sinned, and had fallen away from the salvation given them by the prophet, as one that was a tender and gentle father to them, to render God so merciful as to forgive this their sin, which they had added to those other offences whereby they had affronted him and transgressed against him. So he promised them that he would beseech God, and persuade him to forgive them their sins. However, he advised them to be righteous, and to be good, and to obey the orders and the law of the king. But he said, that if they should grow careless of these things, great judgments would come from God upon them, and upon their king. And when Samuel had thus prophesied, he adjured them to say what they would, and not to fear, and so to speak what you say to gratify me, nor suppress any thing out of fear of me, nor be overborne by any other

* Mr. Reynolds observes here, and proves elsewhere, in his note on Amoz, b. iii. ch. i. sect. 6, that although the words "with us" do not appear, as the French it. ed. makes them, in this passage, they appear, as the English it. ed. makes them}, in the Greek, and are necessary to the sense, as well as in the fourth verse of the 2d chapter, of the 19th book, in the Latin Vulgate.
CHAP. VI.

How the Philistines made another Expedition against the Hebrews, and were beaten.

1. Now Saul chose out of the multitude about three thousand men, and he took two thousand of them to be the guards of his own body, and abode in the city of Bethel; and he gave the rest of them to Jonathan his son to be the guards of the camp. He sent also to the city of Gibeath, where he besieged and took a certain garrison of the Philistines, not far from Gilgal, for the Philistines of Gibeath had beaten the Jews, and took their cattle. Now the Philistines were come into the strongest places of the country, and had forbidden them to carry any instrument of iron, or at all to make use of any iron in any case whatsoever. And on account of this prohibition it was, that the husbandmen, if they had occasion to sharpen any of their tools, whether it were the curler or the spade, or any instrument of husbandry, they came to the Philistines to do it. Now as soon as the Philistines heard of this slaughter of their cattle, they were in a rage about it, and looking on this as a terrible affront offered them, they made war against the Jews, with three hundred thousand footmen, and thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horsemen, and they pitched their tents in the valley of Michmash. When Saul, the king of the Hebrews, was informed of this, he went down to the city of Gilgal, and made proclamation over all his people, and charged them not to go from the city of Gilgal, and join battle, till the seventh day, or unless they could obtain their liberty; and called them to the war against the Philistines, diminishing their forces, and despising them as not very considerable, and as not so great but that they might hazard a battle with them. But when the people of God observed how numerous the Philistines were, they were under a great consternation; and some of them hid themselves in caves, and in dens under ground, but the greater part fled into the land of Benjamin and Jordan, which belonged to God and Zebulon.

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 seven days, and offer sacrifices, for he would come to him within seven days, that they might offer sacrifices on the seventh day, and might then join battle with their enemies. So he waited for seven days, and Saul sent to him, but he, however, observe the command that was given him; but when he saw that the prophet stayed 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 to him, Go in peace, there is a certain thing Jehovah: he sent them, and had not stayed till his coming, which being appointed according to the will of God, he had prevented him in offering up those prayers, and those sacrifices, that he had commanded him to make at that time. And thus he therefore had performed divine offices in an ill manner, and had been rash in performing them. Hereupon Saul made an apology to him, and said, And how long, said he, have I waited as many days as I Samuel had appointed him; that he had been so quick in offering his sacrifices, upon account of the necessity he was in, and because his soldiers were departing from him, out of their fear of the enemy's camps at Michmash, the report being gone abroad that they were coming down upon him to Gilgal. To which Samuel replied, Nay, certainly, if thou hadst been a righteous man, and hadst not disobeyed me, and hadst not done what the Lord commanded thee to do, and hadst not been given to using the sacrifices as the persons of the Lord, and hadst acted more hastily than the present circumstances required, thou wouldst have been permitted to reign a long time, and the Lord would have been pleased with thee, and would not have been grieved at what had happened, returned home: but Saul came to the city Gilgal, with his son Jonathan, having only six hundred men with him, and divided his army into three armies, and laid waste the country of the Hebrews, while king Saul and his son Jonathan saw what was done, but were not able to defend the camp, for no more than six hundred men were with them. But as he and his son, and Abishai the high priest, who was of the posterity of Eli the high priest, were sitting upon a pretty high hill, and seeing the land wasted, they were afraid of the dissension at it. Now Saul's soul was agreed with his armorer-bearer, that they would go privately to the enemy's camp, and make a tumult and a disturbance among them. And his armorer-bearer promised to follow him whithersoever he should lead him, though he should be obliged to die in Apolon, B. ii. sect. 30, where Josephus speaks of that matter; though it must be noted, that it seems, at least in those 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. xv. 11; and a third, 2 Sam. vi. 8, 9. Antiq. B. vii. ch. vii. sect. 2; though they all at last acquiesced in the divine conduct, as knowing that God was wiser than men. ¶ By this answer of Samuel, and that from a divine commission, which is fuller in 1 Sam. xiii. 14; and by that parallel passage, the Apostles are now quoted, concerning the great wickedness of Saul in venturing, even under a seeming necessity of affairs, to use the priest's garments, and so virtually to usurp the priest, we are in some degree able to answer that question, which I have ever thought a very hard one, viz. Whether, if there were a city or country of lay Christians, without any clergyman, it was lawful for the laity alone to baptize, or celebrate the eucharist, &c. or indeed whether any ecclesiastical person, whether he be either bishop, priests, or deacons, for the due performance of such sacerald ministrations or, whether they ought not rather, till they procure clergyman to come among them, the sick to declare some other religious service, as the preaching of piety and christianity which belong alone to the laity? such particularity as are recommended in the first book of the Apostles, and which has ever been the concern of the laity, and are intimate in Clement's undoubted epistle sect. 45; to which latter opinion I incline.
the attempt. Jonathan made use of the young men'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, while there was a rock that surrounded it, like a girdle, so as to guard the attacks of an enemy. There it so happened that the out-guard of the camp were neglected, because of the security that here arose from the situation of the place, and because they thought it altogether impossi ble for any to reach 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 armor-bearer, and said to him, 'Let us attack our enemies; and if when we come near them, 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 Jonathan and to his armor-bearer, 'Come on, and let us take the man; and you shall know which it is a man, or which it is a king—by the multitude of their shoes, or by the color of their raiment.' Jonathan said to his armor-bearer, 'The man is not a king, nor a captain, but a common man.' So they came to the man, and Jonathan said to him, 'Make haste, and go up, and strike them; the Lord will give you success today.' So the man struck Jonathan, and Jonathan fell.
knowing of the curse and oath that had been denounced, while I was in pursuit of the enemy, I tasted of a honeycomb." But Saul swore that he would slay him, and prefer the observation of his oath before all the tides of birth and of nature. And Jonathan was not dismayed at this threatening of death, but offering himself to it generously, and unsaddened, he said, "Nor do I desire yours, for I will fight for you, as for Jonathan, and they saw that they would not overlook Jonathan, and see him die, who was the author of their victory. By which means they watched him out of the danger he was in from his father's curse, while they made their prayers to God also for the young man, that he would remit his sin.

6. So Saul, having slain about sixty thousand of the enemy, returned home to his own city, and rejoiced; but he had also fought against the neighboring nations, and subdued the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Philistines, and Edomites, and Amalekites, as also the king of Zobah. He had also defeated a very large army of Zobah, whom he brought into his land, and also of the houses of Melchishua; with Merab and Michal his daughters. He had also Abner, his uncle's son, for the captain of his host; that uncle's name was Ner. Now Ner and Ishah, the father of Saul, were brothers. Saul had saved them many great chariots and horsesmen: against whosoever he made war, he returned conqueror, and advanced the affairs of the Hebrews to a great degree of success and prosperity, and made them superior to other nations: and he made both of the young men that were remarkable for tallness and comeliness, the guards of his body.

CHAP. VII.

Saul's War with the Amalekites, and Conquest of them.

1. Now Samuel came unto Saul, and said to him, "That he was sent by God to put him in mind that God had preferred him above all others, and ordained him king; that he therefore ought to be obedient to him, and to submit to his authority, as considering, that though he had the dominion over the people, he was yet subject to the dominion over him, and over all things. That accordingly, God said to him, that because the Amalekites did the Hebrews a great deal of mischief, as they had done to their fathers, and as they had done to David, when he had fled from his father's house, and was in the wilderness, and when, upon their coming out of Egypt, they were making their way to that country which is now their own, he enjoined thee to punish the Amalekites, by making war upon them, and when thou hast subdued them, to leave none of them alive, but to pursue them through every age, and to slay them, beginning with the women and the infants, and to require this as a punishment to be inflicted upon them for the mischief they did to our forefathers. By this sufficient judgment, neither save nor other beasts, nor to reserve any of them for your own advantage and possession, but to devote them universally to God, and, in obedience to the commandments of Moses, to blot out the name of Amalek entirely." 

2. So Saul promised to do what he was commanded; and supposing that his obedience to God would be shown, not only in making war against the Amalekites, but in the readiness and quickness of his proceedings, he

The reason of this severity is distinctly given, 1 Sam. xxv. 18-22; 1 Chr. xxviii. 2-13; 2 Sam. xxiv. 12-15. And above and all, the most barbarous of all cruelties, that of Haman the Agagite, or one of the posterity of Agag, the old king of the Amalekites, Esth. iii. 1-13.
he gave them, and then that he himself should be so grossly despised and disobeyed by them, that a mere man, that was a king, would 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, but induced his own inclination. When Samuel heard that, he was in confusion; and began to beseech God that all that night to be reconciled to Saul, and not to be angry with him; but he did not grant his repentance to Saul, on which the prophet asked for, and not deeming it a fit thing to grant forgiveness of [such] sins at his entreaties, since injuries do not otherwise grow so great as by the easy tempers of those that are injured; for that after the manner of being had very kind, thought gentle and good-natured, before they are aware they produce other sins. As soon therefore as God had rejected the intercession of the prophet, and it plainly appeared he would not change his mind, at break of day Samuel came to Saul at Gilgal. When the king saw him, he ran to him, and embraced him, and said, "I return thanks to God, who hath given me the victory, for I have performed every thing that he hath commanded me." To which Samuel replied, "How is it then that I hear the bleeding 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 much as the king himself, none of the Amalekites was entirely destroyed, as 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 another six hundred men, whom he said they would advise together, who should be done with him." But the prophet said, "God is not delighted with sacrifices, but with good and righteous men, who are such as follow his will and work according to his heart, and that 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 be delighted with those that sit here in mind this one thing, and that, they do the only, howbeit it soever it be, which God pronounces or commands for them to do, and to choose rather to die than to transgress any of those commands; not 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 honor of poverty, than such obligations as come from the richest men that offer them to him. Wherefore take notice, that thou art under the wrath of God, for thou hast despised and neglected what he commanded thee. How dost thou then suppose that he will accept a sacrifice out of such things as he hath doomed to destruction? unless perhaps he will receive into the heart things that are 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 insolent behavior, as to be a reproach to God who bestowed it upon thee. Then 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 God; that he did not mean to retain them when they were seized on the prey. But forgive me, said he, and be merciful to me, for I will be cautious how I offend for the time to come. He also entreated the prophet to go back with him, that he might offer his thank-offerings to God; but Samuel went home, because he saw that God would not be reconciled to him.

5. But then Saul was so desirous to retain Samuel, that he took hold of his cloak, and because he showed the vehemence of Samuel's departure made the motion to be violent, the cloak was rent. Upon which the prophet said, that after the same manner, should the kingdom be rent from him, and that he should take it; that God persevered in what he had decreed about him; that to be mutable and changeable in what is determined, is agreeable to human passions only, but is not agreeable to the divine power. He was a king by the grace of God, but that was done, but that what was done could not be undone: he therefore desired him to honor him so far, that the multitude might see that he would accompany him in worshipping God. So Samuel granted him that favor, and went with him and worshipped God. Agag also, the king of the Amalekites, was brought to him; and when the king asked, How bitter death was! Samuel said: "As thou hast made many of the Hebrews to fall by the sword, so shall thy mother be slain by thy death cause thy mother to lament thee also." Accordingly, he gave order to slay him immediately at Gilgal, and then went away to the city Ramah.

CHAP. VIII.

Hereupon Saul's Transgression of the Prophet's Commands, Samuel ordained another Person to be King privately, whose name was David, as God commanded him.

§ 1. Now Saul being sensible of the miserable condition he had brought himself into, and that he had made God to be his enemy, he went up to Bethel, to be reconciled to the Lord. But he was received no other way by thy death cause thy mother to lament thee also.

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Hereupon Saul's Transgression of the Prophet's Commands, Samuel ordained another Person to be King privately, whose name was David, as God commanded him.
And when God said it was time of them, he asked Jesse, whether he had not some other sons besides these? and when he said that he had one more named David, but that he was a shepherd, and took care of the flock; Samuel bid them call him immediately, for that till he was come they could not possibly sit down to the feast. David was so soon as his father had sent for David, and he was come, he appeared to be of a yellow complexion, of a sharp sight, and a comely person in other respects also. This is he, said Samuel privately to those that stood by, and anointed him, and in the presence of his brothers, and of the men of the Philistines, whose name was ‘Goliath,’ of the city of Gath, a man of vast bulk, for he was four cubits and a span in tallness, and had about him weapons suitable to the largeness of his body, for his body was as the bulrush, and his arm as the brazen plate on that which covered the thousand shekels; he had also a helmet and greaves of brass as large as you would naturally suppose might cover the limbs of so vast a body. His spear was also such as was not carried like a light thing in his right hand, but he carried it as lying on his shoulders. He had also a lance of six hundred shekels: and many followed him to carry his armor. Wherefore this Goliath stood between the armies, and said, and they that 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 admonitions, went away: but the divine power did not forsake Saul, but it was in him to make and no other remedy but this, that if any person could charm those passions by singing, and playing upon the harp, they advised him to inquire for a young Levite, and if he not leave of the stomachs came upon him and disturbed him, and to take care that such a person might stand over him and play on the harp, and recite hymns to him. Accordingly Saul did not delay, but commanded them to send for such a man. And when a certain stranger—by said that he had seen in the city of Bethlehem a son of Jesse, who was yet so more than a child in age, but comely and beautiful, and in other respects one that was descended of the royal blood, and that he was of great form of body, he sent him and desired him to come. David was away from the flock, and send him to him, for he had a mind to see him. And when he saw the form of David in all the comeliness of his body, so he sent for and desired him to permit David to stay with him, for that he was delighted with his sight and company; wherefore he saw that he might not contradict Saul, he granted.

CHAP. IX.

How the Philistines made another Expedition against the Hebrews, under the reign of Saul; and how they were overcome by David’s slaying Goliath in a single Combat."

1. Now the Philistines gathered themselves together again no very long time afterward, and having gotten together a great army, they made war against the Israelites; and having seized a place between Shochoh and Azekah, they there pitched their camp. Saul also drew out his army to oppose them; and by pitching his own camp on a certain hill, he forced the Philistines to leave their former camp, and to encamp themselves upon such another hill, over against that on which Saul’s army lay, so that a valley was between the two hills on which they lay divided their camps saunter. Now there came down a man of Saul’s camp of the Philistines whose name was ‘Goliath,’ of the city of Gath, a man of vast bulk, for he was four cubits and a span in tallness, and had about him weapons suitable to the largeness of his body, for his body was as the bulrush, and his arm as the brazen plate on that which covered the thousand shekels; he had also a helmet and greaves of brass as large as you would naturally suppose might cover the limbs of so vast a body. His spear was also such as was not carried like a light thing in his right hand, but he carried it as lying on his shoulders. He had also a lance of six hundred shekels: and many followed him to carry his armor. Wherefore this Goliath stood between the armies, and said, and they that while he lived he should enjoy a glorious name, and leave such a name to his posterity also.

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glory, when he shall be slain by one that is not yet of man’s estate, neither fit for fighting, nor capable of being intrusted with the marshalling an army, or ordering a battle, but by one that looks like a child, and is really no older in age than a child.

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 he judged to be of the same age. "I undertake like 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 that assaulted my flocks, and I took hold of him from the ground and smothered the lamb out of the wild beast’s mouth, and when he leaped upon me with violence, I took him by the tail, and dashed him against the ground. In the same manner did I avenge myself on a bear also; and let this adversary of ours be esteemed like one of these wild beasts, since he has a long while reproached our army, and blasphemed our God, who yet will reduce him under his power."

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 thy way to the fight." So he put about him his breastplate, and girded him, and fitted the helmet to his head, and sent him away. But David was burdened with his armor, for he had not been exercised to it, nor had he learned to walk with it; so he said, "Let this armor be that which I shall wear, if thou meet it, but give me leave to fight as thy servant, and as I myself desire." Accordingly he laid by the armor, and taking his staff with him, and putting five stones out of the brook into a shepherd’s bag, and having taken bread and water, he went straight to Goliath. But the adversary seeing him in such a manner, disdained him, and jested upon him, as if he had not such weapons with him as are usual when one man fights against another, but such as are used in driving away and avoiding of dogs; and said, "Dost 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;" for he smote Goliath. A sibyer, who thereupon cursed him by the name of God, and threatened to give his flesh to the beasts of the earth, and to the fowls of the air, to be torn in pieces by them. To whom David answered, "With the sword of a woman, and with a spear, and with a breastplate, but I have God for my armor, in coming against thee, who will destroy thee and all thy army by my hands; for I will this day cut off thy head, and cast the other parts of thy body to the dogs, and all men shall learn that God is the protector of the Hebrews, and that our armor 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 armor, when he attempted to meet David in battle, came on but slowly, as despising him, and deprecating upon it that he should have been both worn out and tired, and a child also, without any trouble at all.

5. But the youth met his antagonist, being accompanied with an invisible assistant, who was no other than God himself. And taking one of the stones in his hand, and cast it, and put it 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 beaten, and fled: for when they saw their captain 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 ignoble flight, and therefore was not David afraid of 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 pursued the rest to the borders of Gath, and took a covenant oath of them. But 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 takes an occasion of entrooping him, from the Promise of the Prophet to him of giving him a daughter in Marriage, but this upon Condition of his bringing six hundred Heads of the Philistines.

§ 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 drums, and all demonstrations of joy, and sung the victory. And Saul feared it, and envied many thousands of the Philistines. The virgin replied, that “David had slain his ten thousands.” Now, when the king heard them singing thus, and that he himself the smallest share in the victory, he was very discontented, and to be made he captain over a thousand, and bestowed on him a post better indeed in itself, but, as he thought, more for his own security; for he had a mind to send him against the enemy, and into battles, as he would be slain in such dangerous conflicts.

2. But David had God going along with him whithersoever he went, and accordingly he was greatly prospered in his undertakings, and it was visible that he had mighty success, insomuch that Saul’s daughter, who was still a virgin, fell in love with him; and her affection so far prevailed over her that it could not be concealed, and her father became acquainted with it. Now Saul heard this gladly, as intending to make use of it for a snare against David, and he hoped that it would prove the cause of destruction and of hazard to him; so he told those that informed him of it to his daughter, who was both her affection, 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.” (supposing that when a reward was promised him and was put within his sight, he might desire to aim at getting himself great glory, by undertaking a thing so dangerous and incredible, he would immediately set about it, and so perish by the Philistines were not foresaken with our other copies, but heads with Josephus’s copy, seems somewhat probable, from 1 and 2. Also, that Saul required not a bare Ass, but the head of the foreskin of the Philistines, but six hundred of their heads. The Septuagint have 100 foreskins, but the Syriac and Arabic 200. Now that these
futines; and my designs about him will succeed freely to my mind, for I shall be freed from him, and get him slain, not by myself, but by another man." So he gave order to his servants to try how David would relish this proposal of marrying into the king's son-in-law? It does not seem so to me, especially when I am one of a family that is low, and without any glory or honor." Now when Saul was informed by his servants what answer David had made, he said, "Tell him that I do not want any money nor dowry from him, which would be rather to set my daughter to sale than to give her in marriage, but I desire only such a son-in-law as may have him for his purchase, and all other kinds of virtue, (of which he saw David was possessed), and that his desire was to receive of him, on account of his marrying his daughter, neither gold, nor silver nor that he should bring such wealth out of the damsel: Accordingly, they were long enough to sustain the challenge of the adversary and after that brought as many heads of our enemies as he was appointed to bring, and had as a reward for the same, my sister in marriage; and I think these were enough to make his death more to our comfort than 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 must be obliged to experience the widowhood, before she can come to any advantage from their mutual conversation. Consider these things, and change your mind to a more merciful temper, and do no mischief to a man, who, by what he has done, the greatest kindness of preserving thee; for when an evil spirit and demons had seized upon thee, he cast them out, and procured rest to thy soul from their incursions: and in the second place, hath avenged us of our enemies; for it is a base thing to forget such benefits." So Saul was pacified with these words; and swears to his son that he would do David no harm; for a righteous discourse proved too hard for the king's anger and fear. And so he 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; and joining battle with them, 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 demonical 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, he ordered him to charm him with playing on the harp; which was done so effectually which, when David did at his command, he with great force threw the spear at him, but David was aware of it before it came, and avoided it, and fled to his own house, and abode there all that day.

4. But at night the king sent officers, and commanded that he should be watched till the morning, lest he should get quite away, that he might come home; for it was not time to be delivered up, and condemned and slain. But when Micha, 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 care and be absent the next day, for that he would salute his father, and, if he met with a favorable 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 look for a man not only to do good things to the multitude, and, and been, a benefactor to himself, on account of which he ought in reason to obtain pardon, had he been guilty of the greatest crimes; and I will then inform thee of the bad conduct of other men. David complied with such advantageous advice and kept himself then out of the king's sight.

2. On the next day Jonathan came to Saul as soon as he saw him in a cheerful and joyful disposition, and to inform him of the bad conduct of other men. David: "What unjust action, O father, either little or great, hast thou found so exceptible in David, as to induce thee to order us to stay 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 derision, which they underwent for forty days together; by a long number of years to support the Philistines and indeed six hundred of their heads, than with a more desirable or a more glorious present could not be brought him, and that he had much rather obtain this than any of the others. It is as much as he could do to think that she should be married to a man of that character, and to one who had a testimony as having conquered his enemies."
7. Hereupon, when Jonathan found that this intention of Saul's was so well attested, he asked him, "What would he have done for him?"

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 menace or any enmity against him. And that he might the more firmly depend upon him, he took him out into the open field, into the pure air, and swore that he would neglect nothing that might tend to the preservation of David; and he said, "I appeal to that God, who, as thou seest, is diffused everywhere, and knowest 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 thee my friend in all the trials of life, and of thy father, till I learn whether there be any lurking in true prophets, when they were under the inspiration of the Spirit of God. Our other copies, which ray the Spirit of prophecy, contain the name of Josephus's copy, which mentions nothing of God at all. Nor does Josephus seem to ascribe this impulse and ecstasy of Saul's to any other than to his demoniacal spirit, which on all accounts appears the most probable. Nor does the former description of Saul's real inspiration by Jonathan correspond with that given in the Acts 13:22, in which what was said by Saul on this occasion is supposed to have been Addik. B. v. c. 4, sect. 2.
And when Jonathan had done what 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 the bowman used to him, and called him the preserver of his soul: but he lifted him up from the earth, and they mutually embraced one another, and made a long greeting, and that not without tears. They also lamented the deaths of all their kinsmen with wailing and such sadness that every one of them did lament them. And thus they departed, a man from his brother, and their tears were so great that even their faces became like the appearance of death.

Chapter XII.

How David fled to Ahimelech, and afterward to the King 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 the cause of his coming: and he said, "Is there nobody with you?" To which David answered, "That the king had commanded him to do a certain thing that was to be kept secret, to which end he was in haste, and had no 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 of the king's mind, he should not hear of him. And as he was going, he met with Abinai, the captain of the king's host, and on the 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 that he could not be present; but when he saw that he was not there the second day of the month, either, he 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 had gone, according to the agreement between them, to his own city, where his tribe kept a festival, and that by his permission: that he also invited him to come to their sacrifice; and, (says Jonathan,) if thou wilt give way to me, I will go and bringest 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 now he knew that his father was a runagate, and an enemy; and said, "He was a partner with David, and his assistant, and that by his behavior he showed he had no regard to himself, or to his mother, she 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 hath he done, that thou wilt punish him now?" Saul no longer contented himself to express his anger in base words, but snatched 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 father's friend. And beingPlainly to his son that he hated David, and greatly desired to despach him, inasmuch that he had almost slain his son with his own hands on that occasion.

2. And then 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 death, and because he was ready to obey his order: there were in all about four hundred. Whereupon he took courage, now such a force and assistance was come to him: so he removed thence, and came to the king of the Moabites, and desired him to entertain his parents in his country, while the issue of
his affairs were in such an uncertain condition. The King granted him this favor, 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 complied therewith; and coming to the city of Hareth, which was in that tribe, he remained there. Now when Saul heard that David had been banished from the courts of Abimelech, he did not find any small disturbance and trouble; but as he knew that David was a bold and courageous man, he suspected that somewhat extraordinary would appear from him, and therefore, also, which was not without reason, that the breach which he had made of his oath would be made still worse; 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 down, as a place called Aroura, his courtiers that were in dignities, and the guards of his body being with him, he spake thus to them: "You that are men of my own tribe, I conclude that you remember the benefits that I have done you; and that I have made some of you owners of land, and made you commanders, and bestowed posts of honor upon you, and set some of you over the common peo- ple, and others over the soldiers; I ask you, therefore, what respect and esteem is left for you? or, to speak bluntly, how hard, and how much harm has one son of Abimelech, whose name was Abi- thar, who escaped. However, these things came to pass as God 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.

7. Now this king Saul, by perpetrating so bar- barous a crime, and murdering the whole family in a bloody act of venge- fulness; he gave no silence, and no watch to see what will be the upshot of these things." When the king had done his speech, not one of the rest of those that were present made any answer; but Doeg the Syrian, who fed his cattle, said, that he saw David when he came to the city of Nob to Abimelech the high priest, and that he had learned future events by his prophesying: that he received food from him, and the sword of Goliat, and was conducted by himself, his cattle as such as he did not go to.

5. Saul therefore sent for the high priest, and for all his kindred, and said to them, "What ter- rible or ungrateful thing hast thou suffered from me, that thou hast received the son of Jesse, and hast been suspected of disloyalty? and hast been only when he was contriving to get the kingdom? And further, why didst thou deliver oracles to him concerning futurities? For thou couldst not be unaccompanied that he was fed 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 these 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, who was very faithful to thee, and a captain over a thousand of thy soldiers, and, what is more than these, thy son-in-law andkinsman. Men do not use to confer such favors on their adver- saries, but of those who are esteemed to bear the highest good-will and respect to them. Not is this the first time that I prophesied for him but I have done it often, and at other times, 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 have thought that it was rather in contradiction to thee than to him: wherefore, do not thou entertain any ill opinion of me, nor do thou reproach me, for good or evil."

6. When the king heard what he had spoken thus, he did not persuade Saul; his fear was so prevalent, that he could not give credit to an apology that was very just. So he commanded his armed men that only was allotted for the education of such men, gives all to understand and consider the disposition of men, that while they are priv- ate persons, and in a low condition, because it is not in their power to indulge nature, nor to continue to engage in very costly and amazeable enterprises and enter- tainments, must be able and moderate, and pursue nothing but what is just, and bend their whole minds and labors that way; then it is that they have this belief about God, that he is present to all the actions of their lives, and sees all their thoughts and their actions that are done, but clearly knows those their thoughts also, whence those actions do arise: when but once they are advanced into power and authority, they put of all such notions; and as if they were no other than actors upon a theatre, they lay aside their disguised parts and manners, and take up boldness, insolence, and a contempt of both human and divine laws; and this at a time when they especially stand in need of piety and righteousness, because they are then most of all exposed to envy, and all they think, and all they say, are in the view of all men; then it is that they become so insolent in their actions, as though God saw them no longer, but that Laban the son of Nahor, and the princess of the family of Ithamar, which here perished, according to God's former terrible threatenings to Eli, 1 Sam. ii. 26-36, 31, ch. xi. 10-18 See chap. xiv. sect. 9. behaver.

7. This section contains an admirable reflection of e- sophus concerning the general wickedness of men in great authority, and the danger they are in of rejecting that regard to justice and humanity, to divine provi- dence, and to those duties which they had, or pretended to have, while they were in a lower condi- tion. It can never be too often perused by kings and great men, nor by those who expect to obtain such eleva- tion, or who think that they are likely to have a public and other than the family of Ithamar, which here perished, according to God's former terrible threatenings to Eli, 1 Sam. ii. 26-36, 31, ch. xi. 10-18 See chap. xiv. sect. 9. behaver.

T Prov. xxi. 2-6.
or were afraid of them because of their power; and whatsoever it is that they either are afraid of by the rumors they hear, or they hate by inclination, or they love without reason, these seem to them to be authentic, and firm, and true, and pleasing both to men and to God; but as to what will come after them, they have no regard to it. They raise those to honor indeed who had been at a great deal of pain for them, and after that honor they envy them; and when they have brought them into high dignity, they do not keep any circumspection against Saul and his friends, and attained, but also, on that very account, of their lives also, and that on wicked accusations, and such as, on account of their extravagant nature, and under pretense of their zeal for the public service, and of their actions, not such as deserve condemnation, but from calumnies and accusations without examination; and this extends not only to such as deserve to be punished, but to as many as they 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 over our aristocracy and government under the judges were over; and that by his slaughter of three hundred of his enemies, which was particularly under his suspicion about Abimelech, and by the additional wickedness of the overthrow of their city, and this as if he were endeavoring in some sort to reader the temple [tabernacle] destinates, both parties of which are preserved by smelling by slaying so many of them, and not suffering the very city belonging to them to remain, that so others might succeed them.

BOOK VI.—CHAP. XIII.

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

1. Amory 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 spoil until the sun went down; and among the things that were done was, but the fame of it went all abroad, and came to the hearing of others, and both the fact as it stood, and the author of the fact, were carried to the heart of Saul, and Saul was glad when he heard that David was in Keilah; and he said, "God hath now put him into my hands, since he hath obliged him to come into a city that hath walls, and gates, and bars." So he commanded all the men that set upon Keilah to besiege and to take 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 Eglidi. So when the king heard that he was fled away from the men of Keilah, he left off his expedition 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 saluted him, and exhorted him to be of good courage, and to hope well to his condition hereafter, and not to despise at his present state; for David knew that he had all the forces of the Hebrews under him; but told him, that such happiness uses to come with great labor and pains; they also took oaths, and bound themselves by their oath, that they would not deliver their benefactor, David, to good-will and fidelity one to another; and he called God to witness, as to what executions he made upon himself, if he should transgress his covenant, and should change to a contrary behavior. So Jonathan left him there, having pondered his cares and fears somewhat lighter, and returned home. Now the men of Ziph, to gratify Saul, informed him that David abode with them, and [assured him] that if he would come thither, they would deliver him. But the king could seize on the straits of Ziph, David could not escape to any other people. So the king commended them, and confessed that he had reason to thank them, because they had given him implicit confidence, and promised them that he should not be long ere he would requite their kindness. He also sent men to seek for David, and to search the wilderness, wherein he was, whether he were to be found, and, if he himself would follow them. Accordingly, they went before the king, to hunt for, and to catch David, and used endeavors, not only to show their good-will to Saul, by informing him where his enemy was, but to evidence that he was so far from it by delivering him up into his power. But these men failed of those their unjust and wicked desires, who, while they underwent 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 might otherwise have lain concealed, and this out of flattery, and expectation of gain from his coming for whom 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 great rock that was in the wilderness called the Moon.

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 those Philistines, who were ready to try their enemies, as judging it more necessary to avenge himself of them than to take a great deal of pains to catch an enemy of his own, and to overlook the ravages that was made in the land.

4. And by this means David unexpectedly escaped out of the danger he was in, and came to the straits of Eglidi. And when Saul had driven the Philistines out of the land there came to him some messengers, who were sent by their enemies, as being within the bounds of Eglidi: so he took three thousand chosen men that were armed, and made haste to him, and when he was not far from those places, he saw a deep and hollow cave by the way side; it was open to a great length and breadth, and there it was that David with his four hundred men were concealed. When therefore he had occasion to ease nature, he entered into it by himself alone; and being seen by one
of David's companions, and he that saw him, saying to him, that "he had now, by God's providence, an opportunity of avenging himself of his adversary, and advising him to cut his heart and so deliver himself out of that tedious wandering condition, and the distress he was in," he rose up, and only cut off the skirt of that garment which Saul had on. But soon he repeated of David's doing, and it was not right he should kill him that was his master, and one whom God had thought worthy of the kingdom: "for that although he were wickedly disposed towards us, yet does it not behove me to be so disposed towards him. But when Saul has lefache even, and David came near, and cried out aloud, and desired Saul to hear him: whereupon the king turned his face back, and David, according to custom, fell down on his face before the king, and bended his knees." O king! how proud and oughtest not to bearken to wicked men, nor to such as forge calumnies, nor to gratify them so far as to believe what they say, nor to entertain suspicions of such as are your best friends, but cut off the skirt of thy garment, I doubt not their actions, for calumny deludes men, but men's own actions are a clear demonstration of their kindness. Words indeed, in their own nature, may be either true or false, but men's actions expose their intentions nakedly to view. By this means, therefore, it will be well for thee to believe me, as to my regard to thee and to thy house, and not to believe those that frame such accusations against me, as never came into my mind, nor are possible to be executed, and do this farther by pursuing after my life, and have no concern either day or night, but how to compass my life and to murder me, which thing I think thou dost unjustly suspect the others of, nor yet view it about, that thou hast embraced this false opinion about me, as if I had a desire to kill thee? Or how canst thou escape the crime of impiety towards God, when thou wishest thou couldst kill, and deemest that a man that had in his power on 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 doubt not he done the same to thy head?" So he showed him the piece of his garment, and thereby made him agree to what he said to be true; and added, "I, for certain, have abstained from taking any action upon them; for I am ashamed to prosecute me with unjust hatred. 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 modesty and disposition of the young man, he groaned: and when David had done the same, the king answered, that "he had the justest occasion to grow, for thou hast been the author of good to me, I have been the author of calamity to thee. And thou hast demonstrated this day, that thou possessest the righteousness of the ancients, who determined that men ought to save their enemies, though they were best men in their secret place. And am now persuaded that God reserves the kingdom for thee, and that thou wilt obtain the dominion over all the Hebrews. Give me then assurance upon oath, that thou wilt not root out my family, but that thy love shall be with me, even till I have done thee, destroy my posterity, but save and preserve my house." So David swore as he desired, and set back Saul to his own kingdom but he, and those that were with him, went up to the straits of Macheroth.

5. About this time the prophet died and was laid in his humble house. He was a man whose name was Borah; and for the length of time which he served God's cause, and the time during which he held the sovereignty and concern that appeared about his funeral, and about the complete observation of all his funeral rites. They buried him in his own city Ramah; and for him a very great lamentation was made. And Saul's son Jonathan mourned 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 that man was a Ziphite, of the city of Onew, who was rich, and had a vast number of cattle: for he fed a flock of three thousand sheep, and another flock of a thousand goats. Now David had charged his associates to keep this man safe, and to do them no mischief, neither out of covetousness, nor because they were in want, nor because they were in the wilderness, and so could not be found, but to be found in the possession of justice above all other motives, and to look upon the touching of what belonged to another man as a horrible crime, and contrary to the will of God. These were the instructions he gave them, thinking that the thought of this man were granted to a good man, and one that deserved to have such care taken of his affairs. This man was Nebal, for that was his name, a harsh man, and of a very wicked life, being like a wolf in the night, and prowling about; but had obtained for his wife a woman of good character, wise and handsome. To this Nebal, therefore, David sent ten men of his attendants at the time when he sheared his sheep, and by them salute him and also wished he might do what he now did for many years to come, but desired him to make him 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 injury, but had only been a passer-by, and had passed together, while they continued in the wilderness; and he assured him he should never repent of giving anything to David. When the messengers had carried this message to Nebal, he accepted the gift without murmuring and reflecting; 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 fagitives grow insolent, and make a figure, and leave their men. When I tell thee this, he said Saul, and commanded four hundred armed men to follow him; and left two hundred to take care of the stuff, (for he had already six hundred,)* and went among the borderers, and he said, that night utterly destroy the whole house and possessions of Nebal: for that he was grieved, not only that he had proved ungrateful to them without making any return for the humanity they had showed him, but that he had not left one of them on his estate, and used ill language to them when he had received no cause of disgust from them.

* This phrase in David's speech to Saul, as set down in Josephus, that he had abstained from just revenge, puts me in mind of the like words in the Apostolical Constitutions, 5. 11. 15. No other place mentions revenge is not evil, but I have found no more. 

† The number of men that came first to David, are distinctively in Josephus, and in our common copies, but four hundred. When he was at Kedlah, still but four hundred, both in Josephus and in the LXXI; but six hundred in our Hebrew copies, 1 Sam. xxiii. 12; xxx. 9, 10; 1 Chron. xiii. 17. The number here mentioned 6000 by Josephus to have been so many, only by an augmentation of two hundred afterward, which, I suppose, is the true solution of this seeming disagreement.
BOOK VI.—CHAP. XIII.

7. Herupon, one of those that kept the flocks of Nabai, said to his wife, Nabai’s wife, that when David sent to her husband, he had received no civil answer at all from him, but that his wife had moreover added very reproachful language, while yet David had taken extraordinary care to keep him from her; for all of what she was about, (for he was not sensible, on account of his drunkenness,) she went to David. She was then met by David as she was descending a hill, who was coming against Nabai with four men. At first, as she exchanged greetings with David, she leaped down from her ass, and fell on her face, and bowed down to the ground; and in treated him not to bear in mind the words of Nabai, but that he was a man of blood; for so long as thou keepest thyself innocent, he will avenge thee of wicked men, for what miseries await Nabai, they will fall upon the heads of thine enemies. Be thou gracious to me, I beseech thee; nor were it for these presents from me; and out of regard to me, remit that wrath and that anger which thou hast against my husband and his house, for mildness and humanity become thee, especially as thou art about to do me a kindness. Accordingly he received her presents, and said, Nay, but O woman, it was no other than God’s mercy which brought thee to us to-day, for otherwise thou hadst not come to us to-day, I having sworn to destroy Nabai’s house this very day, when he was sober, she told him all the particulars, and made his whole body to appear like that of a dead man by her words, and by that grief which arose from them: so Nabai survived ten days, and no more, and then died. And when David heard of his death, he said, that God had justly avenged him of this man, for that Nabal died by his own wickedness, and had suffered punishment for his accounts, that he had kept to his own hands. At which time he understood, that the wicked are prosecuted by God; that he does not overlook any man, but bestows on the good what is suitable to them, and punishes the wicked; he therefore went to Nabai’s wife, and invited her to come to him, to live with him, and to be his wife. Whereupon she replied to those that came, that she was not worthy to touch his feet: how ever, she came with all her servants to David’s house; having received that honor on account of her wise and righteous course of life. She also obtained the same honor, partly on account of her beauty. Now David had a wife before, whom he married from the city of Abeme; she was Michal, the daughter of king Saul, who had been David’s wife, her father had given her in marriage to Phalli the son of Lieh, who was of the city of Gallim. 8. After that 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 pitched his camp in a certain place called Hackishil. But when David heard that Saul was coming against him, he sent spies, and bid them let him know to what place the king’s army was come; and when they told him that he was at Hackishil, he concealed his going away from his own companions, and came to Saul’s camp, having taken with him Abishai, his sister Zeruiah’s son, and Abimelech, and Joab; and the king’s 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 departed from his sheath, nor did he take any of them that were near 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 that He who doth domineer in heaven, doth also in time inflict punishment upon him. So he restrained his eagerness: but that it might appear to have been in his power to have killed him when he refrained from it, he took neither spear and javelin, nor put his hand under the cover of Saul; and 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 suite: and 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 their commander, and called 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, Is it I, the son of Jesse, whom thou dost not regard, who art come against the king’s life, 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 thine deserves death, and punishment to be inflicted on you, who never perceived when a little while ago some of us entered into your camp, nay, as far as to the king himself, and all the rest of the men of war: if thou lopest the king’s spear, and his cruse of water, thou wilt learn what a mighty misfortune was ready to overtake you in your very camp without your knowing of it. Now when he knew David’s words, and understood that when he had him in his power while he was asleep, and his guards took no care of him, yet did not he kill him, but spared be the meaning of this phrase of heaping coals of fire on their heads.

* In this, and the two next sections, we may perceive how Josephus, say, how Abigail herself would understand the "not avenging himself," but saying the "avenging himself," as an expression on the head of the injuries, Prov. xxiv. 32; Rom. xi. 32: not as we commonly do now of melting them and making a care to keep his locks from harm, and that he who was of God, to whom vengeance belongeth, Deut. xxxii. 35; Psal. xcv. 1; Heb. x. 36; and who will take vengeance on his enemies. And when he kept his mouth, saw just, and all fit to be executed, and all at length for the good of the persons punished, I incline to think that to
him. When he might justly have cut 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 suffering any mischief from him any more, and to return to his own house for he was now persuaded that he loved himself so well as he was beloved by him: that he had driven away him that could guard him, and had given many demonstrations of his goodwill to him: that he had forced him to live so near his face, and in great fear of his life, destitute of his friends and his kinsmen, while still he was often saved by him, and frequently received his life again when it was almost perishing. So David bade them send him the provisions and the crust of water, and take them back; adding this wittily, that "God would be the judge of both their dispositions, and of the actions that flowed from the same; yet he would add burden and 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 remained 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, with the six hundred men that were with him, to Achish, the king of Gath, which was one of the cities of Gath. Now he feared not only both him and his men, and gave them a place to inhabit in. He had with him also his two wives, Abinoam and Abigail, and he dwelt in Gath. But when Saul heard this, he took no further care of him, or of his going to him, because he had been twice, in a manner, caught by him, while he was himself endeavoring to catch him. However, David had no mind to remain in the city of Gath; for he desired the king, that since he had received him with such humanity, that he would grant him another favor, and bestow upon him some place of that country for his habitation; for he was ashamed, being a stranger in the city, to be always a burden to some 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 afterward he was able, with the royal apparel and the provisions, to make his way far otherwise. Now the time that David dwelt in Ziklag, in the land of the Philistines, was four months and twenty days. And now he privately attacked those Gezerites and those who were in the city of Gezer, and carried away with him all that was there; and likewise the land of the Philistines, and laid waste their country, and took much prey of their beasts and cattle, and then returned home; but David abstained from the men, as fearing they should discovery him to king Achish, lest he did send part of his 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; whereas David said to Achish, that he had done what he had done, for he hoped that 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.

CHAPTER XIV.

How Saul, upon God's not answering him concerning the Fight 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 to all their confederates that they would go along with them to the war to Raggean, [near the city Shuzech,] whence they might gather themselves together and suddenly attack the Hebrews. Then did Achish, the king of Gath, desire David to assist them with his armed men against the Hebrews. This he readily promised, and said, that the time was now come whereas he might require him for his kindness and hospitality; so the king promised to make him the keeper of his body after the victory, supposing that the battle with the enemy succeeded to their mind; which promise of honor and confidence he made on purpose to increase his zeal for the cause of his master, and in great fear of his life, destitute of his friends and his kinsmen, while still he was often saved by him, and frequently received his life again when it was almost perishing. So David bade them send him the provisions and the crust of water, and take them back; adding this wittily, that "God would be the judge of both their dispositions, and of the actions that flowed from the same; yet he would add burden and power to have killed thee, I abstained from it."
BOOK VI.—CHAP. XIV.

was coming, neither by prophets nor dreams, and that these were the reasons why I have recourse to thee, who always tookest care of me." But Samuel, seeing that the end of Saul's life was come, 1 said, "It is vain for thee to desire to have me to direct thee in all things; for I will not depart, only, be assured, thou shalt hear the voice of all his commandments, as I foretold thee while I 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 the Israelites, with all of thee, for all the people knew not what was coming upon him, and that he was 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 in order to save his own 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 that he should die in showing their courage, than to leave them to their uncertain conduct afterward, while, instead of succession and posterity, they gained condemnation and a lamentable privation. So he persuaded him to admit that a table and food might be set before him, that he might recover his strength, and so get safe to his own camp. And when he opposed her motion, and entirely rejected it, by saying that his heart was ready to break for him, she entreated him to persuade him to it. Now she had one child that she was very fond of, and one that she took a great deal of care of, and fed it herself, for she was a woman that got her living by the labor of her hands; and all the more so, because she fed but that one child; this she killed, and made ready its flesh, and set it before his servants and himself. So Saul came to the camp while it was night.

Now it is but just to recommend the generosity of this woman, 2 because when the king had forbidden her to use that art whence her circumstances were bettered and improved, and which she had learned from the king before, she still did not remember to his disadvantage that she had condemned her sort of learning, and did not refuse him as a stranger, and one that she had no acquaintance with; but she had compassion of him, and would not let him die, but that one child; this she killed, and made ready its flesh, and set it before his servants and himself. So Saul came to the camp while it was night.

This was the substance of the history of this unhappy day, and of his death. The Israelites were then taken, and not only was he made to die, but the queen of his house also, having been taken, was made to die. Now his death was not only the death of a king, but that of the glory of his family. For the idolatry of the Canaanites was not only a superstition, but also a reproach to the family of Saul. And the sight of his corpse was a reproach to all of them. And he was the first that had been sent to God, as he was an ancestor of Christ. And he was the last king that was to reign, as he was the last that was to be erected. And it was a type of the death of Christ, as he was the first to die. And it was a type of the resurrection of Christ, as he was the first to rise. And it was a type of the ascension of Christ, as he was the first to ascend.
6. Now when the Philistines, as I said before, had pitched their camp, and had taken an account of their forces, according to their nations, and kingdoms, and governments, King Achish came 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 Saul, and that now he was willing to make him a requital for his favors, and to avenge himself upon Saul, and so do a great deal of mischief by the advice of his commanders. I complained of this, that he had taken him for a confederate who was an enemy; and gave him counsel to send him away, lest he should answer for his habitation; that this was that David whom the virgins celebrated in their hymns, as having destroyed many ten thousands of the Philistines. When the king of Gath heard this, he thought that David was to be taken by Saul, and said, 'As for myself, I can bear witness 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, I have done for thee and others 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 thee make an innovation upon it, which will be one part of that 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, one of the Philistines had made an incursion, and taken Ziklag before, and had burnt it; and when he had taken a great deal of other prey out of that place, and out of the other parts of the Philistines' country, they deparred.

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 taken captive, and had made upon him a great confusion; he put on sackcloth, and weeping and lamenting, together with his friends; and indeed he was so cast down with these misfortunes, that at length tears themselves failed him. He was also in danger of being taken to death by his companions, who were greatly afflictcd 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 of the Abiathar to put on his sacerdotal garments, and to inquire of God, and to prophefy to him, 'Whether God would grant, that if he pursued after the Philistines, he should strike them in the head, and save their wives and their children, and avenge himself on the enemies.' And when the high priest bade him pursue after them, he marched before, with his six hundred men, after the way of the border of the Philistines; and that day he met with a certain man of the brook Besor, and had hit upon one that was wandering about, an Egyptian by birth, who was almost dead with want and famine, (for he had continued wandering about without food in the wilderness three days,) he first of all gave him sustenance, both meat and drink, and thereby refreshed him. He then asked him to whom he belonged, and whence he came? Whereupon the man told him he was an Egyptian by birth, and was left behind by his master, because he was so sick and weak that he could not follow him. He also informed him, that he was one of those that had burnt and plundered, not only other parts of Judah, but Ziklag itself also. So David made use of him a guide to find out the Amalekites; and when he had overtaken them, as they lay scattered about on the ground, some at dinner, some disordercd, and entirely drunk with wine, he left the fruit of the spoils of the cattle, he fell upon them on the sudden, and made a great slaughter among them, for they were naked, and expected no such thing, but had betaken themselves to drinking and feasting, and so had no other care except for themselves, that were overtaken as they lay at the table, were slain in that posture, and their blood brought up with it their meat and their drink. They slew others of them as they were drinking of the means evil and ugly, and that when their full bellies had made them fall asleep; and for so many as had time to put on all their armor, they slew them with the sword no less than they did those that were naked; and there was also the same story by the second day, and also the slaughter from the first hour of the day to the evening, so that there were not above four hundred of the Amalekites left, and they only escaped by getting upon their dromedaries and camels, and running away. And they carried all the spoils which the enemy had carried away, but his wives also, and the wives of his companions. But when they were come to the place where they had left the two hundred men, which were there to watch to take care of the stuff, the four hundred men did not think fit to divide among them any other parts of what they had gotten, or of the prey, since it was their opinion that they had intended to be feeble, and did not follow them in the pursuit of the enemy, but said, they should be contented to have safely recovered their wives; yet did David pronounce, that this opinion of theirs was evil and ugly, and that what God had granted them such a favor, that they had avenged themselves on their enemies, and had recovered all that belonged to themselves, they should make an equal distribution of what they had gotten on their account, because the means they had not been behind to guard their stuff; and from that time this law obtained among them, that those who guarded the stuff should receive an equal share with those that fought in the battle. Now when Saul the king of Israel, and his sons, fought courageously, and with the Philistines, and was defeated by them, and the spoils to all that had been familiar with him, and to his friends in the tribe of Judah. And thus ended the affair of the plundering of Ziklag, and of the slaughter of the Amalekites.

7. Now upon the death of Saul, and the choice of Jonathan, and of Abinadab, and Melchizee; and upon the death of Saul's sons, David was encouraged, and the Philistines were put to flight, and all was disorder and confusion, and slaughter, upon the Philistines pressing in upon them. But Saul himself fled, having a strong body of soldiers about him; and upon the Philistines seeing after him those that threw javelins and shot arrows, he lost all his company except a few; as for himself, if he fought with great bravery, and when he had received so many wounds, that he was not able to
bear up, nor to oppose any longer, and yet was not able to kill himself, he bid his armor-bearer drive him into a castle, and therebetwixt, for his enemy should take him alive. But his armor-bearer not dreading to kill his master, he drew his own sword, and placing himself over against its point, and having armed himself, and then he could neither run it through him, nor by losing against it, make the sword pass through him, he turned him round, and asked a certain young man that stood by, who he was? and when he understood that he was an armorer, he desired him to force the sword through him, because he was not able to do it with his own hands, and thereby to procure him such a death as he desired. This the young man did accordingly; and he took the golden belt that was on Saul’s arm, and his royal crown that was on his head, and ran away. And when Saul’s armor-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 then those Hebrews that dwelt in the valley beyond Jordan, and those who had their cities in the plain, heard that Saul and his sons were fallen, and that the multitude about them were destroyed. The king’s guards therefore, that were the best fortified and fenced; and the Philistines finding those cities deserted, came and dwelt in them.

3. On the next day, when the Philistines came to strip their enemies that were slain, they got the bodies of Saul and of his sons, and stripped them, and cut off their heads; and they sent messengers all about their country, to acquaint them of speaking in Josephus, of fasting seven days without meat, or that on this day is almost like that of St. Paul’s, Acts xxvi. 33. “This is the fourth day that ye have tarried and continued fasting, having taken nothing; and as the nature of the thing, and the impossibility of strictly fasting so long, I have no doubt but that both Josephus and the sacred author of this history, 1 Sam. xvi. 23, from whence it took it, of only fasting till the evening; so must we understand St. Paul, either that this was the fourth day of their tempestuous weather in the Adriatic Sea, as verse 27, or that on this day was almost like that of St. Paul’s, Acts xxvi. 33. “This is the fourth day that ye have tarried and continued fasting, having taken nothing; and as the nature of the thing, and the impossibility of strictly fasting so long, I have no doubt but that both Josephus and the sacred author of this history, 1 Sam. xvi. 23, from whence it took it, of only fasting till the evening; so must we understand St. Paul, either that this was the fourth day of their them that their enemies were fallen; and they dedicated their armor in the temple of Ashtaroth, but hung those bodies on crosses at the walls of the city of Bethshan, which is now called Scythopolis. But when the inhabitants of Jabez Gilead heard that they had disembowelled the dead bodies of Saul and of his sons, they deemed it so horrid a thing to overlook this barbarity, and to suffer them to be without funeral rites, that: the most courageous and hardy among them (and indeed that city had in it men that were very stout, but of hand and in body) journeyed all night, and came to Bethshan, and approached to the enemy’s wall, and taking down the bodies of Saul and of his sons, they carried them to Jabez, while the enemy were not able enough to hinder them, but to bear them with great courage. So the people of Jabez wept all in general, and buried their bodies in the best place of their country, which was named Arorats; and they observed a public mourning for them seven days, with their wives and children, beating their breasts, and lamenting the king and his sons, without either tasting meat or drink till the evening.”

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

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

CHAP. I.

How David reigned over one Tribe at Hebron, while the son of Saul reigned over the rest of the Multitude; and how in the civil War, which then arose, Asael and Abner were slain.

1. This fight proved to be on the same day wherein David was come back to Ziklag, after he had overcome the Amalekites. Now it was, that he had already two days at Ziklag there came to him the man who slew Saul, which was the third day after the fight. He had escaped out of the battle in which the Amalekites, with the Philistines, and had his clothes rent, and naked upon his head. And when he had made his obeisance to David, he inquired of him whence he came. He replied, from the battle of the morning, and that they had been to Hebron, and was with the king when he fled. Nor did he deny that he had himself slain the king, when he was ready to be taken by the enemy, and he himself exhorted him to do it, because the king was his master. And 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 him, and his body, and his blood upon his sword.

2. Now when David had paid them honors to the king, he left off his mourning; and it was said of God by the prophet, which of the cities of the tribe of Judah he would bestow upon him to

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dwell in? Who answered, that he bestowed upon him Hebron. So he left Ziklag, and came to Hebron, and took with him his wives, who were in number two, and his armed men; where-upon all the people of the forementioned tribe came to him, and ordained him their king. But when he heard that the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead had buried Saul and his sons, [honorably.] he sent to them and commended them, and took what they had done kindly, and promised to take them and their sons for their wives if their sons were dead; and at the same time he informed them, that the tribe of Judah had chosen him for their king.

3. But as soon as Abner, the son of Ner, who was the captain of Saul's army, a very active man, and good-natured, knew that the king, and Jonathan, and his two other sons, were fallen in the battle, he made haste into the camp; and taking away with him the remaining son of Saul, and catching one another by the head, they held 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 enemies, The Camp, from whence 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 not joined with him against his king, whose father was Suri, and his mother Zeruiah, David's sister, who was general of David's army, met him, according to David's appointment. He had with him his brethren Abishai and Asahel, as also all David's armed men. Now when he met Abner at a certain fountain, in the city of Gibeon, he prepared to fight. And when Abner said to him, that he had a mind to know which of them had the most valiant soldiers, it was agreed between them, that the two armies 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 casting one another by the head, they held one another fast, and ran each other's swords into their sides and groins, until they all, as it were by mutual agreement, perished together. When these were fallen down dead, the rest of the men gave battle to each other, and Abner and his men 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 them close, and not to grow weary of killing them, and pursuit 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 overtaken a horse, when they had a race together. This Asahel ran violently after Abner, and would not turn in the least out of the straight way, either to the one side or to the other. Hereupon the Abner turned back, and attempted artificially to avoid his violence. Sometimes he bade him leave off the pursuit, and take the armor of one of his soldiers; and sometimes, when he could not persuade him so to do, he exhorted him to cease to kindle off, and not to pursue him and injure him; lest he should force him to kill him, and he should then not be able to look his brother in the face. But when Asahel would not admit of any persuasion, but still continued to pursue him, Abner, taking him by the neck with his sword, struck him on his hip, 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 round about the dead body, and

*It ought here to be noted, that Joab, and Abishai, and Asahel, were all three David's nephews, the sons of his sister Zeruiah, as 1 Chron. II. 6; and that Amasa was also his nephew by his other sister Abigail, var. 17.
BOOK VII.—CHAP. I.

those six hundred heads of the Philistines which he had brought to Saul her father. So Abner took Micaiah from Haltai, who was then her husband, and sent her to David, Ishboiboth 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 multitude, the commanders, and captains of thousands, and spake thus to them: that, "he had formerly persuaded them from their own resolution when they were ready to forsake Ishboiboth, and to join themselves to David; this he did not in the least oppose what he said, but resigned themselves up to his opinion, he took about twenty of his friends, and came to David, in order to receive himself security upon oath from him to abandon the court of the Philistines, 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 rulers, and to the whole tribe of Benjamin. And when David had received him with much favor, and had treated him with great hospitality for many days, Abner, when he was dismissed, desired him to permit him to bring the multitude of Israel under the right decrees of 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 assailed, and said that Abner had been with David, and had parted with him a little before, under leagues and agreements that the government should be delivered up to David, he feared lest David should place Abner, who was worth the king himself, in the first rank of dignity, especially since he was a shrewd man in other respects, in understanding affairs, and in managing them artfully, as proper sensers should require, and that he should himself be hardened, and that this wicked Abner, beside the multitude of the army; so he took a knavish and wicked course. In the first place, he endeavored to calumniate Abner to the king, exhorting him to a care of him, and not to give attention to what he had engaged to do for him, because he all did tend to confirm the government to Saul's son; that he came to him deceitfully, and with guile, and was gone away in hopes of gaining his purpose by this management. But the king not only caused others to be asked after what he had done, but the death of Hushai; nor saw him at all exasperated, he betook himself to a project bolder than the former. He determined to kill Abner; and in order thereto he sent for his messengers, and gladdened the mind of Abner, when he gave him in charge, that when they should overtake him, they should recall him in David's name, and tell him that he had somewhat to say to him about his affairs, which he had not remembered, and caused others to write it to him, which was showed to him when Abner heard what the messengers said, (for they overtook him in a certain place called Beers, which was distant from Hebron twenty furlongs,) he suspected none of the mischief which he was about to do to himself; and as when he heard of the Heretian Joab met him in the gate, and received him in the kindliest manner, as if he were Abner's most benemcident acquaintance and friend; for such as undertake the vilest actions, in order to prevent the suspicion of private mischief intended, do frequently make the greatest pretences to what really good men sincerely do. So he took him aside from his own followers, as if he would speak with him in private, and brought him to a void place of the gate, having himself nobody with him but his brother Abishai; then he drew his sword, and smote him in the grove, upon which Abner died by this treachery of Joab's, which, as he said himself, was in the way of punishment for his help in THAT Abner smote and slew as he was pursuing after him in the battle of Hebron, but as the truth was, out of his fear of losing his command of the army, and his dignity with the king, and lest he should be deprived of those advantages, and Abner should obtain the first rank in David's court. By these examples any one may learn, how many and how great instances of wickedness men will use to obtain the same, by ten thousand evil practices, so when they are afraid of losing their command of the army, they get it by practices much worse than the former, as if [so] other calamity so terrible could befall them as the failure of acquiring so exalted an authority, and when they have acquired it, and by long custom found the sweetness of its possession again; and since this last would be the heaviest of all afflictions, they all of them contrive and venture upon the most difficult actions, out of the fear of losing the same. But let it suffice that I have made these short reflections upon that subject.

6. When David heard that Abner was slain, it grieved his soul; and he called all men to witness, with stretching out his hands to God, and crying out, the reproach of this wicked Joab, the son of Zeruiah, the son of Abishai, the son of Naamah, the son of David, over 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 that he should be deprived of the dignity which was given to him, and that he 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 to him now he was dead, and that he was not taken off with his consent. So he buried him at Hebron, in a magnificent manner, and indited funeral elegies for him: he also stood first over the monument weeping, and caused others to weep with him, and order all that should attend the death of Abner disorder him, that his companions could by no means force him to take any food, for he affirmed with an oath that he would not eat till he saw the face of Joab, and that he, the surest gained him the good-will of the multitude; for such as had an affection for Abner were mightily satisfied with the respect he paid him when he was dead, and the observation of that faith he had kept with him when he lived, and was showed in his vouchsafing him all the usual ceremonies as if he had been his kinsman and his friend, and not suffering him to be neglected and injured with a diabolous burial, as if he had been his enemy; in which that practice was rejoiced at the king's gentlemess and mildness of disposition, every one being ready to suppose
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

that the king would have taken the same care of them in the like circumstances, which they saw he took of the burial of the dead body of Abaser. And indeed David principally intended to gain a good reputation, and therefore he took care to do what was proper in this case; whereas none had any suspicion that he was the author of Abaser'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 devoid of him, who was of so great abilities to preserve them by his excellent advice, 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 (Josab) to go off unreproved; but know ye, that I am not able to do any thing to these sons of Zeruiah, Josab and Abshai, 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 Abaser.

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 Abaser, he took it to heart to exact vengeance on Josab, and to avenge the death of his kindred, and had indeed given him the kingdom, but was greatly afflicted, and Abaser's death very much troubled him; nor did he himself outlive any long time, but was treacherously set upon by the sons of Saul, and had his life taken from him, and slain by them; for these being of a family of the Benjamites, and of the first rank among them, thought that if they should slay Ishbosheth, they should obtain large promises, and pay dearly for his life, and slay him; or, however, should have some other trust committed to them. So when they once found him alone asleep at noon, in an upper room, when none of his guards were there, and the woman that kept the door was not watching, but was fallen asleep also, partly on account of the labor she had undergone, and partly on account of the heat of the day, these men went in, and slew him. By which means, as Saul's son, lay asleep, and slew him; they also cut off his head, and took their journey all that night, and the next day, as supposing themselves flying away from those they had injured, to one that was not of the same blood; as a favor, and that would afford them security. So they came to Hebron, and showed David the head of Ishbosheth, and presented themselves to him as his well-wishers, and such as had killed one that was his enemy and antagonist.—Yet David did not relish what they had done as they expected, but said to them, You vile wretches, you shall immediately receive the punishment you deserve. Did not you know what vengeance I executed on him that murdered Saul, and brought me his crown of gold, and this while he who made this slaughter did it as a favor to him, that he might not be caught by his enemies? Or do you imagine that I will suffer this to be done with impunity? That is, that I am not the same I then was, but am pleased with men that are wicked doers, and esteem your vile actions, when you are become murderers of your master, as grateful to me, when I am a right man, upon myself, who was a bad, who never did evil to any body, and treated you with great good will and respect? Wherefore you shall suffer the punishment due to an assassin, and be hanged in the burial of the dead body of Abaser. And indeed David principally intended to gain a good reputation, and therefore he took care to do what was proper in this case; whereas none had any suspicion that he was the author of Abaser'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 devoid of him, who was of so great abilities to preserve them by his excellent advice, 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 (Josab) to go off unreproved; but know ye, that I am not able to do any thing to these sons of Zeruiah, Josab and Abshai, 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 Abaser.

2. When these things were brought to the conclusion, all the principal men of the Hebrew people came to David to Hebron with the head of thousands, and other rulers, and delivered themselves up to him, to prevent the good-will they had borne to him in Saul's lifetime, and the respect they then had not ceased to pay him when he was captain of a thousand as also that he was chosen of God as his prophet, he and his sons, and declaring besides, how God had given him power to save the land of the Hebrews, and to overcome the Philistines. Whereupon he received kindly this their sincerity and resolution, and exhorted them to come in it, for that they should have no reason to repent of being thus disposed to him. So when he had feasted them, and treated them kindly, he sent them out to bring all the people to him. When they came together, he censured the number of the tribe of Judah, who bare shields and spears for their weapons, for these had [still now] continued with Saul's son, when the rest of the tribe of Judah were cut off. There were 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 Jehoshua for their leader. After these came Zadok, with twenty-two captains of his kindred. Out of the tribe of Benjamin the armed men were four thousand, but the rest of the tribe continued, still expecting that some one of the house of Saul should reign over them. Those of the tribe of Ephraim were twenty thousand and eight hundred, and these mighty men of valor, and eminent for their strength. Out of the half tribe of Manasseh came eight thousand and five hundred. Out of the tribe of Issachar came two hundred, who foreknew what was to come hereafter, but of armed men twenty thousand. Of the tribe of Zebedon they were chosen men. This was the only tribe that made David a favor, and that would afford them security. So they came to Hebron, and showed David the head of Ishbosheth, and presented themselves to him as his well-wishers, and such as had killed one that was his enemy and antagonist.—Yet David did not relish what they had done as they expected, but said to them, You vile wretches, you shall immediately receive the punishment you deserve. Did not you know what vengeance I executed on him that murdered Saul, and brought me his crown of gold, and this while he who made this slaughter did it as a favor to him, that he might not be caught by his enemies? Or do you imagine that I will suffer this to be done with impunity? That is, that I am not the same I then was, but am pleased with men that are wicked doers, and esteem your vile actions, when you are become murderers of your master, as grateful to me, when I am a right man, upon myself, who was a bad, who never did evil to any body, and treated you with great good will and respect? Wherefore you shall suffer the punishment due to an assassin, and be hanged in the burial of the dead body of Abaser. And indeed David principally intended to gain a good reputation, and therefore he took care to do what was proper in this case; whereas none had any suspicion that he was the author of Abaser'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 devoid of him, who was of so great abilities to preserve them by his excellent advice, 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 (Josab) to go off unreproved; but know ye, that I am not able to do any thing to these sons of Zeruiah, Josab and Abshai, 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 Abaser.
BOOK VII—CHAP. III. IV.

CHAP. III.

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

1. 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 way of derision of the king; and said, that the Jebusites themselves were ready to defend it into unto it. This they did out of contempt 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 alacrity in proceeding 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 to the Jews to him; and made a league that the proposal of dignities and rewards would encourage the soldiers to greater actions, promised that he who should first go over the ditches that were beneath the citadel, and should ascend over the wall in the sight 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 thither; to the desire of their chief command. However the son of Zeruiah prevented the rest; and as soon as he was got up to the citadel, cried out to the king, and claimed the chief command.

2. 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 in Hebron, it was seven and six months. Now 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, shut seclusion 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 they might make it a royal city. 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 our forefather Abraham it was called [Salem or] Solyma; but after that time some say that Homer mentions it by the name of Solyma. [For he named the temple Solyma, according to the Hebrew language, which signifieth Security.] Now the whole time from the warfare under Joshua our general against the Canaanites, and from that war in which he overcame them, and distributed the land among the Hebrews, (nor could the Canaanites ever expel the Canaanites out of Jerusalem 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 Ananias, 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. The matter of a more seasonable 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 were in number eleven, whose names were Solomon, Nathan, Sheba, Eglon, Eliada, Elior, Eliphale, and a daughter, Tamar. Nine of these were born of legitimate wives, but the two last named of concubines: and Tamar had the same mother with Absalom.

CHAP. IV.

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

1. Where the Philistines understood that David was made king of the Hebrews, they made war against him at Jerusalem; and when they had seized upon that valley which is called the valley of the Giants, and is a place not far from the city, they pitched their camp there. But the king of the Jews, who never permitted himself to do anything without prophecy, and the command of God, and without depending on him, as a security, to give him the high priest formerly 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 after best agree to what Josephus says elsewhere, Of the War, b. vi. ch. z.; that this city was called Salome or Sela before the days of Melchisedek, but was by him called Hierosilyma or Jerusalem. I rather suppose it to have been so called after Abraham had received that oracle Jehov. Jireh, 'The Lord will see or provide,' Gen. xiii. 14. The letter word, which I still retained, prefixed to the old name Salome, Sela, will be Jerusalem. And since that expression, 'God will see,' or rather, 'God will provide himself a Lamb for a burnt-offering,' ver. 10., to have been literalized, and applied to the Hebrews till the days of Moses, this seems to me the most probable derivation of that name, which will then denote, that 'God would provide peace by that Lamb of God, which was to take away the sins of the world.' However, that which is put into double brackets can hardly be supposed to be the genuine words of Josephus, as Dr. Hudson well judges.

It deserves here to be remarked, that Euseb. very rarely, and David very frequently, consulted God by Urim; and that David aimed always to depend, not on his own prudence or abilities, but on the divine direction, contrary to the express prohibition of Deut. xxiii. 4; 30. See note on Ant. b. vii. ch. viii. sect. 9. And when Saul's daughter (but David's wife), Michal, laughed at David's dancing before the Lord, 1 Sam. xvi. 19; she was not only stoned to death, but also her father did not use to pay such regard to the ark, to the Urim there inquired by, or to God's worship before it, and became she thought it beneath the dignity of a king to be so religious.
NOTH a priest, and yet touched the ark, God struck him dead. Hereupon both the king and the people were displeased at the death of Uzzah; and they all rose to fight. And no one supposed that it was a small army of the Philistines that came against the Hebrews, as guessing so from the suddenness of their defeat, and from their having performed no great action, or that was a proof of their superior force. But the Battle of their march and want of courage; but let him know that all Syria and Phenicia, with many other nations besides them, and those warlike nations also, came to their assistance, and had a share in this battle. The ark, which was the cause why they were so often conquered, and had lost so many ten thousands of their men, they still came upon the Hebrews with greater armies; nay, indeed, when they had so often failed of their 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, and the Levites, in order to their going out of the battle; and the high priest prophesied to him that he should keep his army in the groves, called the Groves of Weeping, which were not far from the enemy’s camp, and that he should not go out to fight. And the reason of this was, that the ark should be in motion without the wind’s blowing; but as soon as these trees moved, and the time foretold to him by God was come, he should without delay go out to gain, what was already won. But by this, it was for this, several ranks of the enemy’s army did not sustain him, but retreated at the first onset, whom he closely followed, and slew them as he went along; and pursued them to the city of Gaza, (which is the limit of their country;) after this he spoiled their camp, in which he found great riches; and he destroyed their gods.

2. When this had proved the event of the battle, David sought it proper, upon observa

### 1 Chronicles 13:1-9

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### 1 Chronicles 13:1-9

3. But when Michael his wife, the daughter of Saul, came and stood by him, she wished him all other things, but that he should not go out to fight. And he said, "Why thus, my lord king? for I should farther desire, to the utmost possibility, might be given him by God, and that he might be favorable to him; yet did she blame him, and said, did not he mean, after an unseemly manner, and in his dancing uncover himself among the servants and the handmaids. But he replied, “That he was not ashamed to do what was acceptable to God, and that he had done what he had done for all others; that he would pray frequently, and dance, without any regard to what the handmaids and she herself thought of it." So this Michal had no children; however, when she was afterwards married to him to whom Saul, the father of David, had given her, (for at this 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.

### 1 Chronicles 13:1-9

+ Josephus seems to be partly in the right, when he observes here, that Uzzah was no priest, (though perhaps he might be a Levite,) and was therefore stricken dead for touching the ark, contrary to the law, and for which profane rashness, death was the penalty by the law, Num. iv. 15, 25; see the like before, Antiqu. v. c. l. Law. xxxvii. 1. Now we observe the ark, they brought it out of the house of Aminadab, and laid it upon a new cart, and permitted their brethren and their children to draw it, together with the oxen. Before it went the king and the whole multitude of the people with him, singing by heart the songs of 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, 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 cart, and out of his hand, and would not needs take hold of it. Now because he was
been encouraged by him to do whatsoever he had a mind to do, as having God with him, and his help? He would have been 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 purpose and his desires kindly, since nobody 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, because he had made many wars, and was defiled with the slaughter of his enemies: that however he would do his will, and be his help, and bless him, and when he had lived a long life, there should be a temple built by a son of his, who should take the kingdom after him, and should be called Solomon, whom he promised to provide for, as a father in compliance with the wishes of his children, thanks to him for all his benefits, as well for those that he had already bestowed upon him in raising him from a low state, and from the employment of a shepherd, to so great dignity of dominion. He is excellent of all his predecessors, thanks to him for all his benefits, as well for those that he had already bestowed upon him in raising him from a low state, and from the employment of a shepherd, to so great dignity of dominion. He is excellent of all his predecessors, for the 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 Moabites, and the Kings of Sophene, and of Damascus, and of the Syrians, as also the Medesmen, in War; and how he made a League with the King of Hamath; and was mindful of the Friendship that Jonathan, the Son of Saul, had borne to him.

1. A LITTLE while after this, he considered that he ought to make war against the Philis-
tines, and not to see any idleness or lassiness permitted in his kingdom, but that the kingdom as God had foretold to him, that when he had overthrown his enemies, he should leave his pos-
teriority to reign in peace afterward; so he called together his army again, and he caused them to be prepared for war, and when he thought that all things in his army were in a good state, he removed from Jere-
salem, and came against the Philistines; and when he had overcome them in battle, and had cut off a great part of their country and adjoined it to the country of the Heereus, he transferred the war to the Moabites; and when he had overcome two parts of their army in the battle, he took their wives, and their children, and their spoil, to be paid annually. He then made war against Hadadzer, the son of Rehob, king of Sophene; and when he had joined battle with her commands to build such a temple presently, ch. xiv. sect. 5, contrary to our other copies, &cr at least to our translation of the Hebrew, 2 Sam. vii. 6, 7; 1 Chron. xvii. 11.

*Josephus seems, in this place, with our modern Interpreters, to confound the two distinct predictions which refer to Solomon. They are distinct. The one is, building him a temple by one of David's posterity, the other belonging to Solomon, the other to the Medesmen; the distinction between the two is the greatest consequence to the Christian religion.

†David's reserving only 100 chariots for himself out of those he had taken from Hadadzer, was most prob-
bly done to comply with the law of Moses, which "made a king of Israel to multiply horses to him-

him at the river Euphrates, he destroyed twenty thousand of his footmen, and about seven thou-
sand and of his horsemen. He also took about a thousand of his chariots, and destroyed the greatest part of them, and ordered that no more than one hundred should be kept.‡

2. Now when Hadas, king of Damascus and of Syria, heard that David fought against Hadad-

zer, who was his friend, he came to his assistance with a powerful army, in hopes to rescue him; and when he had joined battle with David at the river Euphrates, he failed of his purpose, and lost in this battle the greatest part of his soldiers; for there were slain of the army of Had-
ad twenty thousand, and all the rest fled. Nico-

laus also of Damascus makes mention of this king, in the fourth book of his histories; where he speaks thus: "A great while after these things had happened, there was one of that coun-

try whose name was Hadas, who was become very potent; he reigned over Damascus, and the other parts of that land, excepting Phoenicia, and had made war against David, the king of Judea, and tried his fortune in many battles, and particularly in the last battle at Euphrates, wherein he was beaten. He seemed to have been the most powerful of his time, in his 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 should be splendid, and very fa-
mous he came to the ark, and fell down on his face before it, and blessed God, and said, "He is ex-

cellent of all his predecessors, thanks to him for all his benefits, as well for those that he had already bestowed upon him in raising him from a low state, and from the em-

ployment of a shepherd, to so great dignity of dominion. He is excellent of all his predecessors, thanks to him for all his benefits, as well for those that he had already bestowed upon him in raising him from a low state, and from the em-

ployment of a shepherd, to so great dignity of dominion. He is excellent of all his predecessors, thanks to him for all his benefits, as well for those that he had already bestowed upon him in raising him from a low state, and from the em-

of the ill success of Hadadeser, 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 for whom he sent to him his son Joa-
ram, and professed that he owed him thanks for his fighting against Hadadeser, who was his ene-
my, and made a league with him of mutual as-
sistance and friendship. He also sent him pre-
sent, which delighted him, both of gold, of silver, and of brass. So 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 changed his heart toward him, which was due on both sides. But then David brought those presents that were sent by him, as also the rest of the gold and silver which he had taken of the Ammonites, and dedicated them to God. Nor did God give victory and success to him only when he went to the battle himself, and led his own army, but he gave victory to Abishai, the brother of Joab, and gave him many thousands of enemies, and by him to David, when he sent him with an army into Idumea; for Abishai destroyed eighteen thousand of them in the battle; whereupon the king [of Israel] placed garrisons throughout all Idumea, and the tribute of the country, and of every head 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 Nun, his admiral. He also showed how much he prized Zadok, of the family of Phineas, to be high priest, together with Abiathar, for he was his friend. He also made Seissa the scribe; and committed the command over the guards of his bedchambers to the son of Jehoida. His eldest sons were near his body, and had the care of it also.

5. He also called to mind the covenants and the promises he had made with Jonathan, the son of Saul, and the friendship and affection Jonathan had for him; for besides all the rest of his excellent qualities with which he was endowed, he was also exceeding mindful of such as had at other times deserted him, and he gave Jonathan good things. He therefore gave order that inquiry should be made, whether any of Jonathan's lineages were living, to whom he might make return of that familiar acquaintance which Jonathan had had with him, and for which he was still deeply obliged. And when one of Saul's freemen 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 Jon-
athan?" And when he said, "That a son of his was remaining, whose name was Mephiboseth, but that he was lame of his feet; for that when his nurse heard that the father and grandfather of the child were fallen in the battle, she snatched him up, and fled away, and let him fall from her shoulders, and his feet were lamed." So when he heard these words and knew that he was brought up, he sent messengers to Machir, to the city of Lodebar, for with him was the son of Joa-
than brought up, and sent him to come to him. So when Mephiboseth came to the king, he sent amongst all his servants for Ziba, and bid him, but David encouraged him, and bid him of good 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 besides him came and jest with him at own table, and never to be absent one day from the seat 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 the father's house, and all Saul's estate. He also ordered that Ziba should cultivate his land, and take care of it, and bring him the profits of all to Jerusalem. Accordingly, David brought him to his table every day, and set him at his right hand, who were in number fifteen, and his servants, who were in number twenty. When the king had made these appointments, and Ziba had worshipp-
ed him, and promised to do all that he had bid him; and the king left of Jonathan dwelt at Jerusalem, and dined at the king's table, and had the same care taken of him that a son could claim. He also had him-
self a son, whom he named Michah.

CHAP. VI.
How the War was waged against the Ammonites, and happily concluded.

1. These were the honors that such as were of Saul's and Jonathan's lineages re-
ceived from David. About this time died Na-
hash, the king of the Ammonites, who was a friend to the house of David, and was a son of his father in the kingdom, David sent ambassa-
dors to him to comfort him; and exhorted him to take his father's death patiently, and to expect that he would continue the same kindness to his house as his father had. The princes of the Ammonites took this message in evil part, and not as David's kind dispositions gave reason to take it; and they excited the king to resent it, and said, that David had sent men to his father, to take and share his kingdom. And they had, under the pretense of humanity and kindness. They farther advised him to have a care, and not to give heed to David's words, lest he should be induced to forget the great wrong he had done. And when the princes of the Ammonites spoke what was more probable than the truth would admit, and so abused the ambassadors after a very harsh manner; for he shared the one half of their beards, and cut off one half of their garments, and sent his answer not in words but in deeds. When the king of Israel saw this, he had indignation at it, and showed openly that he had punished the king of the Ammonites. And when he had sent ten thousand men to the king of the Ammonites, and that king had twenty thousand footmen. They also hired the king of the country, called Macah, and a fourth king, by name Ish-tob; which last had,

2. But David was under no constellation at this confederacy, nor at the forces of the Ammon-
ites; and putting his trust in God, because he was going to war in a just cause, on account of the death of Saul and his house, and that Zib-

*By this great victory over the Idumeans or Edom-
te, the posterity of Esau, and by the consequent tri-
but paid by that nation to the Jews, were the prophesi-
ces delivered to Rebecca before Jacob and Esau were born, and by old Isaac before his death, that the elder,
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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 this, he opposed one stratagem against another, and said to his captains of his rear, and set them in opposition to the king of Syria, and the kings that were with him, and gave the other part to his brother Abishai, and bade him set them in opposition to the Ammonites, and said to him, "But if it be so long as they stand against thee, and stand not off of their own accord; see that the Syrians distress him, and are too hard for him, he should order his troops to turn about and assist him;" and he said, "he himself would do the same to him, if he saw him in the same case." So he sent brother to brother, and encouraged him to do every thing courageously and with sincerity, which would teach them to be afraid of disgrace, and to fight manfully; and so he dismissed him to fight with the Ammonites, while he fell upon the Syrians. And though they made a strong opposition for a while, Joab slew many of them, and compelled the rest to betake themselves to flight; which, when the Ammonites saw, and were pressed by Joab in the same manner, they stood no longer, but imitated their auxiliaries, and fled to the city. So Joab, when he had thus overcome the enemy, returned with great joy to Jerusalem.

3. Still this defeat did not induce the Ammonites to be quiet, nor to acknowledge as superior to them those who were so, but they sent to Chal- elaman the king of the Syrians, beyond Ephraim, and hired him for an auxiliary. He had Shoba 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 drew them up with them no longer by his generals, but he passed over the river Jordan himself with all his army; and when he met them he joined battle 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 Chalaman's forces, who died of that stroke; but the people of Mesopotamia, upon such a conclusion of the battle, delivered their cities up, that they might not be destroyed, and set them on fire; and who at winter-time returned to Jerusalem. But at the beginning of the spring he sent Joab, the captain of his host, to fight against the Ammonites; who overran all the country, and laid it waste, and shut them up in their metropolis Rab- bab, 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 religious man, and one that fairly observed the laws of our fathers: for when late in an evening he took a view round him from the roof of his royal palace, where he used to walk at that season, and came to observe herself in her own house; she was one of extraordinary beauty, and therein surpassed all other women; her name was Bathsheba. So he was overcome by his woman's persuasive words, and to restrain his desires, but sent for her, and lay with her. Hereupon she conceived with child, and sent to the king, that he 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's armor-bearer from the siege, who was the woman's husband; and his name was Uriah: and when he came 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 him, and bade him go home to his house, that he might rest and refresh himself. But Uriah did not do so, but slept near the king, with the rest of his armor-bearers. When the king was informed of this, he asked him why he did not go home to his house, and to his wife, after the 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 general of the army, slept upon the ground, in the camp, and in an enemy's country, that he should rest in the palace, and solace himself with his wife. So when he had thus replied, the king ordered him to stay there that night, that he might dispute him the next day to the general. So the king invited Uriah to the supper, and after a seeming and dexterous manner plied him with drink at supper, till he was thereby disordered; yet did he nevertheless sleep at the king's gates, without any inclination to go to his wife. Upon this the king took Uriah in his chariot, and sent to the king of Edom, and commanded him to punish Uriah, for he told him that he had offended him; and he sugg- ested to him the manner in which he would have him punished, that he might desire him to write that he was himself the author of this his punishment; for he charged him to set him over against that part of the enemy's army where the attack would be most hazardous, and where he might be destroyed, and that in the course of the battle he stood the king's purpose, he set Uriah in that place where he knew the enemy would be most troublesome to them; and gave him for his part- ners some of the best soldiers in the army; and said, that he would also converse with his grandson with the whole army, that if possible they might break down some part of the wall, and enter the city. And he desired him to be glad of the op- portunity of exposing himself to such pains, and to such a destruction, in the name of his soldier, and had a great reputation for his valor, both with the king and with his countrymen. And when Uriah undertook the work he was set to, with all his heart, he knew no fatigue, and those who were to be his companions, that when they saw the enemy make a sally, they should leave him. When, therefore, the Hebrews made an attack upon the city, the Ammonites were afraid that the enemy might prevent them, and get up into the city, and this at the very place whither Uriah was ordered, so they exposed their best soldiers to be in the forefront, and opened their gates suddenly, and fell upon the enemy with great vehemence, and ran violently upon them. When those that were with Uriah saw this, they all retreated backward, as Joab had directed them beforehand; but Uriah, as ashamed to run away and leave his post, main- tained the charge, and was there slain, at the onset, he slew many of them, but being en- compassed around, and caught in the midst of them, he was slain, and some other of his com- panions were slain with him.

2. When this was done, Joab sent messengers to the king, and ordered them to tell him, That he did what he could to take the city soon, but that, as they made an assault on the wall, they had been forced to give way with great loss. And bid them, if they saw the king was angry at it, to add this, that Uriah was slain also. When the king had heard this of the messengers, he took it patiently, and said, That "they did
now this God was despised by him, and afraid of his impiety, when he had married, and now had another man’s wife; and by exposing her husband to the enemy, had really slain him; and that God would inflict punishments upon him for his wickedness, which he had perpetrated by force of his own will, and that his own wife should be forced by one of his sons; and that he should be treacherously supplanted by the same son; and that although he had per petrated this wickedness secretly, yet should that treachery, by which he was supplanted, be made public upon him; that moreover, said he, the child which was born to thee of her, shall soon die. When the king was troubled at these messages, and sufficiently confounded, and said to the queen, what was the matter that made thee so troubled? for he was without controversy a pious man, and guilty of no sin at all in his whole life, excepting those in the matter of Uriah.) God had compassion upon him, and was reconciled to him, and promised that he would heal some of his diseases. But when the king, on the seventh day, the child was dead, the king’s servants durst not tell him of it, as supposing that when he knew it he would still less admit of food, and other care of himself, by reason of his son’s death. But of his servants he said, that the child was only sick, so he greatly afflicted himself, and grieved for him. But when the king perceived that his servants were in disorder, and seemed to be affected, as those are who are very discontented, then he asked them the cause of his trouble. But they answered, because the child was dead, and when he had called one of the servants to him, and discovered that so it was, he arose up and washed himself, and took a white garment, and came into the tabernacle, and sat down upon the throne, and said, that he would not supper before him, and thereby greatly surprised his kindred and servants, while he did nothing of this when the child was sick, but did it all when he was dead. Whereupon, hearing of this, the queen, on hearing of this, besought him to tell them the reason of this his conduct. He then called them unskilful people; and instructed them how he had hoped of the recovery of the child while it was alive, and exceedingly “did all that was necessary for him to do as thinking by such means to render God propitious to him, but that when the child was dead, there was no longer any occasion for grief, which was not any way contrary to the command of God. And this, they commended the king’s wisdom and understanding. He then went in unto Bathsheba his wife, and she conceived and bare a son, and, by the command of Nathan the prophet, called his name after this the king’s conduct. 5. But Joab sorely distressed the Ammonites in the siege, by cutting off their waters, and depriving them of other means of subsistence; till they were in the greatest want of meat and drink. But they still drank of the springs, and that it was not one dry spring, but ten, whereof they used that spring, for want of water, and this they durst not drink of too freely, lest the fountain should entirely fail them. So he wrote to the king, and informed him thereof; and persuaded him to come himself to take the city, and that he might have the honor 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
wicked as to transgress the laws and bring upon thyself the utmost confusion. Curb this unholy and impious lust, from which all else 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 avoid her brother's violent passion at present. But he said he could not yield to her, but inflamed with love, and blinded with the vehemence of his passion, he forced his sister: but as soon as Amnon had satisfied his lust, he left her immediately, and giving her reproachful words, bade her come to him no more, 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 evening, but would go away in the daytime, and while it was light, that she might meet with people that would be witnesses of her shame," he commanded his 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 coat, [for the virgins of old times wore such loose coats, tied at the hands, and let down to the ankles, that the inner costs might not be seen,] and her hair was sprinkled with ashes in the midst of 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 asked her, What sad thing had befallen her, that she was in such plight and guise? Wherefore she 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 thus corrupted by her brother 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 a long time.

2. When 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 revenge for the crime upon him, and he knew thoroughly hated him. Now the second year after this wicked affair about his sister was over, and Absalom was about to go to shear his own sheep at Baal-hazor, which is a city in the portion of Ephraim, he sent his brethren, and his brethren's brethren, to come and feast with him: But when David excused himself, as not being willing to be burdensome to him, Absalom desired he would dines them his brethren; whom he did send accordingly. Then Absalom said to his servants, that when they should see Absalom disordered and drowsy with wine, and he should give them a signal, they should fear nobody, but kill him.

3. When they had done as they were commanded, the rest of his brethren were astonished and disturbed, and were afraid for themselves, so they immediately got on horseback, and rode away to their father; but some few of the men he that 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 done, when so greatly provoked by the greatest misfortune, so incredible a misfortune was related to him, but rent his clothes, and threw himself upon the ground, and there lay, lamenting the loss of all his sons, both those who, as he was informed, were slain, and of him who was slain. But Jonathan, son of Abishai, brother Shimeah, entreated him not to indulge his sorrow so far, for as to the rest of his sons, he did not believe that they were slain, for he found no cause for such a suspicion; but he said it was not likely as to his property, for it was not unlikley that Absalom might venture to kill him on account of the injury he had offered to Tamar. In the mean time, a great noise of horses, and a tumult of some people that were coming, turned their attention to them; they were the king's sons, who were fled away from the feast. So their father met them as they were in their grief, and be himself grieved with them; but it was not expected to see his sons again, whom he had a little before heard to have perished. However, there were tears on both sides: they lamenting their brother who was killed, and the king lamenting his son, who was killed, also; but Absalom did go to his father, to his grandmother by his mother's side, who was king of that country, and he remained with him three whole years.

4. Now David had a design to send to Absalom, that he should come to be punished, but that he might be with him, for the effects of his anger were abated by length of time. It was Joab, the captain of his host, that chiefly persuaded him so to do; for he suborned an ordinary subject to bring him in to the king in mourning apparel, who said thus to him: "That two of her sons, in a coarse way, had some difference between them and that in the progress of that difference they came to an open quarrel, and that one was smitten by the other, and was dead; and she desired him to interpose in this case, and to do her the favor to save this her son from her kindred, who were very zealous to be avenged of him, and also to send him his brother put to death; that so she might not be farther deprived of the hopes she had of being taken care of in her old age by him; and that if he would hinder this slaughter of her son by those that wished for it, he would amass for himself a great deal, because the kindred would not be restrained from their purpose by any thing else than by the fear of him." And when the king had given his consent to what the woman had begged of him, she made this reply to him: "I owe thee thanks for thy benignity to me in pitying my old age, and preventing the loss of my only remaining child; but in order to assure me of this thy kindness, be first reconciled to thine own son, and be willing to be angry with him; for shall I persuade myself that thou hast really bestowed this favor upon me, while thou thyself continueth after the like manner in thy wrath to thine own son? for it is not reasonable that thou shouldst wish to thy dead son, while the death of the other was brought about without thy own consent." And now the king perceived that this pretended story was a subornation derived from Joab, and was of no weight. And when, upon inquiry of good counselors about the king, or perhaps because the judges mistook in that unjust sentence they gave; whereby he gained the good-will of them all.

CHAP. IX.
Concerning the Insurrection of Absalom against David; and concerning Athithophel and Hushai; and concerning Ziba and Shimhi; and how Athithophel hanged himself.

§ 1. Now Absalom, upon this success with the king, procured to himself a great many horses, and many chariots, and that in a little time also. He had moreover fifty armor-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 was expected. 4. I am inclined to think that he thought, that at the end of days, when Absalom polled or weighed his hair, was one week.
He told them, that had he but such authority committed to him he would distribute justice to those who 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 the country. So when David had granted his request, he stood up in the sight of all, and great multitudes came running together to him, for he had sent to a great number so to do.

2. Among them came Ahithophel the Giloite, a counsellor of David, and two hundred men out of Jerusalem itself, who knew not his intentions, but were sent for as to a sacrifice. So he was appointed king by all of them, which he obtained by this stratagem. As soon as this news was brought to David, and he was informed of what he did not expect from him, he was affrighted at this so impious and bold undertaking, and wondered that he was so far from remembering how his offence had been so lately forgiven him, that he undertook much worse and more unhallowed acts. For first he cried that kingdom which was given him of God: and secondly, to take away his own father's life. He therefore resolved to fly to the parts beyond Jordan, but on the way met with Abiathar and Zadok, the high priests, who had determined to go away with him, as also all the Levites, who were with the ark, to stay behind, as hoping that God would deliver him without its removal; but he charged them to let him know privately how all things went on; and he had his sons, Ahimaaz the son of Zadok, and Jonathan the son of Abiathar, for faithful ministers in all these particulars. Gittite went out with him, whether David would let him or no, and he should have persuaded him to stay, and on that account appeared the most friendly to him. But as he was ascending the mount of Olivet barefooted, and took off his sandals for fresh treading, it was told him that Ahithophel was with Absalom, and was of his side. This bearing augmented his grief: and he besought God earnestly to alienate the mind of Absalom from Ahithophel, for he was afraid that he should persuade him to follow his pernicious counsel; for he was a prudent man, and very sharp in seeing what was advantagious. When David was gotten upon the top of the mountain he took a view of the city; and perceived that God was with him, and had already lost his kingdom: and here it was that a faithful friend of his, whose name was Hushai, met him. When David saw him with his clothes rent and having sabes all over his head, and in languishing countenance, he espied him, and comforted him, and exhorted him to leave off grieving; nay, at length he besought him to go back to Absalom, and appear as one of his party, and to fish out the secret counsels of Ahithophel, and to contradict the counsels of Ahithophel; and for that he could not do himself so much good by being with him as he might by being with

Absalom. So he was prevailed on by David, and left him, and came to Jerusalem, whither Absalom himself came also a little while afterward.

3. When David was gone a little farther, there met him Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth, whom he had taken care of the provision, and alms which had been given him, as the son of Jonathan the son of Saul,) with a couple of asses laden with provisions, and desired him to take as much of them as he and his followers should need. And when he asked where he had left Mephibosheth? he said, "He had left him at Jerusalem, expecting to be chosen king in the present confusion, in remembrance of the benefits Saul had conferred upon them." At this the king was a little indisposition, 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 gave him reproachful words: and as his friends stood about him, he persevered still more in his reproaches, and called him a bloody man, and the author of all sorts of mischief. He bade him also "go out of the land of the living, and live not in the land." And he thanked God for depriving him of his kingdom, and causing him to be punished for what injures he had done to his master, [Saul,] and this by the means of his own son. Now when they were come near to Jerusalem, Absalom, being willingly accompanied by the rest of the multitude; who went hastily away with him, and particularly by those six hundred armed men, who had been with him from his first flight, and all the multitude, with Abiathar and Zadok, the high priests, who had determined to go away with him, as also all the Levites, who were with the ark, to stay behind, as hoping that God would deliver him without its removal; but he charged them to let him know privately how all things went on; and he had his sons, Ahimaaz the son of Zadok, and Jonathan the son of Abiathar, for faithful ministers in all these particulars. Gittite went out with him, whether David would let him or no, and he should have persuaded him to stay, and on that account appeared the most friendly to him. But as he was ascending the mount of Olivet barefooted, and took off his sandals for fresh treading, it was told him that Ahithophel was with Absalom, and was of his side. This hearing augmented his grief: and he besought God earnestly to alienate the mind of Absalom from Ahithophel, for he was afraid that he should persuade him to follow his pernicious counsel; for he was a prudent man, and very sharp in seeing what was advantagious. When David was gotten upon the top of the mountain he took a view of the city; and perceived that God was with him, and had already lost his kingdom: and here it was that a faithful friend of his, whose name was Hushai, met him. When David saw him with his clothes rent and having sabes all over his head, and in languishing countenance, he espied him, and comforted him, and exhorted him to leave off grieving; nay, at length he besought him to go back to Absalom, and appear as one of his party, and to fish out the secret counsels of Ahithophel, and to contradict the counsels of Ahithophel; and for that he could not do himself so much good by being with him as he might by being with
but remains still in the same family, by the son’s receiving it after his father.” This speech persuaded Absalom, who before suspected Hushai. And now he called Ahithophel, and consulted with him what he ought to do: he persuaded him to go in unto his father’s concubines; for he said, that “by this action the people will believe that thy difference with thy father is irremovable, and thou art in the light with that alacrity against thy father, for hitherto they are afraid of taking up open enmity against him, out of an expectation that you will be reconciled again.” Accordingly Absalom was prevailed on by this advice, and pitched his tent on the top of the royal palace, 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 spake to him, that his son would rise up in rebellion against him.

6. And when Absalom had done what he was advised to by Ahithophel, he desired his advice, in the second place, about the war against his father. Now, Ahithophel only asked him let him have ten thousand chosen men, and he promised he would shaw his father, and bring the soldiers back again to safety; and he said, that “they would be the more hearken to him when David was dead, [but not otherwise.]” Absalom 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 said, “that was the advice concerning that matter? 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, “Thou art the best man here concerning the city, with the valor of thy father, and of those that are now with him; that he hath made many wars, and hath always come off with victory; though probably he now abides in the camp, for he is very fat, he is not yet to the time of the battle, and will infuse courage into his own people when they are in danger, but bring consternation to thine. Consider, therefore, my advice, and reason upon it, and if thou cannot but acknowledge that it is better, thou mayest reject the advice 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. And I fear not that thou shalt have no success 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 preferr'd by Absalom before the other: however, it was no other than God who made the counsel of Hushai appear best to the mind of Absalom.

7. So Hushai made haste over the high places, to Zadok and Ahithophel, and told them the opinion of Ahithophel, and his own, and that the resolution was taken to follow this latter advice. He therefore made them send to David, and tell him as he had written to them, that he had been taken; and to desire him further 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; for his part he had his men concealed in a proper place out of the city, that they might carry news to David of what was transacted. Accordingly, they sent a maid servant whom they could trust, to carry them the long passage; they could not trust 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, became pious and faithful ministers, and judging them of the great service they had done to the king, and desirous of sparing them some to take them; but when the sons of the high priests perceived this, they went out of the road, and betook themselves to a certain village; that village was called Bahurim; there they desisted of seeking after them, and gave them security. Accordingly, she let the young men down by a rope into a well, and laid deuces of wool over them: and when those that pursued them came to her, and asked her whether she saw them, she said no; but she had seen them, for they had staid with her some time, but she said then they went their ways: and she foretold, that, however, if they would follow them directly they would catch them. But when after a while she saw them come near, she drew them up by the rope, and bade our army join battle with him, his soldiers will retire for a while, but will come upon us again, as encouraged by the king’s being near them; and in the mean time your father will abide in the forest, and may be the time of the battle, and will infuse courage into his own people when they are in danger, but bring consternation to thine. Consider, therefore, my advice, and reason upon it, and if thou cannot but acknowledge that it is better, thou mayest reject the advice 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. And I fear not that thou shalt have no success 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 Absalom before the other; however, it was no other than God who made the counsel of Hushai appear best to the mind of Absalom. So Hushai made haste over the high places, to Zadok and Ahithophel, and told them the opinion of Ahithophel, and his own, and that the resolution was taken to follow this latter advice. He therefore made them send to David, and tell him as he had written to them, that he had been taken; and to desire him further 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; for his part he had his men concealed in a proper place out of the city, that they might carry news to David of what was transacted. Accordingly, they sent a maid servant whom they could trust, to carry them the long passage; they could not trust 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, became pious and faithful ministers, and judging them of the great service they had done to the king, and desirous of sparing them some to take them; but when the sons of the high priests perceived this, they went out of the road, and betook themselves to a certain village; that village was called Bahurim; there they desisted of seeking after them, and gave them security. 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Send to the entire country of the Hebrews, and order them to come and fight with thy father; and do thou thyself take the army, and be thine own general in this war, and do not trust its management to another; then expect to conquer him with ease, when thou overtakest him openly with his few partisans, but hast thyself many ten thousands, who will be desirous to demonstrate to thee their diligence and alacrity. And I fear not that thou shalt have no success in some city and bear a siege, we will overthrow that city with machines of war, and by undermining it.

8. But Ahithophel, on reflection of his advice, got upon his ass, and rode away to his own country, taking his family together; and told them distinctly what advice he had given Absalom; 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 overtake him, and return to his kingdom again: so he said it was better that he should take his own life away with freedom and magnanimity, than expose himself to be punished by David, in opposition to whom he had acted entirely. When Ahithophel told them to him, 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 haller, they took manner of the divine operations, or permissions, or the machinations of wicked Absalom, and directly ‘infatuated’ wicked Absalom to reject it, (while ‘infatuation’ is what the scripture styles the judicial ‘blindness’ that is caused by an indulgence to the bent of men, which, by their former voluntary wickedness, have justly deserved to be destroyed, and are thereby brought to destruction,) is a very just one, and in him more unfrequently observed, than by any other person himself, or per-
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 pleasure, both out of the town and abroad, 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 Beraiali's the Gileadite, and Siphar the ruler among Asherim; and they anointed David the man of Gilead; and these furnished him with plentiful provisions for himself and his followers, insomuch that they wanted no beds nor blankets for them, nor loaves of bread, nor wine; nay, they made their meat fat and their flesh fat, and they gave them wine to drink, 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 set down not far off Mahanaim, in the country of Gilgal. He appointed Amasa captain of his host, instead of Joab his kinsman: his father was Ishma, and his mother Abigail: now she and Zeruiah, the mother of Joab, were David's sisters. But when David had numbered his followers, he came to his own thoughts, and resolved not to tarry till Absalom attacked him, but set over men captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and divided his army into three parts: the one part he committed to Joab; the second to Abishai, his armor-bearer; and the third to Ittai, David's companion and friend, but one that came from the city of Gath. And when he was desirous of fighting himself among them his friends, he let his mind and purpose be 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 repair 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 pleased with their advice, and resolved himself for the battle. But Joab and his friends and commanders to the battle, he desired them to show all possible acclivity and fidelity, and to bear in mind what advantages they received from him, which though they had not been very great, yet had not they been quite insconsiderable; and he begged of them to spare the young man Absalom, lest some mischief should befal himself if he should be killed. And did he send out his army to the battle, and with this request made to him, "Wilt thou, he said, who hast always been the messenger of good news, now go and acquaint the king that his son is dead?" So he desired him to do it. And Cushi did bring the business to him, that he should tell the king what he had seen. But when Ahimaaz again desired him to let him go as a messenger, and assured him that he would only relate what he had seen, and not speak concerning the victory, but of the death of Absalom, he gave him leave to go to David. Now he took a nearer road than the former did, for nobody knew it but himself, and he came before Cushi. Now as David was sitting between the gates, and waiting to see when judicial causes were heard, and public communications were taken, as it is written in several places of scripture, 2 Chron. xxxii. 2; 2 Sam. lx. 14; xxi. 5; Prov. iv. 21; niv, 33; 34; xxii. 32; and often elsewhere.
somebody would come to him from the battle, and tell him how it went, one of the watchmen saw Ahimass running, and before he could discern who he was, he told David that he saw somebody coming to him; who said, he was a good messenger. A little while after he informed him that another messenger followed him; whereupon the king said that he was also a good messenger; but when the watchman saw Ahimass, who he was already running, he gave the king notice that it was the son of Zedok the high priest, who came running. So David was very glad, and said, "He was a messenger of peace; and bring him such news from the battle as he desired to hear."

5. While the king was saying thus, Ahimass appeared, and worshipped the king. And when the king inquired of him about the battle, he said, "He brought him the good news of victory and dominion." And when he inquired what he had to say concerning his son, he said, that "he came away on the sudden as soon as the enemy was defeated, but that he heard a great noise of those that pursued Abasalom, and that he could learn no more, because of the haste he made when Joash sent him to inform him of the victory."

But when Cushi was come, and had worn himself out in the seeing the victory, he asked him about his son; who replied, "May the like misfortune befall thine enemies as hath befallen Abasalom." That word did not permit either himself or his soldiers to rejoice for the while; nor was it a very pleasant thing; David went up to the highest part of the city, and wept for his son, and beat his breast, tearing (the hair of) his head, and tormenting himself all manner of ways, and crying out, "O my son! I have laid me, thy mother, and thy servant." For he was of a tender natural affection, and had extraordinary compassion for this son in particular. But when the army and Joash heard that the king mourned for this son, they wept for the king; and in the house of the victors, but they all came in as cast down, and in tears, as if they had been beaten. Now while the king covered himself, and grievously lamented his son, Joash went in to him, and comforted him, and said, "O my lord the king, thou art not aware that thou layest a blot on thyself by what thou now doest: for thou seemest to hate those that love thee, and undergo dangers for thee; nay, to hate thyself; thy family, and to love those that are thy bitter enemies, and to desire the company of those that are no more, and who have been justly slain; for had Abasalom gotten the victory, and firmly settled himself in the king, 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 wept over us, but rejoiced over us, and punished even those that pitied us in our misfortunes; and they not ashamed to do this in the case of one that has been thy bitter enemy, who, while he was thine own son, hath proved so wicked to thee. Leave off, therefore, thy woe and sorrow; and come again, and be seen by thy soldiers, and return them thanks for the alacrity they showed in the fight; for I myself will this day persuade the people to leave thee, and to give the kingdom to whom it belongs, and to thee again; and then I shall make thee to grieve bitterly, and in earnest." Upon Joash's speaking thus to him, he made the king leave off his sorrow, and brought him to the consideration of his affairs. So David changed his habit, and exposed himself in a manner fit to be seen by the multitude, and sat at the 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.

CHAP. XI.

How David, when he had recovered his Kingdom, was reconciled to Shimei, and to Ziba, and showed a great Affection to Baravilla, and how, upon the Rise of a Stetitem, he made Amasa Captain of his Host, in order to pursue Absalom, which Amasa was slain by Joas, to whom David presently sent his son.

§ 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 benefit David had bestowed upon them, and of that liberty and command of the army which Absalom had bestowed upon 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, 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 resume the care of their affairs, and take the kingdom again, as he had done. And this, notwithstanding, David sent to Zedok and Abiathar the high priests, that they should speak to the rulers of the tribe of Judah after the manner following: That "it would be a reproach to the house of David, and to the highways of the kingdom, if David choose David for their king before their tribe, and this, (said he,) while you are akin to him, and of the same common blood." He commanded them also to say the same to Amasa the captain of the army 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 did all the Israelites, at the like persuasion of Amasa.

2. When the ambassadors came to him, he came to Jerusalem; and the tribes of Judah was the first that came to meet the king at the river Jordan. And Shimei, the son of Gera, came with a thousand men, who brought 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 tribes 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 Judah saluted him. Shimei also came upon the bridge, and took hold of the bridge to pull David down, for he knew what he had offended at, 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 sparingly repented of his former sins; and that the king was come to forgive all of them that were with him, and to bring into his presence, and to do justice to them all._F3

* F3 Since David was now in Mahanaim, and in the open country, which was not as yet inhabited, it seems they had not built the highest of any part of the wall, and since our other copies say, he went up to the chamber over the gate, or hall of the king, I think we must correct our present reading in Josephus, and for sicut should read gate, i.e. instead of the highest part of the city, should render gate of the palace. This is the same as what we have in 2 Sam. xix. 5, and what we find in Josh. x. 38, where Absalom presently in Joeschullas, as well as in our other copies, 2 Sam. xix. 5, sitting as before in the gate of the city.
reign over me?" But David turned himself to him, and said, "Will ye never leave off, ye son of Zeruiah? Do not you, I pray, raise new troubles and seditions among us, now the former are over; for I would not have you ignorant that this day begin my reign, and therefore swear to remit all offenders their punishments, and not to smallevan) on any one that has sinned. Be thou therefore, (said he,) O Shimée, of good courage, and do not at all fear being put to death, for he was worshipped him, and went on before him.

3. Mephiboseth also, Saul's grandson, met David, clothed in a sodalis garment, and having his hair thick and neglected: for after David was &lt;&lt;and he was brought up by his nurses, who had polished 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. Before he had been upbraided to be lacking by Ziba his steward. When he had saluted the king, and worshipped him, the king began to ask him, "Why did he not go out of Jerusalem with him, and accompany him during his flight?" But he, humbly respecting the sin that was owing to Ziba; because when he was ordered to get things ready for his going out with him, he took no care of it, but regarded him no more than if he had been a slave; and indeed, had I had not regard to him, the king would have slain thee, for I could then have made use of them in my flight: but this is not all the injury that Ziba has done me, as to my duty to thee, my lord and my master, but he hath calumniated me before thee, and told lies about me of my own invention; but I know thy mind will not admit of such calumnies, but is righteous disposed, and a lover of truth, which it is also the will of God above that all things should be true; and the greatest danger of suffering by my grandfathers, and when, on that account, our whole family might justly have been destroyed, thou wast moderate and merciful, and didst then especially forget all the injuries, when, if thou hadst remembered them, thou hadst the power of punishing us for them; but thou hast judged me to be thy friend, and hast set me every day at thine own table, nor have I wanted any thing which one could wish, nor to be in a situation where with thee, could have expected." When he said this, David resolved neither to punish Mephiboseth, nor to condemn Ziba, as having belied his master; but said to him, the king had [behind] his heart, that he did not come along with him, so he [now] promised to forgive him, and ordered that the one half of his estate should be restored to him. Whereupon Mephiboseth said, "May, let Ziba take all; it suffices me that thou hast recovered thy kingdom."

4. But David desired Barr平时, 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 Bar平时 was not satisfied with what he had entertained him to excuse him from attendance on him; and said, That "his age was too great to enjoy the pleasures [of a court], since he was fourscore years old; and was therefore making provision for his death and burial; so he desired him to gratify him in this request, and dismiss him, for he had no reliach for his meat or his drink by reason of his age; and that his cars were too much shut up to bear the sound of the melody of other musical instruments, such as those that live with kings delight in." When he entreated for this so earnestly, the king said, "I dismiss thee, but thou shalt great me thy son Chilam, and I will give thee all manner of good things." So Bar平时 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 half the people of Israel, and the whole tribe of Judah.

5. Now the principal men of the country came to Gilgal, and complained of the charge of Judah, that they had come to him in a private manner, whereas they ought all conjointly, and with one and the same intention, to have given him the meeting. But the rulers of the tribe of Dan were not to be disappased, if they had been prevented by them; for said they, "We are David's kinsmen, and on that account we the rather took care of him, and loved him, and so came first to him; yet had we not, if he had not received any gifts from him, which might give them who came last any meanness." 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 stagger you, when you call the king your kinsman alone, whereas he hath received from God the power over all of us in common, ought to be esteemed a kinsman to us, for the whole of us have eleven parts in him; and you but one part: we also are elder than you; wherefore you have not done justly in coming to the king in this private and concealed manner."

6. While these rulers were thus disputing one another, another, a certain wicked man who took a pleasure in seditions practices, (his name was Sheba, the son of Bichri, of the tribe of Benjamin,) stood up in the midst of the multitude, and cried aloud, and spoke to the king, and said, "I have 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 they all left David, and followed him; the tribe of Benjamin and joined him, and settled him in his royal palace at Jerusalem. But as for his concubines, with whom Absalom his son had accommodated, truly he removed them to another house: and offered 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 Joseph before had; and commanded him to gather together out of the tribe of Judah as great an army as he could, and to come to him within three days that he might deliver to him his entire army, and might send him to fight against Sheba the son of Bichri, the general of the host that had 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 not be able to procure some other beast for the same purpose."
ANTIOCHITIES OF THE JEWS.

should: make any delay in this affair of Sheba, lest he get a numerous army about him, and be the occasion of greater mischief, and hurt our affairs more than did Absalom himself; do not thou, therefore, wait any longer, but take such forces as thou hast at hand, and that (old body) of six hundred men, and thy brother Abishai with thee, and pursue after our enemy, and endeavor to fight him wherever thou canst overtake him. Make haste to prevent him, lest he seize upon some fenced cities, and cause us great labor and pains before we take him.”

7. So Joab resolved to make no delay, but taking with him his brother, and those six hundred men, and giving orders that the king and all of the army, which was at Jerusalem should follow him, he marched with great speed against Sheba; and when he came to Gibeah, which is a village forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, Amasa brought him news that the king was come to Jerusalem, 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 revenge, afforded him occasion to refrain from it, for he was a paragon of men. Joab suppressed that 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 dead, the king and all the multitude came running 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 that was very remote from the road, and thence removed 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-machach; hereupon Joab went thither, and set about it with his army, and cast up a bank round it, and ordered his soldiers to undermine the walls, and to overthrow them; and since the people in the city did not admit him, he was greatly diseased at this enterprise.

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, ascended upon the wall, and by means of the armed men called for Joab; and when he came near her, she began to say, that “God ordained kings and generals of armies that they might cut off the enemies of the Hebrews, and introduce a universal peace among them; but thou art endeavoring to raise and determine the troubles of the Israelites, which hath been guilty of no offense.” But he replied, “God continue to be merciful unto me: I am disposed to avoid killing all one of the people. A much less would I destroy such a city as this: and if they will deliver me up Sheba, the son of Bichri, who hath rebelled against the king, I will leave off the siege and withdraw the army from the place.”

Now as soon as the woman heard what Joab said she desired him to intermit the siege for a little while, for that 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 as resolved as he in punishing us 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? Will you think to make your king afraid of you, and strong 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 !garrisons sounded a retreat, and raised the siege, and when it was come to Jerusalem, he again appointed to be general of all the people. The king also constituted Benaijah captain of the guards and of the six hundred men. He also set up Achitob and Achiasah over the records. He made Sheva the scribe, and appointed Zadok and Abiathar the high priests.

CHAP. XII.

How the Hebrews were delivered from a Famine, when the Gibonites had caused Punishment to be inflicted for those of them that had been slain, at what great Acliition the king was formed against the Philistines by David, and the men of Valor 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 it, that he might be found for that dissembler. And then the prophets answered, that God would have the Gibonites avenged, whom Saul the king was so well as a betrayal to slaughter, and had not observed the oath which the king 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 Gibonites should desire, he promised that he would be reconciled to them, and free the multitude from their miseries. As soon, therefore, as the king understood that this it which God sought, he sent for the Gibonites, and asked them, What it was that made them and what they desired to have seven sons of Saul delivered to them, to be punished, he delivered them up, but spared Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan. So when the Gibonites had received the answer which they desired, and desired that 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 after, the king made war against the Philistines; 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 armor bearer, the son of Achish, the son of Ahithophel, 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 chain work and a sword. He turned back, and ran violently to slay [David] their enemy. His sword was so sharp that he was quite tired out with labor; but Abishai, Joab’s brother, appeared on the sudden, protected the king with his shield, as he lay down, and slew the enemy. Now the multitude were very uneasy, and some feared the king’s life, and that he was very near to be slain; and the rulers made him swear that he would no more go out with them to battle, lest he should come to some great misfortune by his courage and boldness, and thereby deprive the people of the life which God 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 Gaza, he rose to his feet, and the field on which he was standing was one of David's most courageous actions. He beheld himself so as to deserve great commendation; for he knew many of those that bragged they were the posterity of the giants, and were the men that had fallen upon the mountains and pursued them; and at that time won a surprising and a famous victory, while Eleazar slew the men, and the multitude followed and spoiled their dead bodies. The third was Abinadab, the son of Sheba, the son of the Philistines, and slew him, and put the rest 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 a body of men, and did not know that the man who 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 the camp of the Philistines, not at several times, but for a whole day, consumed songs and hymns to God of several sorts of metre; some of 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 viol was an instrument of ten strings, it was played upon with a bow; the psaltery was played upon by the fingers; the cymbals were broad and large instruments, and were made of brass. And so much shall suffice to be spoken by us about these instruments, that the readers may not be wearied or fatigued with their nature, or modes, or names.

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 thirty-eight; of five of whom I will only relate the name. Eleazar, Abinadab, and Jonathæ, three of whom did make manifest the virtues of the others also; for these were powerful enough to subdue countries, and conquer great nations. First, therefore, was Eleazar, the son of Achim, who frequently was used by the command of King David, and did not leave off fighting till he be overthrown one hundred of them. After him was Eleazar.
CHAP. XIII.

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

1. Now king David was desirous to know how many ten thousands were of the people, and 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 one. Accordingly he commanded Joab, the captain of his host, to go and number the multitude; but when he said there was no necessity for such a numberation, he was not persuaded (to counteract it), but he enrolled all the nation, and went about the numbering of the Hebrews immediately. 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 were, and returned to Jerusalem to the king, after nine months and twenty days; and he gave in to the king the number of the people, without the tribe of Benjamin, for he had not yet numbered it. But Joab thought that he should be rewarded for his having sinned against God. Now the number of the rest of the Israelites was nine hundred thousand men, who were able to bear arms and go to war; but the tribe of Judah, by itself, was four hundred thousand men.

2. Now when the prophets had signified to David that God was angry at him, he began to entreat him, and to desire he would be merciful to his sin. But God sent no prophet than the prophet to him, 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 he would have three years of war, and be destroyed 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, the king showed what he would do; he would go to God; he was turned with himself, that in case he should ask for famine, he would appear to do it for others, and without danger to himself, since he had a great deal of corn hoarded up, but to the harm of others; but if he should choose to be overwhelmed by his enemies for three months, he would appear to have chosen war, because he had valiant men about him, and strongholds, and that, therefore he should choose the one which then was the best. To which Joab, the captain of the host, replied, that the distemper which is common to kings and to their subjects, and in which the fear is equal on all sides; and said this beforehand, that "it was much better to fall into the hands of God than into the hands 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 die after one and the same manner, nor so that it was a uniform and equal calamity. Now the miserable disease was one indeed, but it carried them off by ten thousand causes and occasions, which those that were afflicted could not understand; for one died upon the neck of another, and another upon the hair of another; before they were aware, and brought them to their end suddenly; some giving up the ghost immediately with very great pains and utmost grief, and some were worn away by the dis- terpence of the disease, and some went to meeting to be buried, but as soon as ever they fell, were entirely macerated; some were choked, and greatly lamented their case, as being also stricken with a sudden disease. Some there were, who, as they were burying a relation, fell down dead, without finishing the rites of the funeral. Now there perished of this disease, which began with the morning and lasted till the hour of dinner, seventy thousand vir- tuous persons; and when David, lifting up his hand over Jerusalem, as sending this terrible judgment upon it. But David had put on sackcloth, and lay upon the ground, entreatmg God, and begging that the distemper might now cease and be satisfied with those that had already perished. And when the king looked up into the air, and saw the angel carried along thereby unto Jerusalem, with his sword drawn, he said to God, that "he might justly be destroyed for the pestilence that had broken out in his land, and he wished that all the sheep ought to be preserved, as not having sinned at all; and he implored God that he would send his wrath upon him, and upon all his family, but spare the people."

4. But when his supplication, he caused the pestilence to cease; and sent God 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 the sacrifice. When David heard that he did not neglect his duty; but made haste to the seeming to me the principal character of noblemindedness and of wisdom: for thus Josephus for the great plague mentioned in this chapter: "When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel, after their numbers, and thou givest a ransom for his soul unto the Lord, when thou numberest them, that there be no plague amongst them when thou numberest them."

The words of God by Moses, Exod. xxx, 12, sufficiently justify the king herein hereafter, and Josephus forgets the great plague mentioned in this chapter: "When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel, after their numbers, and thou givest a ransom for his soul unto the Lord, when thou numberest them, that there be no plague amongst them when thou numberest them." When Joab, the captain of the host, indeed said, and when the Sanhedrins neglect of executing this law at this denomination excuse the people, who ought still to have brought their bounders seven thousand of a shekel with them, when they came to be numbered. The great reason why nations are so constantly punished by and with their kings and governors in this, that they are most often commanded to put these in their neglect or disobedience to the divine laws, and suffer these displeased laws to go into disuse or contempt, in order to please those wicked and ungodly men; and that they submit to several wicked political laws and commands of those kings and governors, instead of the righteous laws of God, which all mankind ought ever to obey, let their kings and governors any what they please to the contrary: this preference of human before Divine laws.
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, "Wherefore is my locust come to his threshing-floor?" But king David answered, "I have taken 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 place, and one ox for a burst-offering; and he bought of Araunah the threshing-floor, that he might therein build an altar to God, and offer a sacrifice. But the king made an answer, that he took his generosity and magnanimity kindly, and accepted his good will, but he desired him to give 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 divine service, and brought a burnt-offering, and offered peace-offerings also. With these God was pacified, and became gracious to them again. Now it happened, that Abraham came and offered his son Isaac for a burst-offering, that was before their time, but then when the time 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 God was pleased with the burnt-offering and the peace-offerings, 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. Whereof, he uttered many an appetizing to what was to be done afterward; 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.

CHAPTER XIV.

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

1. AFTER the delivery of this prophecy, the king commanded the strangers to be numbered; and they were found to be one hundred and eighty thousand men and maidens, and the men were one hundred thousand in score thousand to be bearers of stone, and the rest of the multitude to carry the stones, and of them he set over the workmen three thousand and five hundred. He also prepared a great quantity of iron and brass for the work, with many (and those exceeding large) cedar trees; the Tyrians and Sidonians sending them to him, for he had sent to them for a supply of those trees. And he told his friends that these things were now prepared, that he might gather materials ready for the building of the temple to his son, who was to reign after him, and that he might not have them to seek then, when he was very young, and by reason of his age, unskilful in such matters, but might have them lying by him, and so might the more readily complete the work.

2. So David called his son Solomon, and charged him, when he had received the kingdom, to build him a temple; and said, "I was willing to build God a temple myself, but he prohibited me, because I was polluted with blood and war: but he hath foretold, that Solomon, my youngest son, should build him a temple, and should be called by that name; over whom he hath promised to take the like care, as a father takes over his sons; and that he would make the country of the Hebrews happy under him, and that, not only in other respects, but by giving it peace and freedom from wars, and from internal seditions, which are the greatest of all blessings. Since, therefore, (as he himself before thou wast born, endeavor to render thyself worthy of this his providence, as in other instances, so particularly in being religious, and righteous, and courageous. Keep thy also his commands, and his laws, which he hath given us by Moses, and do not permit others to break them. Be zealous also to dedicate the temple of God, which he hath chosen to be built unto himself, under thee; for the vastness of the work, nor set about it timorously, for I will make all things ready before I die; and take notice, that there are already ten thousand talents of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver, collected together. I have also laid together brass and iron without number, and an immense quantity of timber and of stones. Moreover, thou hast many thousand stone cutters and carpenters; and if thou shalt want any thing farther, do thou add to them of thy own of these. Wherefore, if thou performest this work, thou wilt be acceptable to God, and have him for thy patron." David also farther exhorted the rulers of the people to assist his son in this building, and said to them, that when they should be free from all their misfortunes, for that they by this means should enjoy, instead of them, peace, and a happy settlement, with which blessings God rewards such as are religious and righteous. He also gave orders, that when the temple should be once built, they should put the ark therein, with the holy vessels; and he assured them, that they ought to have had a temple longer, if the fathers of the nation had not been negligent of God's commands, who had given it in charge that when they had got the possession of this land, they should build him a temple. Thus did David discourse to the governors and to his son.

3. David was now in years, and his body, by length of time, was become cold, and benumbed, insomuch that he could get no heat by covering himself with many clothes; and when the physicians came to him, they agreed, that he was sick of a disease, 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 communicate warmth to him, for he was so old that he could not know her as a husband knew his wife. But of this woman we shall speak more presently.

4. Now the fourth son of David was a beautiful young man, and tall, born to him of Haggith his wife. He was named Adonijah, and was in his disposition like another, and exalted himself on his own self 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. When his father saw this, he did not condemn him, nor restrain him from his purpose, nor did he go so far as to ask wherefore he did so? Now Adonijah had for particularly in 1 Chron. xxxii. 28, 29; and xxii. 1: to which places I refer the reader.

* Of the quantity of gold and silver expended in the building of Solomon's temple, and whence it arose, see the description of the temple, chap. xil.
his assistants, Joab the captain of the army, and Abiathar the high priest; and the only persons that opposed him were Zadok the high priest, and the prophet Nathan, and Benaiah, who was captain of the guards, and Shimel, David's friend, with all the other mighty men. Now Abiathar had prepared a supper of the city, on the banks of the river Sitron, near the fountain that was in the king's paradise, and had invited all his brethren except Solomon, and he had taken with him Joab the captain of the army, and the man of the tribe of Judah; but had invited to the feast neither 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 reported to Bathsheba, the wife of Solomon: her 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, whatever he had said or done. Accordingly, Bathsheba agreed with Nathan, and went in 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. When the king had hearing what Adonijah had made, and who they were whom he had invited; Abiathar, the high priest, and Joab the general, and David's sons, excepting Solomon, his chief friend. She also said, "That all the people had their eyes on him, to know whom he would choose for their king." She desired him also to consider how, after his death, Adonijah, if he were king, would slay her son Solomon.  

5. Now as Bathsheba was speaking, the keeper of the king's chambers told him, that Nathan desired to see him. And when the king had commanded that he should be admitted, he came in, and asked him, whether he had ordained Adonijah to be king, and delivered the government to him or not? for that he had made a splendid supper, and invited all his sons, except Solomon, as the king had invited Joab the captain of his host, [1] and Abiathar the high priest, who were feasting with applause, and many joyful sounds of instruments, and wish that his kingdom may last forever: but he hath not invited me, nor Zadok the high priest, nor Benaiah the captain of the guards; and when they were come, he ordered them to take with them Nathan and Benaiah, and the 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 Gibon, and to anoint him there with the holy oil, and to make him king.  

This was more than 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 for ever," that all the people might 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 Solomon had prayed to God to be favorable to Solomon, without any delay they set Solomon upon the mule, and brought him out of the city to the fountain, and anointed him with oil, and brought him to the royal throne, with all the ceremonies and wishes that his kingdom might continue a long time: and when they had introduced him into the king's house, they set him upon the throne. Whereupon all the people bestowed them a fit coronation, dancing, and delighting themselves with musical pipes, till both the earth and the air echoed with the multitudes of the instruments of music.  

6. And when David perceived this noise, they were in disorder: and Joab the captain of the host said, "He was not pleased with these echoes, and the sound of these trumpets." And when supper was set before them, nobody tasted of it, but they were all very thoughtful what would be the matter. Then Jonathan, the son of Abiathar the high priest came running to them; and when Adonijah saw the young man gladly, and said to him that he had invited him, he was much comforted. For the whole matter 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 sent to Nathan, and to Solomon, and to Joab, and to all his friends, "Tell Solomon that he has become a supplicant to God, and took hold of the horns of the altar, which were prominent. It was also told Solomon that he had done so; and that he desired all the secrets of the priest and king to be told him, he would not remember the injury he had done, and not inflict any severe punishment for it. Solomon answered very mildly and prudently, that "he forgave him his offence;" but said that the people of the tribe of Levi, he had found out to be very industrious for new innovations, that he would be the author of his own punishment." So he sent to him, and raised him up from the place of his supplication. And when he came 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 eldest son to the throne, and the most proper persons to be his followers and successors, going 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 a certain part to the work of the house of God, 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 already. He divided them also into courses; and when he had separated the priests from them, he found of these priests twenty-four courses, sixteen of the Levites of Eleazar, and eight of that of Asaph: and he ordained that one course should minister to God eight days from Sabbath to Sabbath. And thus were the courses distributed by lot, in the presence of David, and Zadok and Abiathar the high and the captain of the priests, and concerning the course 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 sons of Levi; and when they cast lots, they came up in the same manner for their courses of eight days. He also honored the posterity of Moses, and made them the keepers of the treasuries of God, and of the donations which the kings dedicated. He also ordained, 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 wait on Solomon, by thirty days at a time, from the first day till the last, with the captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds. He also set rulers over every part, such as he knew to be good and righteous men. He set others also to take charge of the treasuries, and of the villages, and of the fields, and of the beasts, whose names I do not record. But as for David when he had ordered all these offices, after the manner before mentioned, he called the rulers of the Hebrews, and their heads of tribes, and the officers over the several divisions, and said unto them: Come near, and hear the word of the Lord God with a loud voice, and with 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 intend to build a house for God, and prepared a large quantity of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver, but God prohibited me by the prophet Nathan, because of the wars I had on your account, and because my right hand was pestered by the wars, and I could not but be commanded that my son, who was to succeed me in the kingdom, should build a temple for him. Now, therefore, since you know that of the twelve sons whom Jacob our forfather had, Judah was the most beloved, and was offered before my six brethren, and received the government from God, and that none of them were uneasy at it, so do I also desire that my sons be not audacious one against another; now Solomon, therefore, is the most beloved, and he will build him cheerfully for their lord, as knowing that God hath chosen him: for it is not a grievous thing to obey even a foreigner as a ruler, if it be God's will. For then it is fit to rejoice that he hath obtained that dignity, since the rest partake of it with him. And I pray that the promises of God may be fulfilled; and that this happiness which he hath promised to bestow upon king Solomon, may comfort you all for all time to come. And these promises, O son, will be firm, and come to a happy end, if thou showest thyself to be a religious and a righteous man, and an observer of the laws of the king, but if not, expect adversity upon thy disobedience to them." 9. Now when the king had said this, he left off, but gave the description and pattern of the building of the temple in the sight of them all, to Solomon and his accolytes, inferior and superior, how many they were to be, and how large in height and in breadth; as also he determined the weight of the golden and silver vessels; moreover, he earnestly exhorted them with his words, to use the utmost alacrity about the work; he exhorted the rulers also, and particularly the tribe of Levi, to assist him, both because of his youth, and because God had chosen him to take care of the building of the temple, and of the government of the kingdom. He also declared to them that the work would be easy, and not very laborious to them, because he had prepared for it many talents of gold, and hundreds of silver vessels, and great many carpenters and stonemasons, and a large quantity of emeralds, and all sorts of precious stones: and he said, that even now he would give the proper goods of his own dominion to fill up the remaining talents of pure gold, and the most holy place, and for the chariot of God, the cherubims, which are

*David is here greatly blamed by some for recommending Joab and Shimel to be punished by Solomon, if he could find a proper occasion, after he had borne him a great love; but they were men who had committed the other entirely, which Solomon executed accordingly: yet I cannot discern any fault either in David or 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 five thousand talents, and ten thousand drachmas, 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 bequeathed it to be put among the treasures; of which Jachiel one of the sons of the Levites was the chief. 10. Upon this occasion all the people rejoiced, as in particular did David, when he saw the zeal and forward ambition of the rulers and the priests, and of all the rest; and he began to sing a song to praise God with a loud voice, to haveward 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 intend to build a house for God, and prepared a large quantity of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver, but God prohibited me by the prophet Nathan, because of the wars I had on your account, and because my right hand was pestered by the wars, and I could not but be commanded that my son, who was to succeed me in the kingdom, should build a temple for him. Now, therefore, since you know that of the twelve sons whom Jacob our forfather had, Judah was the most beloved, and was offered before my six brethren, and received the government from God, and that none of them were uneasy at it, so do I also desire that my sons be not audacious one against another; now Solomon, therefore, is the most beloved, and he will build him cheerfully for their lord, as knowing that God hath chosen him: for it is not a grievous thing to obey even a foreigner as a ruler, if it be God's will. For then it is fit to rejoice that he hath obtained that dignity, since the rest partake of it with him. And I pray that the promises of God may be fulfilled; and that this happiness which he hath promised to bestow upon king Solomon, may comfort you all for all time to come. And these promises, O son, will be firm, and come to a happy end, if thou showest thyself to be a religious and a righteous man, and an observer of the laws of the king, but if not, expect adversity upon thy disobedience to them." 9. Now when the king had said this, he left off, but gave the description and pattern of the building of the temple in the sight of them all, to Solomon and his accolytes, inferior and superior, how many they were to be, and how large in height and in breadth; as also he determined the weight of the golden and silver vessels; moreover, he earnestly exhorted them with his words, to use the utmost alacrity about the work; he exhorted the rulers also, and particularly the tribe of Levi, to assist him, both because of his youth, and because God had chosen him to take care of the building of the temple, and of the government of the kingdom. He also declared to them that the work would be easy, and not very laborious to them, because he had prepared for it many talents of gold, and hundreds of silver vessels, and great many carpenters and stonemasons, and a large quantity of emeralds, and all sorts of precious stones: and he said, that even now he would give the proper goods of his own dominion to fill up the remaining talents of pure gold, and the most holy place, and for the chariot of God, the cherubims, which are

§ 1. A LITTLE afterward David also fell into a distemper, by reason of his age; and perceiving that he was near to death, he called his son Solomon, and discoursed to him thus: "I am now, O my son, going to be endued with a body 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. On which account I exhort thee, while I am still alive, though already very near to death, in the same manner as I have formerly said in my advice to thee, to be righteous 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 favor nor flattery allow any lust or other passion to weigh with thee, to disregard them; for if thou transgress his laws, thou wilt lose the favor of God, and thou wilt turn away his providence from thee in all things; but if thou behave thyself so as it behooves thee, and as I exhort thee, thou wilt preserve our kingdom to our family; our whole house will bear rule over the Hebrews, but we ourselves, for all ages. Be thou also mindful of the transgressions of Joab, the captain of the
BOOK VIII.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-THREE YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF DAVID TO THE DEATH OF ABIAH.

CHAP. 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 people, according to God's will: when he sat upon the throne, the whole body of the people manifestly and sincerely honours 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 saluted her with great civility; and when she asked him, whether he came to her as desiring her assistance in any thing or not, and bade him tell her if that were the case, for that she would cheerfully afford it him; he began to say, that "she knew herself that the kingdom was his, both on 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 pleased with the present settlement, but he desired her to be a means of obtaining a favor from his brother to him, and to persuade him not to allow it; he carried this petition with so much address, that she could not but succour him, and so he was set on the throne, and gave him the kingdom.

3. Solomon also was good, and kept the law of the Lord. And the house of David was a servile to that time, and the kingdom was very large, and the word of the Lord was in the midst of them, and they were prosperous in all their works. Solomon also was a great prince in the land of Israel, being 35 years old, and in the first year of his reign, he had more than 10,000 men in his army, and more than 10,000 men in his household; and he was a king in the midst of the people, and was a prince in the land of Israel. Solomon was also a prince in the land of Israel, being 35 years old, and in the first year of his reign, he had more than 10,000 men in his army, and more than 10,000 men in his household; and he was a king in the midst of the people, and was a prince in the land of Israel.

4. Solomon was also a prince in the land of Israel, being 35 years old, and in the first year of his reign, he had more than 10,000 men in his army, and more than 10,000 men in his household; and he was a king in the midst of the people, and was a prince in the land of Israel. Solomon was also a prince in the land of Israel, being 35 years old, and in the first year of his reign, he had more than 10,000 men in his army, and more than 10,000 men in his household; and he was a king in the midst of the people, and was a prince in the land of Israel.

5. Solomon was also a prince in the land of Israel, being 35 years old, and in the first year of his reign, he had more than 10,000 men in his army, and more than 10,000 men in his household; and he was a king in the midst of the people, and was a prince in the land of Israel. Solomon was also a prince in the land of Israel, being 35 years old, and in the first year of his reign, he had more than 10,000 men in his army, and more than 10,000 men in his household; and he was a king in the midst of the people, and was a prince in the land of Israel.
BOOK VIII.—CHAP. II.

he should ask, and complained that she did not know her dead; nor could he obtain what she desired, so she treated him to grant that his brother Adonijah might marry Abishag.

3. But the king was greatly offended at these words, and sent for Abiathar, the high priest, and said, "Adonijah aimed at great things, and that he wondered that she did not desire him to yield up the kingdom to him, as to his elder brother, since she desired that he might marry Abishag, and that which belong to him, David, as the king of the host, and Abiathar the priest." So he called to Benaiath, the captain of the guards, and ordered him to slay his brother Adonijah. He also called for Abiathar the priest, and said to him, "I will not put thee to death, because of those other hardships which thou hast endured with my father, and because of the ark which thou hast borne along with me, but I inflict this following punishment upon thee, because thou art among Adonijah's followers, and not of his party. Do not thou continue here, nor come any more into my sight, but go to thine own town, and live on thy own fields, and there abide all thy life: for now thou canst get nothing but just that thou shouldst retain thy dignity any longer." For the forementioned cause therefore it was, that the house of Ithamar was deprived of the sacred altar, as God had foretold to Eli, that his son Abiathar should be transferred to the family of Phineas, to Zadok. Now those that were of the family of Phineas, but lived privately during the time that the high priesthood was transferred to the house of Ithamar, (as it frequently Eli was then the first that received it,) were these that follow: Bukk, the son of Abiathar the high priest; his son was Joatham; Joatham's son was Meremoth; Meremoth's son was Arophes; Arophes's son was Abiath; and Abiath's son was Zadok, and was first made high priest in the reign of David.

4. Now when Joab the captain of the host heard of the slaughter of Adonijah, he was greatly afraid, for he was a greater friend to him than to Solomon; and suspecting, not without reason, that he was in danger on account of his favor to Adonijah, he fled to the altar, and supposed he might procure safety thereby to himself, because that had been the custom, when some had been sacrificed upon the altar; but, when some told the king what Joab's supposal was, he sent Benaiath, and commanded him to raise him up from the altar, and bring him to the judgment-seat, in order to make his defense. He, however, feared, yet not for himself, but for his city, which would die there, rather than in another place. And when Benaiath had reported his answer to the king, Solomon commanded him to cut off his head there, and let him take that as a punishment for those two captains of the host whom he had wickedly slain, and to bury his body, that his sins might never leave his family, but that himself and his father, by Joab's death, might be guiltless. And when Benaiath had done what he was sent by Solomon to do unto Joab, he went to Solomon; and Solomon gave him to understand, that he was not to judge the people, as a native, and to execute the judgments of God, and the just judgments that were by mouth of the Lord, according to the law of Moses, and to preside over the whole. And Solomon said unto Solomon, Solomon commanded him to build him a house, and sit at Jerusalem, and attend upon him, and should not have authority to go over member of the brook Cedron; and that if he disobeyed that command, death should be his punishment. He was also commanded to secure to him, that he compelled him to take an oath that he would obey. Accordingly, Shimeai said, that

**\"The execution upon Josiah, as a murderer, by saying him, even when he had taken, or committed, was perfectly against the law of Moses, which enjoineth no punishment of him, but that he should restore to his neighbor to slay him with, shoulst thou take him from mine altar that he die.** Exod. xxi. 14.

5. And Benaiath, the captain of the guards, and the mighty men of the king, gathered themselves unto him, and they reported the king's command, and went with him; and they came to the city of David, and he sat upon the throne in the palace, and all the people of the land, of the elders and the princes, bowed down before the king. And they said, "Thou art the right hand of the Lord our God, and in thy hand is the secret of wisdom and knowledge; for by wisdom thou hast made us to dwell in a city that is built; and on this in such a degree as no other mortal man, neither kings nor ordinary persons, ever had.

CHAP. II.

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

1. Solomon having already settled himself firmly in his kingdom, and having brought his enemies to 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 built before; and those who managed public affairs very peaceably; 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 all with great accuracy, that might have been expected from such as are aged, and of the greatest prudence. He now resolved to go to Hebron, and sacrifice to God upon the 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 honor to God, for as was said above, he thought that the offerings that are generally offered by most men, as long as the greatest worth, and the best gifts of God, "but," said he, "give me, O Lord, a sound mind and a good understanding, whereby I may speak and judge the people; and righteousness." With these petitions God was well pleased; and promised to give him all those things that he had not mentioned in his option, riches, glory, victory over his enemies; and, in the first place, upon this word, "righteousness." This building of the walls of Jerusalem, soon after David's death. Illustrates the conclusion of the 31st Psalm where David prays, build the walls of Jerusalem, they have been built in my time; see chap. vi. sect. 1; and ch. vii. sect. 7; also 1 Kings iv. 13.

P
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

He 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 presently led out of his bed, and when he had worshiped him he returned to Jerusalem; and after he had offered great sacrifices before the tabernacle, he feasted all his own family.

And now 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 light upon my writings may know what a difficult subject it was to determine, and those that are concerned in such matters may take this sagacity of the king for a pattern, that they may the more easily give sentence about such questions:—There were two women who were harlots 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 room: now it came to pass that we both bore a son at the same hour of the same day. And one of them died. And there was this woman that overtook her son, and killed it, and then took my son out of my bosom, and removed him to herself, and as I was asleep she laid her dead son upon him. Now, when in the morning, I was desirous to give the breast; the boy enjoyed the breast that I did not find my own, but saw the woman’s dead child lying by me, for I considered it exactly, and found it so to be. Hence it was that I demanded mine. And when I could not obtain it, I had recourse, my lord, to thy assistance; for since we were alone, and there was nobody there that could convict her, she cares for nothing, but perseveres in the stout denial of the fact." When this was said, the king asked the other woman what she had to say in contradiction of this story? But when she denied that she had done what was charged upon her, and said, that it was her child that was living, and that it was her antagonist’s child that was dead, and when no one could devise what judgment might be given, and the whole court were blind in their understanding, and could not tell how to find out this riddle, the king alone inVent-ed the following way: He ordered that he be bade them bring in both the dead child and the living child; and sent one of his guards, and commanded him to fetch a sword, and draw it, and to take children into the places, that each of the women might have half of a living, and half the dead child. Hereupon all the people privately laughed at the king, as no more than a youth. But in the mean time, she that was the real mother of the living child, cried out, that he should not do so, but deliver the child to the other woman as her own, for she would be satisfied with the life of the child, and with the sight of it, although it were esteemed the other’s child; but the other woman was ready to see the child divided, and was desirous moreover that the first woman should be tormented. When the king understood that both their words proceeded from the truth of their passions, he adjudged the child to that mother, that she saw it, 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 endeavors 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, attended to him as to one that had a divine endowment in his wisdom.

3. Now the confines of his armies, and officers appointed over the whole country, were these: over the lot of Ephraim was Uzia; over the topharship of Bethlem, was Diocleras; Abinadab, the son of Solomon’s day, was over the region of Dora, and the sea-coast, under him; the great plain was under Benaiah, the son of Achillic; he also governed all the country as far as Jordan; Gabbarius ruled over Gilead and Gaul. And the city of Jerusalem was divided into fences cities [of Ogr]. Achinadab managed the affairs of all Galilee, as far as Sidon; and had himself also married a daughter of Solomon, whose name was Basima; Banacates had the sea-coast about Arce; as Shaphat Meiron Tabor, and Carmel, and [the Lower] Galilee, as far as the river Jordan; one man was appointed over all this country; Shimeii was entrusted with the lot of Benjamin; and Gabbarus had the country of the north, and ruled it, and was governor over all, one governor appointed. Now the people of the Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, received a wonderful increase when they betook themselves to husbandry, and the cultivation of their lands, and they were no longer patient of the burden and oppression of the Egyptians, and they were not distracted with wars and troubles, and having besides an abundant fruition of the most desirable liberty, every one was busy in augmenting the 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 Syria, and of the Philippines, and of the region of the sea, and of Egypt, and these collected his tributes of the nations. Now these contributed to the king’s table, and to his supper every day, thirty cori of fine flour, and sixty of meal; as also ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the pasture, and a hundred fat lambs; all these were besides what were taken by hunting, harts and buffaloes, and birds and fishes, which were brought to the king by foreigners day by day. Solomon had also so great a number of horses, and chariots, that they were not to be counted. Now the horses of Solomon were of forty thousand, and besides these he had twelve thousand horsemen, the one half of whom waited upon the king in Jerusalem, and the other were dispersed abroad in all the other districts of the kingdom, and 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; nay, indeed, it is evident that their sagacity was very much inferior to that of the king’s. He also excelled and distinguished himself in wisdom above those who were most eminent among the Hebrews at that time for shrewdness; those I mean were Jeconia and Heman, and Chushathiah, and Darda, the sons of Mahol. He also composed books of odes and songs, a thousand and nre; of parables and similitudes, three thousand; for he day store of all sorts of wines; and yet for all this, I tell you that the gold and silver that he had was not enough, and, he brought in from the traders, that the busonage was heavy up on the people." Neh. vi. 18.

See the whole context, ver. 14—19. Nor did the governor’s business end here; for Solomon, that was in 16B.C. building the walls of Jerusalem, and maintained more than usual, above one hundred and fifty, consider- able men by day, and that before the nation was then very poor, at his own charge also, without laying any burden upon the people at all. Now that which was prepared for me daily was one ox and six choice sheep; also fowls were paired for me, and once in ten
spake a parable upon every sort of tree, from the bayscop to the cedar; and in like manner also about beasts, about all sorts of living creatures, whether upon the earth, or in the sea, or in the air; for he was not acquainted with any of their names; nor omitted a thing which they had described; but described them all like a philosopher, and demonstrated his exquisite knowledge of their several properties. God also enabled him to learn that skill which expels demons, which is a great blessing to man and society. Solomon associated himself with the accumulation of numerous demons, but despised such incantations also by which distempers are alleviated. And he left behind him the manner of using exorcisms, by which they drive away demons, so that they never return; and thus the greatest care is of great assistance to this day: for I have seen a certain man of my own country, whose name was Eleazar, relieving people that were demoniacal, in the presence of Vasenian, and his son, and his captains, and the whole multitude of his soldiers. The manner of the care was this: he put a ring that had a root of one of those sorts mentioned by Solomon, to the nostrils of the demoniac, after which he spoke the words of the demon's god in the name of man: and when the man fell down immediately, he adjured him to return into him no more, making still mention of Solomon, and reciting the incantations which he composed. And when Eleazar was speaking, it was as if he had cut down many and large trees of cedar, and with the skill and wisdom of Solomon was showed very manifestly; for which reason it is that all men may know the vastness of Solomon's art, and that he was beloved of God, and that the extraordinary virtue of his heart, with which this king was endow'd, may not be unknown to any people under the sun; for this reason, I say, it is that we have proceeded to speak of that man.

Moreover, Hiram king of Tyre, when he had heard that Solomon succeeded to his father's kingdom, was very glad of it, for he was a friend of David. So he sent ambassadors to him, and sent him cedar, and pine, and algum trees, and every sort of pleasant wood, and sent happy state of his affairs. Upon which Solomon sent him an epistle. The contents of which here follow:

**Solomon to King Hiram.**

"Know thou that my father had built a temple to God, but was hindered by wars and continual expeditions; for he did not leave off to overthrow his enemies till he made them all subject to tribute. But I, 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 foretold to my father that such a house should be built by me; wherefore I desire thee to send the subjects of thy dominion to Lebanon; and at the same time to mount Lebanon to cut down timber, for the Sidonians are more skillful than our people in cutting of wood. As for wages to the hewers of wood, I will pay whatsoever price thou shalt determine.

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

**Hiram to King Solomon.**

"It is fit to bless God that he hath committed thy father's goings forth and comings in, and to an hundred wise men, and endowed with all virtues. As for myself, I rejoice at the condition thou art in, and will be subservient to thee in all thou sendest to me about; for when by my subjects I have cut down many and large trees of cedar, and of emphasis wood, I will send them to thee, and will order my subjects to make floats of them, and to sail to what place soever of thy country thou shalt desire, and leave them there, after which thy subjects may carry them to Jerusalem; but do thou take care to procure us corn for this 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, insomuch that if any one would know the certainty about them, he may desire of the keepers of the public records of Tyre to show 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 that are not true. Receive men and please them at the same time, then joined to the continent at the present remains of Palaestrya by a neck of land over against Solomon's times, still so called; and the city's fresh water probably was carried by pipes by that neck of land, and that this island was then more inhabited than a peninsula, having villas and in its fields, Esdr. xxvi. 6, and a wall about it, Amos i. 10; and the city was not so great reputation as Sidon for some ages, but that it was attacked both by sea and land by Palmasi and the Sidonians, as Josephus informs us, Antiq. b. ix. chap. xiv. sect. 2; and afterward came to be the metropolis of Phoenicia, and afterward taken and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, according to the numerous scripture prophecies therein relating, Jer. xxx. 16. Esdr. xxxv. 5, xlvii. 4; Ezek. xxv. xxvii. xxviii.

These epistles of Solomon and Hiram are those in 1 Kings v. 3-9; and as enlarged, in 2 Chron. ii. 3-16; both of which are in Esaias.

What Josephus here puts into his copy of Hiram's epistle to Solomon, and repeats afterward, chap. sec. 2 that Tyre was now an island, is not in any of the three books, nor in that that time of Ezra or Esaias; nor is it any other, suppose, than his own conjectural paraphrase; for when I many years ago inquired into this subject, or inquired after any thing, as to the true city, and of the island whereupon it stood, to have been very different at different times. The result of my inquiry, particularly relative to the present war improvements, stands thus. That the best testimonies hereof relating, imply that Palaestrya, or oldest Tyre, was the great city, and that after the city Tyre, situated on the continent, and mentioned in Josh. xix. 28, out of which the Casanites or Pheniacle inhabitants were driven into a large island that lay not far off in the sea by Joshua; that this island was
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 manifest its truth by demonstration and the strongest vouchers.

3. Now, in building Solomon, as soon as this estate from the king of Tyre was brought him, commanded the readiness and good-will he declared therein, and repaid him in what he desired, and sent him yearly twenty thousand curr'i of wheat, and as many baths of oil; now the bath is able to carry about as much as a bucket, and he also gave him the same measure of wine. So the friendly, between Hiram and Solomon hereby increased more and more: and they swore to continue it, that this tribute to be laid on all the people, of thirty thousand laborers, whose work be rendered easy to them by prudently dividing it among them: for he made ten thousand cut timber in mount Lebanon for the Hesbon and call Artemisius; and they rest two 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 after thirty-four months, and with Adonis, who was over this tribute. There were also 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. Of the three hundred and fifty thousand were ruled over the rest. He also enjoined them to cut out large stones for the foundations of the temple, and that they should fit the stones together, so as the mountain was, and so bring them to the city. This was done not only by our own country workmen, but by those workmen whom Hiram sent also.

CHAP. III.

Of the Building of the Temple.

1. Solomon began to build the temple in the fourth year of his reign, on the second month, when he had gathered together all the capable workmen, and the Hebrews Jed, five hundred and ninety-two years after the exodus out of Egypt, but after one thousand and twenty years from Abraham's coming out of Canaan; and after the deluge one thousand four hundred and forty 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 twenty years; and that over that 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 other high and heavy buildings which the king designed to be very ornamental and magnificent; they erected its entire body, quite up to the roof, of white stone: its height was sixty cubits, and its length was the same, and its breadth twenty. There was another building erected over it, equal to it in its measures: so that the entire altitude of the temple was a hundred and twenty cubits. Its front was to the east. As to the length, they built it before the temple, and the length was twenty cubits, and it was so ordered that it might agree with the breadth of the house: and it had twelve cubits in latitude, and its height was raised as high as a hundred and twenty cubits. It is a round about the temple; and of this room, which might include the whole temple, by their closeness one to another, and by their number, and outward position round it. He also made passages through them, that they might have access to the temple: besides, one of these rooms had five cubits in breadth, and the same in length, but in height twenty. Above these there were other rooms, and others.

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 chamber, but he appointed that of forty cubits to be the sanctuary; and when he had cut a door-place, he went in and out without being discovered, 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 embroidered upon it, which were before those doors. He also dedicated for the most secret place, whose breadth was twenty cubits, and length the same, two cherubims of solid gold; the height of each of them was five large interval between one and the other that was over it, and this with double floors, the one of six cubits thickness, and the other was a foot and a half thick; but the raising that of the second, so that the height was raised as high as a hundred and twenty cubits. It is a round about the temple; and of this room, which might include the whole temple, by their closeness one to another, and by their number, and outward position round it. He also made passages through them, that they might have access to the temple: besides, one of these rooms had five cubits in breadth, and the same in length, but in height twenty. Above these there were other rooms, and others.

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cubits: they had each of them two wings stretched 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 most sacred place, and with another the northern wall of their other wings, which joined to each other, were a covering to the ark, which was set between them: but nobody can tell, or even conjecture, what was the shape of these cherubims. He also made down one side of the temple, to the length of a side 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 them he gilded gold plates. And, to say all in one word, he was so skilled in the making of all those things, whether he painted on the internal or external, but what was covered with gold. He also had curtains drawn over these doors in like manner as they were drawn over the inner doors, although the holy place and the porch of the temple had nothing of that sort.

4. Now Solomon sent for an artificer out of Tyre, whose name was Hiram: he was by birth of the tribe of Naphtali, on the mother’s side; (for his father was the son of 

Ur, of the stock of the Leshites.) This man was skilful in all sorts of work; but his chief skill lay in working in gold, in silver, and brass, by whom were made all the mechanical works about the temple. He was also able to teach him, he and his sons, the art of building, and of working with gold, and their circumference twelve cubits, but there was cast with each of their Chapters lily-work that stood upon the pillar, and it was elevated five cubits, round about which there was network into which the lilies were inlaid, and brass, and covered the lily-work. To this also were hung two hundred pomegranates, in two rows: the one of these pillars he set at the entrance of the porch at the right hand, and called it Booz.

5. Solomon also cast a brasen sea, whose figure was that of a hemisphere: this brasen vessel was called a sea, for its largeness, for the lake, and for its feet it had, and the thickness of a palm: its middle part rested on a short pillar, that had ten spirals round it; and that pillar was ten cubits in diameter. There stood another pillar, for the temple, round about which the four winds of heaven, three to each wind, having their hinder parts depressed, that so the hemispherical vessel might rest upon them, which itself was also depressed round about inwardly. Now this one contains the thirty thousand bar Silver.

6. He also made ten brazen bases for so many quadrangular layers; the length of every one of these bases was five cubits, and the breadth four cubits, and the height six cubits. This vessel was partly turned, and was thus contrived: there were four small quadrangular pillars that stood one at each corner, these had the sides of the base fitted to them on each quarter: they were partly turned, and then ordered fitted to support [the laver], upon which was engraved, in one place a lion, and in another place a bull and an eagle. The small pillars had gold; and both agree they were ten cubits high. I suppose the number is here falsely transcribed, and that Josephus wrote ten cubits also.

Levites about the temple. That is, Jerubin and Booz, their height could be no more than eighteen cubits, as here, and 1 Kings xvii. 15; 2 Kings xiv. 17; Jer. iii. 19; these Levites, as is said above, had an interest in the temple; and the true reading in the text contra- vention of all the rules of architecture in the world.

7. The round or cylindrical layers of four cubits in diameter, in which the pillars stood, and eight round pillars about the temple, in which were set the figures, the names of the kings, and the parables; and the twelve standing round the temple, one from the other, and with their feet in the same level, was a very great deal more than these forty baths, which are always assigned them. Where the error lies is hard to say. Perhaps Josephus meant that they were levitical persons, and that they had been corrupted, and he was not able to restore the same animals engraved that were engraved on the sides. The whole work was elevated, and stood upon four wheels, which were also cast, which had also naves and felloses, and were a foot and a half in diameter, and a half cubit high. Any man who threw the spokes of the wheels, how exactly they were turned and united to the sides of the bases, and with what harmony they agreed to the felloses would wonder at them. However, their struc-

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called the Hin and the Assaron, [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 the incense for the little altar, were fifty thousand. The sacerdotal garments, which belonged to the high priest, with the long robes, and the oracle, and the precious stones, were a thousand. But the crowns upon which the sacerdotal persons were crowned, were of gold. The Ark of the Power of God, was only one, and hath remained to this very day. He also made ten thousand sacerdotal garments of fine linen, with purple girdles, for every priest, and two hundred thousand thousand square yards of the best blue, and of the best purple, and of the best scarlet, and of the best fine linen, and of the best goats' hair; which were made of electrum, [the finest brass,] forty thousand. 9. Solomon made all these things for the honor of God, with great variety and magnificence, spurring no cost, but using all possible liberality in all these things, as much as the treasure house he had made of the treasures of God. He also placed a partition round about the temple, which in our tongue we call Gison, but it is called Thiringeos by the Jews, and he raised it up to the height of three cubits: and it was for the exclusion of the multitude from coming into the temple, and showing that it was a place that was free and open only for the priests. He also built about this temple, with its fanes, 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 observant of the laws. But he 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 great valleys with earth, which, on account of their immense depth, could not he looked on, when you bended down to see them, without pausing at their depths, and the temple and the cubes, he made it to be on a level with the top of the mountain, on which the temple was built, and by this means the outmost temple, which was expressly said to be the temple of God itself. He encompassed also this 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 polished in a manner proper for such high roofs; but he made all the doors of this temple of silver.

CHAP. IV. How Solomon removed the Ark into the Temple: how he made Supplication to God, and offered public Sacrifices to him.

1. When king Solomon had finished these works, these large and beautiful buildings, and had laid up his donations in the temple, and all the golden plate on the high priest's forehead, that was in being in the days of Josephus, and a centurion or two at least later, see the note on Antiq. b. lii. ch. v. i. sect. 6. 2. Now Josephus here says, that the floor of the outmost temple, or court of the Gentiles, was with vast labor raised to be even, or of equal height, with the floor of the court of the priests, and was made in a great estimation only, for he and all others agree, that the inner temple, or court of the priests, was a few cubits lower than the middle court of Israel, and much more was the court of the priests elevated several cubits above the outmost court, since the country of Israel was lower than the one or higher than the other.

3. The Septuagint say, "that they prepared timber and stones to build the temple for three years." 1 Kings vi. 10. This in the interval of seven years, and had given a demonstration of his riches and alacrity therefor, inasmuch that any one who saw it would have thought it must have been an immense time ere it could have been finished; and [would be surprising] if it had been finished in so short a time; short, I mean, if compared with the greatness of the work; he also wrote to the rulers and elders of the Hebrews, and ordered all the people to gather themselves together to Jerusalem to celebrate the festival of Shemini ash-erai, and to build, and to remove the ark of God into it; and when this invitation of the whole body of the people to come to Jerusalem was everywhere carried abroad, it was the seventh month before the Ark was removed. There also it is not the Greek, but the Hebrew, surnamed called Thirisi, but by the Macedonians Hyperberetetus. The feast of tabernacles happened to fall at the same time, which was celebrated by the Hebrews as a most holy and most solemn festival. Now so they carried the ark and the tabernacle which Moses had pitched, and all the vessels that were for ministration to the sacrifices of God, and removed them to the temple. 4. The King himself, and all the people and the Levites, accompanied with sacrifices and drink offerings, and the blood of a great number of oblations, and burning an immense quantity of incense, and this till the night. The whole amount of the vessels and vessels about was so full of these odors that it met, in a very agreeable manner, persons at a great distance, and was an indication of God's presence, and, as men's opinions were, of his habituation with them in the temple, not being but a consecrated place, for they did not grow weary, either of singing hymns or of dancing, until they came to the temple; and in this manner did they carry the ark. But when they should transfer it into the most secret and holy places, they set it before the tabernacle, and only those priests that carried it set it between the two cherubim, which, embracing it with their wings, (for so were they framed by the artificer,) covered it as under a tent or a canopy. Now the ark contained nothing else but those two tables of stone that preserved the ten commandments, which God spake to Moses in mount Sinai, and which were engraved upon them; nor was it the candlestick, and table, nor was it there; but there was but one table most sacred place, in the very same places wherein they stood till that time in the tabernacle. So they offered up the daily sacrifices; but only mighty festivities, and solemn feasts, and solemn festivals, and all the rest of the vessels they gathered together, and put them within the temple.

2. Now, as soon as the priests had put all things in order about the ark, and had gone out, there came down a thick cloud, and stood there, and again a gentle manner of light all over the temple; such a cloud was it, as was diffused, and temperate, not such a rough one as we see full of rain in the winter season. This cloud so darkened the place, that one priest could not discern 18, and although neither our present Hebrew copy nor Josephus distinctly name that number of years, yet do both say the building itself did not begin till Solomon's fourth year; and both speak of the preparation of ma- terials, itself after a great interval of time. 5. 1 Kings v. 16; Antiq. b. lii. ch. v. i. sect. 1. There is no reason therefore to alter the Sep- tuagint's number, but we are to suppose three years to have been spent in preparing these materials, or in doing the work thereon in my computation of the expense in building the temple.

6. The solemn removal of the ark from Mount Sinai to Mount Moriah, at the distance of almost three quarters of a mile, confutes that notion of the moder- nists, who are surprised at the very number of steps, as if those two were after a sort one and the same mountain; for which there is, I think very little foundation.
another, but it answer'd to the minds of all a visible image, and glorious splendor of God, having descended into this temple, and having gladly pitched his tabernacle therein. So these men were intent upon this thought. But Solomon thought for what thou hast written, and 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 such a one as thou hast created for the seat of thy glory, that we have not to be the heavens, 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 thee, and thy name, that from thence, when we are in distress, we may send our prayers up into the air, and may constantly believe that thou art present, and art not remote from what is thine own; for neither when thou seest all things, and hearest all things, art thou not; but first thou dost leave the care of all men, but rather, thou art very near to them all, and especially thou art present to those that address themselves to thee. When he had thus solemnly confessed himself to God, he converted his discourse to the multitude, and strongly represented the power and providence of God to them; how he had showed all things from the ground, from the beginning, even to this day, to be king; how he had cleared away all that which might be his father, as many of those things as had already come to pass, and the rest would certainly come to pass hereafter; and how he had given him his name, and told to David what he should be called before his name was converted, before he was born, and before he was be king after his father's death he should build him a temple, which, since they saw accomplished according to his prediction, he required them to bless God, and by believing him, from the sight of that temple, to have a confidence in the coming out of the air, and rushed with violence upon the altar, in the sight of all, and caught hold of and consumed the sacrifices. Now, when this divine appearance was seen, the people supposed it to be a sacrifice made in the temple, and were pleased with it, and fell down upon the ground and worshipped. Upon which the king began to bless God, and exhor ted the multitude to do the same, as now having sufficient indications of God's favorable disposition to them; and to pray that they might always have the like indications from him, and that he would preserve in them a mind pure from all wickedness, in righteousness and in true worship. And that we might continue in the observation of those precepts which God had given them by Moses, because by that means the Hebrew nation would be happy, and indeed the nation had always been undivided and unconfused. He exhorted them also to be mindful, that by what methods they had attained their present good things, by the same they must preserve 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 way of preserving them for the time to come, for that it was not so great a thing for men to wish what which they want, as to preserve what they have acquired, and to be guilty of no sin, whereby it may be hurt. So when the king had spoken thus to the multitude, he dismissed the congregation, but not till he had completed his obligations, both for himself and for the Hebrews, insomuch that he sacrificed twenty and two thousand oxen, and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep; for it was that the greater part of the sacrifices, and all the Hebrews, with their wives and children, feasted therein; nay, besides this, the king then observed splendidly and magnificently the feast which is called the Feast of Tabernacles, before the temple, for twice seven days; and he then feasted together with all the people."
day abroad, induced her to come to him, she being desirous to be satisfied by her own experience, and not by a bare hearing; (for reports thus heard are likely enough to comply with a false opinion, while they wholly depend on the credit given to them.) But he replied, that in the presence of God, and before the witnesses that were with him, I answer also that Herodotus of Halicarnassus, when he said there were three hundred and thirty kings of Egypt after Meneos, who built Memphis, did therefore not tell us their names, because they were not called Pharaohs; for when after their death there was a queen reigning, he calls her by her name Nicaulea, as thereby declaring, that while the kings were of the male line, and so admitted of the same name, while a woman did not adopt the same, he did therefore set down that her name which she could not naturally have. As for myself, I have discovered from our own books, that after Pharaoh, the father-in-law of Solomon, no other king of Egypt was of our name; and that was after that time when the forementioned queen of Egypt and Ethiopia came to Solomon, concerning whom we shall inform the reader presently; but I have now of another of these things, that I may prove that our books and those of the Egyptians agree together in many things.

3. But king Solomon subdued to himself the remnant of the Canaanites that had not before submitted to him; those 1 that dwelled in mount Lebanon, and as far as the city of Hamath; and ordered them to pay tribute. He also chose out of them every year such as were to serve him in his meanest offices, and to do his domestic duties; and distributed the same from none of the Hebrews were servants [in such low employments:] nor was it reasonable, that when God had brought so many nations under their power, they should depress their own people to such a degree of life, rather than those nations: while all the Israelites were concerned in warlike affairs, and were in armor; and were set over the chariots and the horses, rather than leading the life of slaves. He appointed them five hundred and fifty rulers over those Canaanites who were reduced to such domestic slavery, who received the entire care of them from the king, and instructed them in those labors and operations that were most distant.

4. Moreover, the king built many ships in the Egyptian Bay of the Red Sea, in a certain place called Ezion-geber: it is now called Berenice, and is not far from the city of Eloth. 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 command, that they should replenish with his own stores and supplies, and go and trade to the land that was of old called Ophir, but now the Aurea Chersonesus, which belongs to India, to fetch him gold. And when they had gathered four hundred talents together, they returned to the king again.

5. There was then a woman queen of Egypt and Ethiopia: she was inquisitive in philosophy, and one that on other accounts also was to be admired. She arrived at this wise, and prudent, and prudent; and when she heard the name of Solomon, she had a great mind to see him, and the reports that went every

* That the queen of Sheba was a queen of Sheba in South Arabia, and not of Egypt and Ethiopia, as Josephus says them, is, I suppose, now generally agreed. And since Sheba is well known to be a country near the sea in the south of Arabia Felix, which lay south from Judaea, and that was in the direction of our favourite carries all this queen, the queen of the south, and says she came from the utmost parts of the earth, Matt. xiii. 48; Luke xii. 37; which description agrees better in this Arabia than to Egypt and Ethiopia, there is little occasion for doubting in this matter.

6. Now when the queen had thus demonstrated in words how deeply the king had affected her, her disposition was known by certain presents, for she gave him twenty talents of gold, and as many talents of silver, and gold, and pure gold, and all sorts of precious things (They say also that we possess the root of that balsam which our country still bears by this word Ethiopie, there is little occasion for doubting in this matter.

7. Thus the name Josephus for supposing, that the balsam tree might be first brought out of Arabia, or Egypt, or Ethiopia, into Judea, by this queen of Sheba, since several have said that of old time it grew in the country of Egypt, and that of Ethiopia, but Judea; yet it is notoriously false that this balsam was peculiar to Judea, for both Egypt and Arabia, and many other countries have it, which last was
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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 [propoused 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 other riddles, which, 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 Canaanites into Subjection, and entangled Egypt and Queen of Sheba.

¶ 1. Now when the king saw that the walls of Jerusalem stood in need of being better secured, and made stronger (for he thought the walls that encompassed Jerusalem ought to correspond to the dignity of the city,) he both repaired them, and made them bigger, deep journeys for upon them; he also built cities which might be counted among the strongest, Hazor and Megiddo, and the third Gezer, which had indeed belonged to the Philistines; but Pharaoh the king of Egypt had made it, and had 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; for which reason the king rebuilt it as a city strong and might be useful in wars, and the mutations of af-

airs that sometimes happen. Moreover, he built two other cities not far from it; Beth-horon was the name of one of them, and Beth-gublah the other. He also built other cities that lay convenient for these, in order to the enjoyment of pleasures and delicacies in them, such as were naturally of a good temperature of the air, and agreeable for fruits ripe in their proper season, and well watered with springs. Nay, Solomon went as far as the desert above Syria, and pos-
sessed himself of it, and built there a very great city, which was distant two days' journey from the Upper Syria, and full of silver, gold, precious stones, and cedars, and six long days' journey from Babyl-

on the great. Now, the reason why this city lay so remote from the parts of Syria that are inhab-
ted, and is not situated as the other cities of the king himself, 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 this is the name it is called by at this day among the Syrians; but the Grecian name is Palmira.

2. Now Solomon the king was at this time en-

gaged in building these cities. But if any in-
quire why all the kings of Egypt from Memes, who built Memphis, and was many years earlier than our forefather Abraham, until Solomon, where the interval was more than one thousand three hundred years, were called Pharaohs, and he took it from one of 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. Pharaoh, in the Egyptian tongue, signified a king, but I think the other names from their childhood; but when they were

* This distinction of the name Pharaoh appears to be true. Before the name of Egypt was called Pharaoh after Solomon's father, it does hardly agree to our copies, which have long after been altered. Josephus, in his own speech to the Jews, if the War, b. xvi. c. 45, sect. 4, speaks of Necho as who was also called Pharaoh, as the name of a king of Egypt with whom Abraham was acquainted; of which name Nechoes yet we have ever so little mention till the days of Josiah, but only of Pharaoh. And indeed Josephus himself in another passage of that book, B. 5, he has made more mistakes made by Josephus, and those mistakes the kings of Egypt, and to that queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, whom he supposed to have come to see Solomon, than almost any where else in all his Antiquities.
made kings, they changed them into the name of kings, and made them inherit their автори-
ty; for thus it was also that the kings of Alex-
andria, who were called formerly by other names, when they took the kingdom, were named Potle-
mies, from their first king. The Roman empe-
rors also were from their first successors called by other names, but are all styled Caesars, their empire and their dignity imposing that name upon them, and not suffering them to continue in those names which their fathers gave them. I sup-
pose the last of the line of the Hellenes, whom he said there were three hundred and thirty kings of Egypt after Memes, who built Memphis, did therefore not tell us their names, because they were in common called Pharaohs; for when after the time of Pharaohs they were named, he calls her by her name Nicamne, as thereby declaring, that while the kings were of the male line, and so admitted of the same name, while a woman was never of such a name, and that therefore he need not to declare that her name which she could not natural-
ly have. As for myself, I have discovered from
our own books, that after Pharaoh, the father-in-
law of Solomon, no other king of Egypt did any larger use of the name, and that it was after that
time when the forementioned queen of Egypt and Ethiopia came to Solomon, concerning whom we shall inform the reader presently; but I have now made mention of these things, that I may provide more fully the broad and ministrations of the Egyptians agree together in many things.

But king Solomon subdued to himself the remnant of the Canaanites that had not before submitted to him; those I mean that dwelt in the midst of the land, and the Edomites on the south; and the Moabites in the east; and the Ammonites on the west, and the Philistines in the sea coast; and all the Canaanites, and Moabites, and Edomites, and Ammonites, and Phcenicians, and Philistines, the kings of Tyr and Hamath; and ordered them to pay tribute. He also chose out of them every year such as were to serve him in the meanest offices, and to do his domestic works, and to follow husbanstry and all manner of labours in the land; as such as were seen low employments; nor was it reasonable, that when God had brought so many nations under their power, they should deprive their own people to serve them in the meanest offices, rather than those nations: while all the Naxartes were concerned in warlike affairs, and were in armor; and were set over the chariots and the horses, rather than enslaving the life of slaves. He appointed also five hundred and fifty rulers over these Canaanites, who were reduced to such domestic slavery, who received the entire care of them from the king, and instructed them in those labors and operations wherein he wanted their assistance.

The king built ships in the Red Sea, in a certain place called Ezion-geber: it is now called Berenice, and is not far from the city of Eloah. 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 command, that they should go along with their own ships, and bring gold and precious stones, and such as were called Ophir, but now the Aurora Chersonese, which belongs to India, to fetch him gold. And when they had gathered these things, and met the conditions of the contract, they returned to their king; and the king had so much the more reason to be pleased with his master, because he had such a great store of mind to see him, and the reports that went every day abroad, induced her to come to him, she being assured that she could obtain another experience, and not by an empty hearing; for reports thus heard are likely enough to comply with a false opinion, while they wholly depend on the credit of the reportant: so 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 entreated that he would solve their hidden meaning. Accord-
ingly she came to Jerusalem with great splen-
dour, and the most of the courtiers of Solomon, with her camels laden with gold, with several sorts of sweet spices, and with precious stones. Now, upon the king's kind reception of her, he both made her a great entertainment, in order to please her, and then compassionately, from her own heart, and on the advice of the curious questions she propounded to him, he res-
solved them sooner than any body could have expected. So she was amazed at the wisdom of the king, and that especially in order to have a trial upon trial than what she had heard by re-
port beforehand; and especially she was surpris-
ed at the fineness and largeness of his royal ya-
lace, and not less at the good order of the apart-
ments, and the magnificence of his furniture, and shown great wisdom; but she was beyond mea-
sure astonished at the house which was called the forest of Lebanon, as also at the magnifi-
cence of his daily table, and the circumstances about it, which was not like the show of an ap-
parel of his servants that waited, and the skilful and decent management of their attendance: nor
was she less affected with those daily sacrifices which were offered to God, and the careful ma-
agement of the sacrifices, and the very manner of all about them. When she saw this done every day, she was in the greatest admiration imaginable, in-
so much that she was not able to contain the sur-
prise and wonder, but was overcome; for truly she was entirely affected: for she proceeded to dis-approve with the king; and thereby owned that she was overcome with admiration at the things before related; and said, "All things indeed, O king, that enquire of one another, which were not sent for, came to me no answer, but came with uncertainty as to our belief of them; but as to those good things that to thee appertain, both such as thou thyself possessest, I mean wisdom and prudence, and the happiness thou hast in thy kingdom, no one thing came to us was no falsity; it was not only a true report, but it related thy happiness after a much lower manner than I now see it to be before my eyes. For, as for the report, it only attempted to describe them, did not mention them, but did not weigh the dignity of the things themselves as does the sight of them, and being present among them. I indeed, who did not believe what was reported, by reason of the multitude and grandeur of the things I inquired about, do not think them to be much more numerous than they were reported to be. Accordingly, I esteem the Hebrew people, as well as thy servants and friends, to be happy, was joyous in the presence of God, and hear thy wisdom every day, and speak of it continually. One would therefore bless God who hath so loved this country, and those that inhabit therein, as to make thee king over them. And when the king had thus demonstrated in words how deeply the king had affected her, her disposition was known by certain presents, for she gave him twenty talents of gold, and an immense quantity of spices, and precious stones. And there were three thousand basons that balas-ant which our country still bears by this word
Ethiopia, there is little occasion for doubting in this matter.

I some blame Josephus for supposing, that the ba-
san tree might be first brought out of Arabia, or Egypt, or Ethiopia, into Judaea, by this queen of Sheba, since several have said that of old, no country here pre-
vious balsam but Judea; yet it is notoriously false that this balsam was peculiar to Judea, for both Egypt and Arabia, and particularly Sheba had it which was
BOOK VIII.—CHAP. VII.

man's gift.) Solomon also repaid her with many good things, and principally by bestowing upon her what she chose of her own inclination, for there was nothing that she desired which he denied her; and as he was very generous and liberal in his own temper, so did he show the greatness of his soul in bestowing on her what she herself desired of him. So when this queen of Sheba came, she bare five and twenty carriages richly overlaid, and every one of them had five and twenty horses harnessed thereto, and gave 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. Concerning the Death of Solomon.

1. ABOUT the same time there were brought to the king from the Aures Chersonesus, a country so called, precious stones, and pine-trees; and these trees he made use of for the temple and the palace, as also for the materials of musical instruments, the harps and the psalteries, that the Levites might make use of them in their hymns to God. The wood which was brought to him was such as he had never seen in all his life, nor 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 that their denomination from the merchants, who so call them, because they were admired by those that purchased them; for those we speak of were of the like sight the wood of the fig-tree, but were whiter and more shining. Now we have said that those that rode thereon 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 seasonable and humane thing when we mentioned it, and advised them to observe it, and 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 talents, not including in that sum what was brought by the merchants, nor what the ten princes of the house 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 shields of gold, every one of which weighed three pounds and thirty talents, and which he 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 of all sorts of jewels for him; and he made him a chaine; and he contrived that all his other furniture of vessels should be of gold; for there was nothing that to be sold or bought for silver, for the king had many ships which lay upon the sea of Tarzus; 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 Ethiopians, and spices, and they finished their voyages again in the next year.

3. Accordingly, there went a great famine all around the neighboring countries, which proclaimed the virtue and wisdom of Solomon, so much that all the kings every where were desirous to see him, as not giving credit to what was reported, on account of its being almost incredible; they also demonstrated the regard they had for him, by the presents they made him for; they sent him vessels of gold, and silver, and spices, and purple garnish, and many pearls for his horses, and chariots, and as many mules for his carriages as they could find proper to please the king's eyes, by their strength and beauty. This addition that he made to those chariots and horses which he had from the kings, when he had seen and augmented the number of his chariots by above four hundred, for he had a thousand before, and augmented the number of his horse by two thousand, for he had twenty thousand before. These horses also were so much exercised, in order to their making a fine appearance, and running swiftly, that no others could upon the comparison, appear either finer or swifter; but they were at once the most beautiful of all others, and their swiftness was incomparable also. Their riders also were a further ornament to them, being in the first place young men in the most delightful flower of their age, and being unchangeable for their age, taller than other men. They had also very long heads of hair hanging down, and were clothed in garments of Tyrian purple. They had also dust of gold every day sprinkled in their hair, so that they were the most beguiled with the sweetest fragrance of the sunbeans from the gold. The king himself rode upon a chariot in the midst of these men, who were still in armor, and had their bows fitted to a white skin, and used to take his progress out of the city in the morning. There was a certain place about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which is called Etham:

5. But although Solomon was become the most

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*Whether these fine gardens and rivulets of Etham, about six miles from Jerusalem, which Solomon had made, so often in state, be not those alluded to in Eccles. ii. 5, 6, where he says, "He made him gardens and orchards and planted vines, and gave him pools of water, to water the wood that bringeth forth trees," and to the finest part whereof he seems to allude, when, in the Canticles, he cometh to a "spring shut up," to a "fountain sealed," ch. lv. 12, (part of which fountains are still extant, as Mr. Maundrell informs us, p. 87, 88,) he cannot now be determined; only it is probable that they may be probably be conjectured. But whether this Etham has any relation to those rivers of Etham, which Providence once dried up in a miraculous manner, in the time of the First Punicus, liv. 15, and in the Septuagint, I cannot say."
ANTIOCHS OF THE JEWS.

glorious of kings, and the best beloved of God, and had exceeded in wisdom and riches those that had been rulers of the Hebrews before him, yet did he not persevere in this happy state till he died. Nay, he forsook the observation of the laws of his fathers, and came to an end most unsuitably to our foregoing history of him. He grew mad in his love of women, and laid no restraint on himself in his lust: nor was he satisfied with the women of his country alone; but his lust was great, not only for wives of foreign nations, such as Sidonians, and Tyrians, and Ammonites, and Edomites, and he transgressed the laws of Moses, which forbade Jews to marry any but those that were of their own people. He also began to covet their treasures, which he did by the gradual devastation of his wives, and out of his affection for them. This very thing our legislator suspected, and so admonished us beforehand, that we should not marry women of other countries, lest we should be entangled with foreign customs, and apostatize from our own; lest we should leave off to honor our own God, and should worship their gods. But Solomon was fallen headlong into unseemliness, and regarded all the observations and conditions. For when he had married seven hundred wives, the daughters of princes, and of eminent persons, and three hundred concubines, and besides the king of Egypt's daughter, he soon sinned, and then it came to limittance their practices. He was forced to give them this demonstration of his kindness and affection to them, to live according to the laws of their countries. And as he grew into years, and his years increased, so did his lust. And in a time, it was not sufficient to recall to his mind the institutions of his own country, so he still more and more contemned his own God, and continued to regard the gods of his fathers, as he had done, and he was: may before this happened, he sinned, and fell into an error about the observation of the law, when he made the images of brazen oxen that supported the brazen sea, and the images of lions about his own throne; for the law said, although it was not agreeable to piety so to do; and thence he did, notwithstanding that he had his father as a most excellent and domestic pattern of virtue, and knew what a glorious character he had left behind him; and that he was bent towards God; nor did he imitate David, although God had twice appeared to him in his sleep, and exhorted him to imitate his father; so he died ingloriously. There came therefore a prophet to him, who was sent of the Lord, to show him that his sins and his ungodly actions were not concealed from God; and threatened him that he should not long rejoice in what he had done: that indeed the kingdom should not be taken from him while he was alive, because God had promised to his father David that he would make him his successor, but that he would take care that this should befall his son when he was dead; not that he would withdraw all the people from him, but that he would give ten tribes to a servant of his, and leave only two tribes to David's grandson, for his sake, because he loved God, and for the sake of the city of Jerusalem, wherein he would have a temple. So bad was his end: he died with great grief.

These seven hundred wives, or the daughters of great men, and the three hundred concubines, the daughters of the ignorance, make one thousand and in all; and all the people from him, but that he would give ten tribes to a servant of his, and leave only two tribes to David's grandson, for his sake, because he loved God, and for the sake of the city of Jerusalem, wherein he would have a temple.

Josephus. He is certainly too severe upon Solomon, who in making the cherubins, and three twelve where we have more than imitate the patterns left him by David, which were all given by Divine inspiration. See my description of the temple, pp. 96. But all the images which Solomon gave no direction for the lions that adorned his throne, yet does not Solomon seem therein to have broken any law of Moses, for although the Pharaohs, and later rulers, have extended the second commandment, to for-
BOOK VIII.—CHAP. VIII. 175

miseries of Solomon, and give one tribe, with that which is next it, to his son, because of the promise made to David for his succession, and will give ten tribes to these, because Solomon built, and had furnished against him, and God turned up himself to women, and to their gods. Seeing at this fare, thou knowest the cause for which God hath changed his mind, and is alienated from Solomon, be thou righteous, and keep the laws, because the kingdom is in the hands of Saul, and God will give the rest of the tribes to Saul, and his son, to give reward for thy piety, and the honor thou shalt pay to God, namely, to be as greatly excelled as thou knowest David to have been."

3. So Jeroboam was elevated by these words of Solomon, and was brought before him, and was a young man of warm temper, and ambitious of greatness, he could not be quiet: and when he had so great a change in the government, and called to mind what had been revealed to him by Ahijah, he endeavored to persuade the people to forsake Solomon, to make a disturbance, and to bring the government over to himself. But when Solomon understood his intention and treachery, he sought to catch Saul in the midst of the information of his son, and said, Ophiel, the high priest of the kingdom, if Egypt, and there abode till the death of Solomon, by which means he gained those two advantages, to suffer no harm from Solomon, and to be preserved when he was taken to Egypt. Jeroboam indeed, he was already an old man, having reigned eighty years, and lived ninety-four. He was buried in Jerusalem, having been superior to all other kings in happiness, and riches, and wisdom. For in a few years, he was deposed by men, and transgressed the law; concerning which transgressions, and the miseries which befell the Hebrews thereby, I think proper to discourse at another opportunity.

CHAP. VIII.

How, upon the death of Solomon, the People forsook his Son Rehoboam, and ordained Jeroboam King over the ten Tribes.

§ 1. Now when Solomon was dead, and his son Rehoboam, (who was born of an Amnonite wife, whose name was Naamah,) had succeeded him in the kingdom, the reverend and the mighty cast immediately into Egypt, and called back Jeroboam; and when he was come to them, to the city Shechem, Rehoboam came to it also, for he had resolved to declare himself king to the Israelites, while he was young, and had not yet come to the rulers of the people, as also Jeroboam, came to him, and besought him, and said, "That he ought to rest, and to be gentler than his father, in the service 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 it more out of love than fear." But Rehoboam told them that they should come to him again in three days' time, when he would give an answer to their request. This delay gave occasion to a present suspicion, since he had not given them a favorable answer; yet one man stood up in their midst, and said, "If 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, although manifestly his intention.

§ 2. Rehoboam now called his father's friends, and advised with them what sort of answer he ought to give to the multitude: upon which they gave him the advice which became friends, and those that knew the temper of such a multitude. They advised him, "to speak in a way more popular than suited the grandeur of a king, because he would thereby oblige them to submit to him, and be better disposed to him with good will, it being the most agreeable to subjects, that their kings should be almost upon the level with them." But Rehoboam rejected this so good an advice of the elders, who had given him, and bade them speak what they thought he ought to do. They advised him to give the following answer to the people, (for neither their youth, nor God himself, suffered them to discern what was best;) "that his littlefinger should be thicker than his father's loins; and if they had met with hard usage from his father, they should experience much rougher treatment from him; and if his father had chesed them with whips, they might expect that he would do it with scorpions." The king was pleased with this advice, and thought it agreeable to the dignity of his gouvernement, so he said such a speech to them with some magnificence, when the multitude was come together to hear his answer on the third day, all the people were in great expectation, and very intent to hear what the king would say to them, and supposed that they should have the benefit of his good nature; but he was passed by his friends, and answered as the young men had given him counsel. Now this was done according to the will of God, that what Ahijah had foretold might come to pass. 2. By these words it was seen that the kingdom of Israel was by an iron hammer, and were so grieved at the words, as if they had already felt the effects of them, and they had great indignation at the king; and all cried out, and said, "We will have no longer any relation to David or his posterity after this day." And they said farther, "We only leave to Rehoboam the temple which his father built;" and they threatened to forsake him. Nay, they, by bitter words, tore the very throat of their wrath so long, that when he sent Adoram, who was over the tribute, that he might pacify them, and render them milder, and persuade them to forgive him if he had said any thing that was rash or grievous to them in his youth, they would not hear it, but threw stones at him and killed him. When Rehoboam saw this, he thought himself aimed at by those stones with which they had killed his servant, and he thought he should undergo the least of calamities in earnest, so he got immediately into his chariot, and fled to Jerusalem, where the tribe of Judah and that of Benjamin ordained him king; but the rest of the multitude forsack the sons of David from that day, and appointed Jeroboam to be the ruler of their public affairs. Upon this, Rehoboam, Solomon's son, assembled a great congregation of those two tribes that submitted, and said to them, "I have eighty thousand chosen men out of the army, to make an expedition against Jeroboam and his people, that he might force them by war to be his servants; but he was forbidden of God to do it for that it was not just that brethren of the same country should fight one against another. He also said, began early, and continued very long. See Eccles. xlvii. 14.

*This youth of Jeroboam, when Solomon built the walls of Jerusalem, not very long after he had finished his twenty years' building the temple, and his own palace, he called seventy young men of the strength of his reign, 1 Kings ix. 24; 2 Chronicles viii. 11; and his youth here still mentioned, when Solomon's wickedness was become more insolente, fully confirm my former observation, that such his wickednesses are
that this defection 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 the two tribes; by this means we shall preserve the good order of the history entire.

So Jeroboam did go and build him a palace in the city Shechem, he dwelt there. He also built him another at Peniel, a city so called. And now the feast of tabernacles was approaching. So Jeroboam consulted, that it should be observed, that 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 enticed by the temple, and by the other places where the sacrifices was celebrated, and would desire to return, and would go to the one king; and if so, he should run the risk of losing his own life: so he invented this contrivance; he made two golden heifers, and built two little temples for them, the one in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan, which last was at the fountains of the lesser Jordan,* and he put the heifers into both the little temples, in the forementioned cities. And now he called the two tribes together, upon 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 in the earth, 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 built the temple of Yahweh, but another man made the 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 these cities may go to them, and worship God there; and I will order every one of the 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 desertious among you of being a priest, bring to God a bullock and a ram, which they say Aaron the first priest brought also." When Jeroboam had said this, he deluded the people, and made them to revolt from the worship of their forefathers, and to transgress the laws. This was the beginning of museries among the Hebrews, and the cause why they were overcome in war by foreigners, and so fell into captivity. But we shall relate these things in their proper places hereafter.

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 night of all the people, a false prophet came, and said, "Jeroboam, who was seen God at Shechem, 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 foretells that there shall be a certain man of the family of David, Josia 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 dead, and those impostors and wicked wretches. However, that this people may believe that these things shall come to pass, I foretell a sign to them that shall also come to pass: This altar shall be broken to pieces immediately, and all the earth shall become water.""

When the prophet had said this, Jeroboam fell into a passion, and stretched out his hand, and bade them lay hold of him, but that hand which stretched out, and had the power, but 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 at one stroke, and with a noise as the prophet had foretold should come to pass. So the king understood that he was a man of veracity, and had a divine foreknowledge, and untrasted him to pray to God that he would grant his request. 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 sup with him; but Jadan said, that, "he could not endure to come into his house, nor to taste of bread or water in this city, for that was a thing God had forbidden him to do; as also to go back by the same way which he came, but he would go back by another road." The king wondered at the abstinence of the man, but was himself in fear, as suspecting a change of his affairs for the worse, from what had been said to him.

CHAP. IX.

1. Now there was a certain wicked man in the court of the temple, who was a false prophet, Jeroboam had in great esteem, was well deceived by him, and his flattering words. This man was bed-ridden by reason of the infirmities of old age: however, he was informed by his sons concerning the prophet 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 such an enemy of him might be more mortal than himself, and obtain greater honor from him, and he gave order to his sons to saddle his ass presently, and make all ready that he might go out. Accordingly they made haste to do what 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 answered, "The Nazarite was Jadan, and I am the servant of God 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, and to give thee water." And the prophet gave credit to this lying prophet, and returned back with him. But when they were at dinner, and were merry together, God appeared to Jadan, and said, that "he should suffer punishment for transgressing his commands, and he told him so far called the lesser Jordan, is hardly certain even in Josephus himself, though the latter account be the most probable. Nevertheless, however, the northern itinerary, set up by Jeroboam, was where Little Jordan fell into Great Jordan, near a place called Daphne, as Josephus elsewhere witnesses, (Ant. c. xi. p. 461, &c.) See the note there.
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.  

Which things came to pass, as I suppose, according to the word of the prophet, that no reproach might not give heed to the words of Jodan, as of one that had been convicted of lying. However, as Jodan was again going to Jerusalem, a lion assaulted him, and pulled him in pieces, so that two or three years, for many of those who met did not at all hurt the beast, but set by him, and kept him, as also the prophet's body. This continued till some travellers that saw it came and told it in the city to the false prophet, who sent his son and his other sons, who came and made a funeral for him at great expense. He also charged his sons to bury himself with him; and said that "all which he had foresaid against that city, and the king, and the princes, and false prophets, would prove true; and that if he were buried with him, he should receive no injuries or treatment after his death, the bones not being then to be distinguished sunder. But now, when he had performed those things which the 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 now that thou hast disturbed the words of the man of God, and the word of God has not been imparted to him which had happened about the altar, and about his own hand, and gave him the name of a divine man, and an excellent prophet, he endeavored, by a wicked trick, to weaken that his opinion, and by using plausible words as to what had happened, he aimed to injure the truth which was in them; for he attempted to persuade him, that "his hand was eviscerated by the labor it had undergone in supporting the altar, and that upon its resting awhile, it returned to its former nature again; and that as to the altar, it was but new, and had borne abundance of sacrifices, and those large ones too, and was accordingly broken to pieces, and fallen down by the weight of what had been laid upon it." He also informed him of the death of him that had foretold those things, and how he perished; [whence he concluded that] he had not any thing in him of a prophet, but of a man. Jodan also said, he had thus spoken, he persuaded the king, and entirely alienated his mind from God, and from doing works that were righteous and holy, and encouraged him to go on in his impious practices; and accordingly, he set about to offend him by resolving still to be righteous. But God sent Shishak, king of Egypt, to punish them for their unjust behavior towards him, concerning whom Herodotus was mistaken, and applied his actions to Sesostris; for this Shishak, in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, made an expedition [into Judea] with many ten thousand men, for he had one thousand two hundred chariots in number that followed him, and three score thousand horsemen, and four hundred thousand footmen. These he brought with him, and they were the greatest part of them Libyans and Ethiopians. Now therefore, when he fell upon the country of the Hebrews, he took the strong cities of Rehoboam, and the kingdom without fighting; and when he had put garrisons in them, he came last of all to Jerusalem.  

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, built strong and large cities, Bethshemesh and Lachish, and Tekoa, and Bethhur and Soco, and Adullam, and Ijon, and Mephaath, and Ziph, and Adoram, and Lachish, and Azekah, and Zorah, and Aijalon, and Hebron; these he built first of all the tribes of Judah. He also built other large cities in the tribe of Benjamin, and walled them about, and made garrisons in them all, and captains, and a great deal of corn, and wine, and oil, and he furnished every one of them plentifully with other provisions that were necessary for sustenance; moreover, he put therein shields and horses for many years, not only also that were in all Israel, and the Levites, and if there were any of the multitude that were good and righteous men, they gathered themselves together to him, having left their own cities, that they might live with him in Jerusalem; for they were not willing to be forced to worship the heifers which Jeroboam had made, and they augmented the kingdom of Rehoboam for three years. And after he had governed over himself of his own kindred, and bad by her three children born to him, he married also another of his own kindred, who was daughter of Abiabam by Tamar, whose name was Maachah, and by her he had a son, who was holy and righteous, and moreover many other children by other wives, but he loved Maachah above them all. Now he had eighteen legitimate wives, and thirty concubines: and he had born to him twenty-eight sons and three-score and ten daughters, but none to rule over the nation, except Josiah, whose name was Jehoahaz, whom he had by Maachah, to be his successor in the kingdom; and intrusted him already with the treasures, and the strongest cities.  

2. Now I cannot but think, that the greatness of a kingdom, and its prosperity, is often becomes the occasion of mischiefs and of transgression to men; for when Rehoboam saw this his kingdom so much increased, he went out of the right way, and to unrighteous and irreligious practices; and he despised the worship of God, till the people themselves imitated his wicked actions; for so it usually happens, that the manners of subjects are corrupted at the same time with those of their governors, which subjects then lay aside their own sober way of living, as a reproof of their governors' intemperate courses, and follow their wickedness, as if it were virtue, for it is not possible to show that men approve of those actions which are wrong, and do the same actions with them. Agreeably whereunto, it now happened to the subjects of Rehoboam; for when he was grown impious, and a transgressor himself, they turned to offend him by resolving still to be righteous. But God sent Shishak, king of Egypt, to punish them for their unjust behavior towards him, concerning whom Herodotus was mistaken, and applied his actions to Sesostris: for this Shishak, in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, made an expedition [into Judea] with many ten thousand men, for he had one thousand two hundred chariots in number that followed him, and three score thousand horsemen, and four hundred thousand footmen. These he brought with him, and they were the greatest part of them Libyans and Ethiopians. Now therefore, when he fell upon the country of the Hebrews, he took the strong cities of Rehoboam, and the kingdom without fighting; and when he had put garrisons in them, he came last of all to Jerusalem.
with him, were shut up in Jerusalem by the means of the army of Shishak, and when they besought God to give them victory and deliverance, they could not persuade God to be on their side: but Shemaijah the prophet told them, that God would not deliver them, for that they had forsaken his worship. When they heard this, they were immediately in a consternation of mind, and seeing no way of deliverance, they all earnestly set themselves to confess, that God might not be displeased with them, since they had been guilty of iniquity towards him, and had let his laws lie in confusion. So when God saw them in that disposition, and that they acknowledged their sins, he told the prophet, that he would not deliver them; for he would deliver them by the hand of the Egyptians, that they may learn whether they will suffer less by serving men or God. So when Shishak had taken the city without fighting, because he was afraid, and received him into it, yet did not Shishak stand to the covenant he had made, but he spoiled the temple, and emptied the treasuries of God, and those of the king, and carried off innumerable quantities of gold and silver, and left nothing at all behind him. He also took away the bucklers of gold, and the shields, which Solomon the king had made: nay, he did not leave the golden quivers which David had taken from the king of Moab, and had dedicated to God. And when he had thus done, he returned to his own kingdom. Now Herodotus of Halicarnassus mentions this expedition, having only mistaken the king's name; and (in saying that) he did not leave many other nations also, and brought Syria of Palestine into subjection, and 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 in that manner, that he left in the lands of those that delivered themselves up to him without fighting, and engraved upon them the secret parts of women. Now our king Rebohoam delivered up our city without fighting. He says withal, that the Ethiopians learned to circumcise their private parts from the Egyptians, with this addition, that the Phenicians and Syrians that live in Palestine confess that they were taught it of the Egyptians. Yet it is evident that no other of the Syrians that live in Palestine besides us alone are circumcised; but as to such matters, let every one speak what is agreeable to his own opinion.

When Shishak was gone away, king Rebohoam made bucklers and shields of brass, instead 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 regarded 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 prudent and excellent man, and, as it were, the chief of all 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 of Jeroboam's reign over the ten tribes: and this was the conclusion of these affairs. It must be now our business to relate the affairs of Jeroboam, and how he ended his life for he ceased not, nor rested to be injurious to God, but every day raised up altars upon high mountains, and went on making priests out of the multitude.

CHAP. XI.
Concerning the death of a Son of Jeroboam.
How Jeroboam was beaten by Abijah, who died a little afterward, and was succeeded in his Kingdom by Asa. And also how, 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 effects thereof, upon his kingdom, and the heads of it, and upon the heads of all his house. And whereas 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 nothing, and to rent the dwelling of a private person, and to go to Abijah the prophet, for that he was a wonderful man in foretelling futurities, it having been he who told me that I should be king. He also enjoined her, when she came to him, to show him nothing but that Abijah was a much greater as if she were a stranger, whether he should escape this distemper. So she did as her husband bade her, and changed her habit, and came to the city Shiloh, for there did Abijah live: and as she was going into his house, it was being then dim with age, God appeared to him, and informed him of two things, that the wife of Jeroboam was come to him; and what answer he should make to her inquiry. Accordingly, as the woman was about to return home, he called her back, and said, "Come in, thou wife of Jeroboam! Why concealest thou thyself? Thou art not concealed from God, who hath appeared to me, and informed me that thou wast about to return home, and dost not mean to seek nothing from me; thou shouldest say to thee." So he said, "That she should go away to her husband, and speak to him thus: Since I made thee a great man when thou wast little, or rather naught, and rent the kingdom from the house of David, and gave it to thee, and thou hast been mindful of these benefits, hast left off my worship, hast made thee molten gods and honored them; I will in like manner take thee away again. And I will make thee a great house, and will build thine house, and make them food for the dogs and the fowls; for a certain king is rising up, by appointment, over all these people, who shall leave none of the family of Jeroboam remaining. The multitude of thy people shall be partease of the kingdom. Until the judgment, and shall be cast out of this good land, and shall be scattered into the places beyond Euphrates, because they followed the wicked practices of their king, and have worshipped the gods that he made, and forsaken my sacrifices. But do thou, O woman, make haste back to thy husband, and tell him this message; but thou shalt then find thy son dead, for as thou enterest the city he shall depart this house: yet shall he be buried with the family of all the multitude, and honored with a general mourning, for he is the only person of goodness of Jeroboam's family."—When the prophet had foretold these events, the woman forthwith went away with a disordered mind, and greatly grieved at the death of the forenamed child: So she was in lamentation as she went along the road, and mourned for the ion in Egypt, and had it not before Manetho, the famous Egyptian Chronologer and historian, who knew that the Egyptians had never been in the land of Canaan. Herodotus, complains frequently of his mistakes about their affairs, as does Josephus more than once in this chapter; nor indeed does Herodotus seem at all acquainted with the affairs of the Jews: for as he never names them, so little or nothing of what he says about them, their country, or maritime cities, two or which he alone alone names, as Cyrene and Jcnymus, proves true; nor indeed do there appear to have been ever been any such cities on their coast.
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 have justly have, since we have always had the help of the beginning, and have worshipped our own God, who was not made by hands of corruptible matter, nor was he formed by a wicked king, in order to destroy the multitude; but he is of his own workmanship, and the beginning and end of all things. I therefore give you counsel even now to repent, and to take better advice, and to leave off the prosecution of the war; and to call upon the gods of your fathers, of two thousand years, to reflect 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 thus within the compass of the enemy, then, by his arrows, he wounded, and by his spears he killed, and by his bows he put to flight, without his arrows he hurt them, and made them, and by his shout they made a shout, and fell upon their enemies; and God brake the courage and cast down the force of their enemies, and made Abijah's army superior to them: for God vouchsafed to grant them a wonderful victory. And when Abijah saw what they did, he said, and such a slaughter was now made of Jeroboam's army, as is never recorded to have happened in any other war — whether it were of the Greeks, or of the Barbarians, for they overthrew [and slew] five hundred thousand of them; and when they took their strongest cities by force, and spoilt them; and besides those, they did the same to Bethel and her towns, and Jeshanah and her towns. And after this Abijah never recovered himself during the life of Abijah; who yet did not long survive, for he reigned but three years, and was buried in Jerusalem, in the sepulchre of his forefathers. He left behind him twenty-two years and nineteen days; and he had these children by fourteen wives; and Asa his son succeeded to the kingdom; and the young man's mother was Michaiah. Under his reign the country of the Israelites enjoyed peace for ten years. 4. And so far concerning Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, as his history hath come down to us: but Jeroboam, the king of the 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 order to take it; but he was conspired against while he was there, by a friend of his, whose name was Baasha, the son of Ahijah, and by another friend of his, then Baasha took the kingdom after the other's death and destroyed the whole house of Jeroboam. It also came to pass, according as God had foretold, that some of Jeroboam's kindred that died in the city were torn to pieces and devoured by dogs,

\*This is a strange expression in Josephus, that God is his own workmanship, or that he made himself; contrary to the common sense of such a passage. Perhaps he only means that he was made, but was unmarried.

\*The perfectly unparalleled allusion of five hundred thousand men of the newly idolatrous and rebellious ten tribes, God's high displeasure and indignation against that idolatry and rebellion fully appeared; the remainder were thereby seriously cautioned not to persist in them, and a kind of balance or equilibrium was established in the kingdom of Israel. Perhaps he only means that he was made, but was unmarried.
and that others of them that died in the fields were torn and devoured by the fowls. So the house of Jeroboam suffered the just punishment of his impiety and of his wicked actions.

CHAP. XII.

How Zerah, King of the Ethiopians, was beaten by Asa; and how Asa, upon Baasha's making war against him, invited the King of the Damascus to assist him; and how, on the Destruction of the House of Baasha, Asa got the Kingdom, as did his Son Ahab after him.

§ 1. Now Asa, the king of Jerusalem, was of an excellent character, and had a regard to God, and neither did nor designing any thing but what had relation to the observation of the laws. He made a reformation of his kingdom, and cast 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, two hundred and fifty thousand. But when he had already reigned 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 Mareshah, a city that belonged to the tribe of Judah. Now when Zerah had passed so far with his own army, Asa met him, and set his army in battle array in a valley called Zephathiah, not far from the city; and when he saw the multitude of the Ethiopians, he cried out, and besought God to help him; and, as it pleased him, he mingled many ten thousands of the enemy: "For," said he, "I depend on nothing else but that assistance which I expect from thee, which is able to make the fewer superior to the more numerous, and the weak to the strong; and hence it is alone that I venture to meet Zerah, and fight him."

2. While Asa was saying this, God gave him a signal of victory, and joining battle cheerfully on account of what God had foretold about it, he slew a great many of the Ethiopians, and when he had put them to flight, he pursued them to the country of Gerar; and when they left off killing their enemies, they betook themselves to spoiling the baggage of them that rallied lost heart, and to spoiling 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 took captive to. 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: that "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 as God had commanded them; and therefore God said, if they persevered 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 fail out on the contrary; and a time shall come when the kingdom of his left in your whole multitude, 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 wanderers." So he advised them, while they had time, to be good, not to deprive themselves of the favor of God. While they were thus concerned, people had been rejected; and all in common, and every one in particular, took great care to behave themselves righteously. The king also sent some to take care that those in the country should observe the laws also.

3. And this was the state of Asa, king of the two tribes. I now return to Baasha, the king of the multitude of the Israelites, who slew Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, and reigned the governor of the country in the city of Tirzah. It did not make that his habitation, and reigned twenty-four years. He became more wicked and impious than Jeroboam or his son. He did a great deal of mischief to the multitude of the Israelites, and shed much innocent blood to Baasha, who sent the prophet Jehu, and told him beforehand, that his whole family should be destroyed, and that he would bring the same miseries on his house which had brought that of Jeroboam; and he thought, because he had been made king by him, he had not required his kind- ness by governing the multitude righteously and religiously; which things, in the first place, tended to their own happiness, and in the next place were pleasing to God. As he had, therefore, become a very wicked king, Jeroboam: and although that man's soul had perished, yet did he express to the last his wickedness; and he said, that he should therefore justly experience the like calamity, as the multitude of the Israelites, who became a very wicked nation. But Baasha, though he heard beforehand what miseries would befall him and his whole family for their insalient behavior, yet did not lay off his wicked practices for fear of the time to come, nor did he care to appear to be other than worse and worse till he died; nor did he then repeat of his past actions, nor endeavor to obtain pardon of God for them, but did as those who know not how to depart from their evil ways when they have once in earnest set about their work, they do not leave off their labors; for thus did Baasha, when the prophet foretold to him what would come to pass, grow worse as if what was threatened, the partition of his family and the destruction of his house, (which are really among the greatest of evils,) were good things; and as if he were a combatant for wickedness, he every day took more and more gain of all, and when he had assailed a certain considerable city called Ramah, which was forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem; and when he had taken it, he fortified it, having obtained a breach of it, and then, that they might thence make excursions, and do mischief to the kingdom of Asa.

4. Whereupon Asa was afraid of the attempts of the enemy might make upon him, and consider- ing with himself how many mischiefs this army that was left in Ramah might do to the country over which he reigned, he sent ambassadors to the king of the Damascus, with gold and silver, and said to him, that he had obtained a victory over the king of the Israelites, and had slain his son Nadab; and therefore he said, that if they persevered therein, God would grant that they should always over come their enemies, and live happily: but that if they left off his worship, all things shall fail out on the contrary; and a time shall come when the kingdom of his left in your whole multitude, 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

* The reader is to remember that Cushi is not Ethiopia, but Arabia. See Bochart, b. i., ch. ii., p. 261.

§ 1. Abd al-Malik, or, in Josephus's copy, Ataliam, that belonged to the land of Israel, and bordered on the country of Damascus, is supposed both by Gessner and Spicq who wrote in this place, 2 Chron. xvi. 3-6, as supplying what follows to times past, and not to times future; whence that text is derived by some. See more of this subject in the compass of the land of Israel, I understand our Saviour's words about the
BOOK VIII—CHAP. XIII.

Now when the king of Israel heard this, he left off building and fortifying Samah, and returned personally to meet his own people, with all the other tribes; so that after this Baasha had no leisure to make expeditions against Aza, for he was prevented by death, and was buried in the city Tirshah; and Elah his son took the kingdom.

And by that means he slew him, when he was without his armed men and his captains, for they were all busied in the siege of Gibbethon, a city of the Philistines.

And when Zimri, the captain of the army, had killed Elah, he took the kingdom himself, and, according to Jehu’s prophecy, slew all the house of Baasha; for it came to pass that Baasha’s house utterly perished, on account of his iniquity, in one day, and he had reigned two years, died, being treacherously slain by Zimri, the captain of half his army; for when he was at Azra, his steward’s house, he persuaded some of the horsemen that were under him to assault Elah, and by that means he slew him, when he was without his armed men and his captains, for they were all busied in the siege of Gibbethon, a city of the Philistines.

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CHAP. XIII.

Now Ahab, when he had taken Jezreel to Wisha, became more wicked than all the kings that had been before him. Of the Actions of the Prophet Elisha, and how he smote Beth. § 1. Now Ahab, the king of Israel, dwelt in Samaria, and held the government for twenty two 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 and introduction, for the worse; for he died in the midst of it. He imitated them in their wicked courses, and in their injurious behavior towards God, and more especially he imitated the transgression of Jeroboam; for he worshipped the heifers that he had made; and he contended other absurd objects of worship besides those heifers; he also took to wife the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians and Sidonians, whose name was Jezebel, of whom he learned to worship her own gods. This woman was active and bold, and fell into so great a degree of impudence 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 sacred trees; she also endeavored to introduce the prophets to this god. The king also himself had many such about him, and so exceeded in madness and wickedness all [the kings] that went before him.

2. There was now a prophet of God Almighty, of thebeson, a country in Gilead, 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 been ruling in the east two years, he had departed into the southern parts, 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 went to a city not far from Sidon and Tyre, for it lay between them, and this at the command of God, for [God told him] that he should there find a woman who was a widow, that should give him coal: so when he was not far off from the city, he saw a woman that labored with her own hands gathering of sticks; so God informed him that this was the woman who was to give him coal. At last, when he came and said to her, she desired her to bring him some water to drink; but 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 a little of meal and a little of 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 thee that this vessel of meal and this reuse of oil shall not fail, until God send rain.”

When the prophet had said this, she came to him, and made him the forenamed cake; of which she had part for herself, and gave the rest to her son. And when he had eaten thereof, he slept, and when he had reigned forty and one years: and when he was dead, his son Jehoshaphat succeeded him in the government. He was born of Aza’s wife Asuah. And all men allowed that he was a king of the kings of Israel, and this both in courage and piety: but we are not obliged now to speak any more of the affairs of this king.
Botrys in Phœnicia, and the city of Aza in Li- 
cyria, both of which are excessively suffocated by a 
sooty rain that was in the days of Ahab, for at 
that time it was that Ethisbaal also rejoined over 
the Tyrians, as Menander informs us.

3. Now this woman, of whom we speak before, 
those who were shut up in a chamber, where she was fall- 
en into a distemper till she gave up the ghost, and 
appeared to be dead, came to the prophet weep- 
ing, and beating her breast with her hands, and 
seeming out such expressions as her passions dic- 
tate; and she complained to him, that he had been 
come to her to reproach her for her sins, and that 
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 
and bring him to life again." Accordingly, 
God answered him, and willing to gratify the 
prophet, that he might not seem to 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, "And now I see clearly satisfied that God did 
divine with him.

4. After a little while Elijah came to king 
Ahab, according to God's will, to inform him that 
rain was coming. Now the famine had seized upon 
the cities, and there was a great want of 
what was necessary for sustenance; in- 
so much, that it was not only men that wanted it, 
but the earth itself also, which did not produce 
enough fruit to supply the wants of those, of 
what was useful for them to feed on by reason 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 herb could 
be found for them, they might mow it down, 
and 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, he 
had some men accompany him, who was sent to 
solve that, they should make a progress, and divide 
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 
prophet, the son of Ahab, who had a hundred 
prophets, and had fed them with nothing but 
bread and water. But when Obadiah was alone 
and absent from the king, the prophet Elijah met 
im; 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 thee, and hath sought over all the earth for 
thee? Or, was he so ignorant as not to know 
that the king had left no place untouched on 
which he had not sent persons to bring him back, 
in order that they should take him, to have him 
dead to death?" For he told him he was afraid 
lest God should appear to him, and he should 

dio away into another place, and that when the 
kings should send him away, and he should 
not be able to find him anywhere upon 
earth, he should be put to death. He desired him therefore to take care of his 
protection; and told him how diligently he had 
hunted for him, and that he had saved a hundred 
prophets, when Jezebel slew the rest of them, and had kept them concealed, and 
that they had been sustained by him. But Elie- 
jah bade him fear nothing; but go to the king; 
and quickly, the thing was done, and when the knaves 
did certainly 
show himself to Ahab that very day.

5. So when Obadiah had informed the king that 
Elijah was there, Ahab met him, and asked him 
in anger, "If he were the man that afflicted 
the people of Israel with burdens in the days of 
Drought they lay under." But Elijah, with- 
out any furtherly, said, "That he was himself the 
man, he and his house, which had brought such 
afflicted and afflictions upon them, and that by introducing 
strange gods into their country, and worship- 
shiping 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, for he was together with Elijah, and 
to mount Carmel, with his own prophets, and 
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 as all the 
people were sent for rain by the named 
mountain, the prophet Elijah stood in the midst of 
them, and said, "How long will you live thus in uncertainty of mind and opinion?" 
He also exhorted them, that in case they esteemed 
the strange gods, with which they were 
worshipped, they saw and grasped the true and 
only God, they would follow him and his com- 
mendments; but in case they esteemed him to be 
nothing, but had an opinion of the strange 
gods, he bade them at this word, that he saw and 
the counsel was, that they should follow them, 
and when the multitude made no answer to what 
he said, Elijah desired, that for a trial of the 
power of the strange gods, and of their own 
God, he, who was his only prophet, while they 
had four hundred, might take a beifer, and 
kill it as a sacrifice, and lay it upon 
pieces of wood, and not kindle any fire, and that 
they should do the same things, and call upon 
their own gods, and that then they should see 
that the gods of the heathen were no gods, 
and when they were done, they would thence 
learn the nature of the true God. This proposal pleased the 
people. So Elijah bade the prophets to choose out 
a beifer first, and kill it, and to call on their 
gods, and the God of Elijah, and bring them 
prayer or invocation of the prophets upon 
their sacrifice, Elijah derided them, and bade 
them 
call upon their gods with a loud voice, for they 
might either be on a journey, or asleep; and 
when these prophets had done so from morning 
till noon, and cut themselves with swords and 
lances, according to the customs of their 
country, and he was about to offer his sacrifice, he 
bade [the prophets] go away, but bade [the 
pople] come near and observe what he did, lest he should privately hide fire among 
the pieces of wood. So upon the approach of the 
multitude, he took twelve stones, one for each 
tribe of Israel, and told them, to be the land 
and altar with them, and dug a very deep trench; 
and when he had laid the pieces of wood upon 
of the Old Testament then informed them, Luke iv. 25, 
James v. 17.

1 Josephus, in his present copies, says, that a little 
while after the recovery of the widow's son, [Paræus, 
God, for the earth whereof is no more, lies copies, it is after many days, I Kees xlvii. 1. Several 
years ago are also intimated there, and in Josephus, sect. 2, 
as belonging to this drought and famine, may, we have 
the following as the time of the third earth, I suppose 
wrecked from the recovery of the widow's son, 
and the ceasing of this drought in Phœnicia, which, (as Menander informs us) lasts twenty years, and the 
both our Savours and St. James affirm, that this drought 
lasted in all three years and six months, as their copies 

1 Mr. Spawinian takes notice here, that in the worship of 
Mithra, there is none of this kind of year. And the 
above mentioned Stoics, the Spaniards, and 
selves in the same manner as did these priests in their 
invocation of Baal (the god of the Phœnicians).
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 it, 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 array a long time: upon which words a fire came on him, and the place was filled with the multitude of the presence of God, and fell upon the altar, and consumed the sacrifices, till the very water was set on fire, and the place was become dry.

6. Now when the Israelites saw this, they fell down upon their knees, and magnified the Lord, 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 sought their prophets, and, at the command of Elijah, slew them. Elijah also said to the king, that he should go to dinner without any further concern, for that in a little time he would see God send them rain. Accordingly, Ahab went his way; but Elijah went up into the highest top of Carmel, and leant on his staff, and leaned his head upon his knees; and bade his servant go up to a certain elevated place, and look towards the sea, and when he should see a cloud rise up out of the sea, he should give him notice of it, for till that time the air should be clear. When the servant had gone up, and had said many times that he saw nothing, at the seventh time of his going up, he said that he saw a man standing by a little cloud, like a man's foot. When Elijah heard that, he went to Ahab, and desired him to go away to the city before the rain came down. So he came to the city Jesreel; and in a little time the air was all changed, and a vast cloud together with a mighty storm of wind came upon the earth, and with it a great deal of rain; and the prophet was under a divine fury, and ran along with the king's chariot unto Jesreel, a city of Israel.

7. When Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, understood what signs Elijah had wrought, and how he had slain her prophets, she was angry, and sent messengers to him, and by them threatened to kill him. But the king, hearing her grief, sent for Elijah, who was at a distance; and he sent for him, and begged that he would come and see the king. Then the king sent for the man of God, and told him, that he was in great fear for that she would take care to have Naboth punished: and she immediately sent letters to the rulers of the Israelites [Jezebelites] in Ahab's name, and commanded them to come and assemble a council concerning Naboth, and to take Naboth by the head of them, because he was of an illustrious family, and to have three bold men ready to give 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 written to them, that he had blasphemed against God and Ahab the king, she desired him to take possession of Naboth's vineyard on free cost. So Ahab was grieved at what had been done, and rose up immediately from the bed whereon he lay, to go to see Naboth's vineyard: but God had great indignation at it, and sent Elijah the prophet to the field of Ahab, to speak to him. And Ahab said, "Tell me, Elijah, the king of Israel, that "he had slain the true owner of that field unjustly." And as soon as he came to him and the king had said, that he might do with him what he pleased, (for he thought it a reproach to send him to Naboth) and had said, "Tell me, Elijah," the king of Israel, that "is that very piece in which the dead body of Naboth was eaten by dogs, both his own blood and that of his wife should be shed, and that all his family should perish, because he had risen up so insolently wicked, and had slain a citizen unjustly, and contrary to the laws of the country."
of great consequence, they should send them out of the other cities to these judges, who would be obliged to give righteous sentences concerning several cases, and to render help and security to the poor and the weak, because it is proper that the sentences which are given in that city wherein the temple of God is, and wherein the king dwells, be given with great care, and the utmost justice. Now he sat over them the high priest Jehoshaphat, [both] of the tribe of Judah: and after this manner it was that the king ordered these affairs.

2. About this time the Moabites and Ammonites came into the land, with the Amalekites, and took with them a great body of Arabians, and pitched their camp at Engedi, a city that is situated at the lake Ascalitatis, and distant three hundred furlongs from Jerusalem. In that place grows the best kind of palm-trees, and the opal-balasamum. Now Jehoshaphat heard that the enemies had passed over the lake, and had made an invasion into that country which belonged to his kingdom; at which news he was affrighted, and called the people of Jerusalem and the congregation in the temple, and standing over against the temple itself, he called upon God "to afford him power and strength, so as to inflict punishment on those that made this expedition against them, for those who built this temple had prayed that he would protect that city, and take vengeance on those that were so bold as to come against it," for they are come to take us in the wilderness, to cut off all of us, for we have taken possession." When he had prayed thus, he fell into tears; and the whole multitude, together with their wives and children, made their supplications also: upon which a certain prophet, Jasha- illegal, came into the midst of the assembly, and cried out, and spoke both to the multitude and to the king, that God heard their prayers, and promised to fight against their enemies. He also gave order that the king should dismiss the people to their homes, and that he should find them between Jerusalem and the ascent of Engedi, at a place called the Emenee, and that he should not fight against them, but only stand still, and see how God would fight for him. And when the people had said this, both the king and the multitude fell upon their faces, and gave thanks to God, and worshipped him; and the Levites continued singing hymns to God with their instruments of music.

3. A day or two after the king was come into that wilderness which is under the city of Tekoa, he said to the multitude, that "they ought to give credit to what the prophet had said, and follow the orders that he had given them, fighting, but to set the priests with their trumpets, and the Levites, with the singers of hymns, to give thanks to God, as having already delivered our country from our enemies." This opinion of the king pleased [the people], and they did what he advised them to do. So God caused a terror and commotion to arise among the Ammonites, who thought one another to be enemies, and slew one another, insomuch that not one escaped that day. And when Jehoshaphat looked upon that valley where their enemies had been encamped, and saw it full of dead men, he rejoiced at so surprising an event, as was this assistance of God, while he knew that the strength of the forces that came out of the city, had given them the victory. He also gave

Concerning Ahaziah, the King of Israel, and again concerning the Prophet Elijah.

§ 1. And now Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, reigned over Israel, and made his abode in Samaria. He was a wicked man, and, in all respects, like to his father. When he first ascended the throne, he saw that all was transgressed, and began to deceive the people. On the second year of his reign, the king of Moab fell off from his obedience, and left off paying those tributes which he before paid to his father. The king of Israel, when he saw the great prosperity of Ahab, as he was coming down from the top of his house, fell down from it, and in his sickness sent to the Fly, which was the god of Ekron, for that was this god's name, to inquire about his recovery; and when God had commanded him, and the messenger had returned, Elijah was commanded to the king immediately: and when the king inquired how they could return so soon, and asked them the reason of it, they said, that "a certain man met them, and forbade them to go any farther, but 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 leather girdle." And it was understood by this that the man who was described by the messengers was Elijah; whereupon 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 sitting upon the top of a hill, he commanded him

But so far we may conclude, that Josephus thought one Oppir to be somewhere in the Mediterranean, and not in the South Sea, though perhaps there might be another Oppir in the South Sea also, and that those might then sail both from Phoenicia, and from the Red Sea, to fetch the gold of Oppir.

This end of History having been thus far treated of, it is necessary that we should take notice of the manner in which the Hebrews would have been very troublesome to them.
way in pursuit of the Syrians; and when they had spoiled their camp, which contained a great deal of wealth, and moreover a large quantity of gold and silver, he took Benhadad's chariots and horses, and returned to the city; but the prophet told him, he ought to have his army ready, because the Syrian king would make another expedition against him the next year, and Abah was weary in making provision for it accordingly.

3. Notwithstanding his former capture, and as much of his army as he could, out of the battle, he consulted with his friends how he might make another expedition against the Israelites. Not the mercenary hire, which he had, and bought the rest of them on the hillside, because their God was potent in such places, and thence it had come to pass that they had very lately been beaten; but they said, that if they joined battle with them in the plains, they should beat them. They all told him this further advice, to send home those kings whom he had brought as his auxiliaries, but to retain their army, and to set captains over it instead of the kings, and to raise an army out of their country, and let them be to the place of the former who perished in the battle, together with horses and chariots. So he judged their counsel to be good, and acted according to it in the same year, as before.

4. At the beginning of the spring, Benhadad took his army with him, and led it against the Hebrews; and when he was come to a certain city which was called Aphaek, he pitched his camp in a certain place near to it, and left some of his army with him, and pitched his camp over against him, although his army was a very small one, in comparison to that of the enemy: but the prophet came again to him, and told him, that "God would give theSyrians the lions and the birds, because he had demonstrated his own power to be, not only on the mountains, but on the plains also," which it seems was contrary to the opinions of the Syrians. So they lay quiet in their camp seven days, but on the last of these, when they were ready to break up their camp, and put themselves in array in order to fight, Ahab also brought out his own army, and when the battle was joined, and they fought valiantly, he put the enemy to flight, and pursued them, and upon whomsoever he met there, say, they were destroyed by their own chariots, and by one another; nor could any more than a few of them escape to their own city Aphaek, who were slain by the hands of the king of Israel, being in number twenty-seven thousand. Now there were slain in this battle a hundred thousand more: but Benhadad, the king of the Syrians, fled away, with certain others of his most friends, and hid himself in a deep closet 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 life to him, he gave them leave accordingly. So they 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 desired he would save him, and that he would clothe him with sackcloth for that favor." Ahab replied, "he was glad that he was alive, and not hurt in the battle." And he further promised him the same honor and kindness that a man would show to his brother. So the rest of the prisoners were set free, 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 wherein he was, bearing him upon his shoulders, and brought him to 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 not to expect that any mischief was to be come to him. So Benhadad returned thanks, and confessed that he would remember his kindness to him all the days of his life; and promised he would restore those cities of the Israelites which the former kings had taken from them, and grant that he should have leave to come to Damascus, as his forefathers had come to Samaria. So they confirmed their covenant by oaths, and Ahab made him many presents, and many presents made him by Ahab, unto 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 Micaiah, came one time to Ahab, the king of the Israelites, 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 led by him, and that he should be slain by it, and that he, the owner of the lion, should fall into the hands of the king. And this accident had befallen the prophet, the prophet came again to another, and gave him the same injunction, so he smote him, and wounded his skull upon which he bound up his head, and came to the king, and said, "I am the prophet of the Lord, the son of David, and I have sinned; and I had the custody of one of the prisoners committed to him by an officer, and that the prisoner being run away, he was in danger of losing his own life by the means of that officer, who had threatened him, that if the prisoner escaped, he would kill him. And when Ahab had said, that he would justly die, he took off the binding about his head, and was known by the king of Israel, who had made use of this artifice as a prelude to his following words; for he said, that "God would punish him, who had suffered Benhadad, a blasphemer against him, to escape punishment; and that he would bring it upon the head of him that died by the other's means, and his people by the other's army." Upon which Ahab was very angry at the prophet, and gave commandment that he should be put in prison, and there kept; but for himself, he was in confusion at the words of Micaiah, and returned to his own house.
ANTIOCHUHIS OF THE JEWS.

CHAP. XV.
Concerning Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem; and how Ahab made an Expedition against the Syrians, and was assailed therein by Jehoshaphat, but was himself overcome in Battle, and perished therein.

1. AND these were the circumstances in which Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem, who, when he had augmented his kingdom, and had set garrisons in the cities of the countries belonging to his subjects, and had put such garrisons no less into those garrisons which were not set by his own hand, and were taken by Jehoram, his grandfather Abijah, when Je-roboam reigned over the ten tribes, [than he did into the other:] but then he had God favorable and assisting to him, as being both righteous and religious, and seeking to do somewhat every day, that should be agreeable and acceptable to God. The kings also that were round about him, honored him with the presents they made him, till the riches that he had acquired were very great, and the glory he had gained was of a most exalted nature.

2. Now, in the third year of his reign, he called together the rulers of the country, and the prelates, and asked them which of all then round them in the land, and teach all the people that were under him, city by city, the laws of Moses, and to keep them, and to be diligent in the worship of God. While he was thus inquiring, he was pleased, that they were not so eagerly set upon, or affected with any thing so much as the observation of the laws. The neighboring nations also continued to love Jehoshaphat, and to be at peace with him. The Syrians paid them their annual tribute; and the Arabians supplied him every year with three hundred and sixty lambs, and as many kids of the goats. He also fortified the great cities, which were many in number, and of great consequence, and supplied them also with every army of soldiers and weapons against their enemies. Now the army of men that wore their armor, were three hundred thousand of the tribe of Judah, of whom Adnah was the chief; but John was chief of two hundred thousand of the tribe of Benjamin; and there were another chief, whose name was Jehoahaz, who was chief of four hundred and armed men. This multitude was distributed to be ready for the king's service, besides those whom he sent to the best fortified cities.

3. Jehoshaphat took for his son Jehoram to wife the daughter of Ahab, the son of Omri, of the ten tribes, whose name was Athaliah. And when, after some time, he went to Samaria, Ahab received him courteously, and treated the army that followed him in a splendid manner, with great plenty of corn and wine, and of slain beasts; and desired that he would join with him in his war against the king of Syria, that he might recover from him the city Ramoth, in Gilead; for though it had belonged to his father, he, the king of Syria's father took it away from him; and upon Jehoshaphat's promise to afford him assistance, (for indeed his army was not inferior to the other's;) and his sending for his army from Jerusalem, the two kings went out of the city, and each of them sat on his own throne, and each gave their orders to their several armies. Now Jehoshaphat bade them call some of the prophets, if there were any there, and inquire of the Lord concerning his expedition against the king of Syria, whether they would give them counsel to make that expedition at this time, for there

* These reasons of Zedekiah, the false prophet, in order to persuade Ahab not to believe Micaiah, the true prophet, are plausible, but being omitted in our other copies, it is not certain whether from his own temple copy, from some other oriel was peace at that time between Ahab and the king of Syria, which had lasted three years, from the time he had taken him captive till that day. Now Ahab had his own prophets in number about four hundred, and bade them inquire of God whether he would grant him the victory, if he made an expedition against Benhadad, and enable him to overthrow that city, for whose sake it was that he was going to war. Now these prophets gave their counsel for making this expedition; and said, that "he would beat the king of Syria, and, as formerly, would reduce him under his power." But Jehoshaphat, who was one of the false prophets, asked Ahab, whether there were not some other prophet, and he belonging to the true God, that we may have surer information concerning futurities? Hereupon Ahab said, "there was indeed such a one, but that he hated him, as having prophesied evil to him, and having foretold that he should be overcome, and slain by the king of Syria, and that for this cause he had him stoned to death, and that his name was Micaiah, the son of Imnah." But upon Jehoshaphat's desire that he might be produced, Ahab sent a eunuch, who brought Micaiah to him. Now the eunuch had informed him by the way, that all the prophets had taken off, and that he was disposed to gain the victory; but he said, that "it was not lawful for him to lie against God, but that he must speak what he should say to him about the king, whatsoever it were." When he came to Ahab, and was adjured him by the king to speak the truth to him, he said, that "God had showed to him the Israelites running away, and pursued by the Syrians, and dispersed upon the field; and the dead bodies were dispersed when their shepherd is slain." He said farther, that "God signified to him, that those Israelites should return in peace to their own homes, and that he only should fall in battle." Whereupon Ahab had this conclusion drawn by Jehoshaphat, "I told thee a little while ago the disposition of the man with regard to me, and that he uses to prophesy evil to me." Upon which Micaiah replied, that "he ought to hear all that God had said, and that in particular, they were false prophets that encouraged him to make this war in hope of victory, whereas he must fight and be killed." Whereupon the king was in suspense with himself; for Micaiah, one of those false prophets, came near, and exhorted him not to hearken to Micaiah, for he did not at all speak truth; as a demonstration of which, he instance in what he had said would be a proof of his being a false prophet in foretelling futurities than Micaiah; 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 Micaiah was a liar, as contradicting a greater prophet than himself, and saying, that he would be slain at three days' journey distance. And [said he] "I would suppose thou hast already heard of that accident." So when, upon his smiting Micaiah, no harm happened to him, Ahab took courage, and readily led his army against Benhadad, as he supposed, fate was too hard for him, and made him believe that the false prophets spake truer than the true one, general author; or from certain ancient notes. That some such plausible objection was now raised against Micaiah is very likely, otherwise Jehoshaphat, who used to disbelief the words of the false prophets, could never have been induc ed to accompany Ahab in these desperate circumstances
BOOK VIII.—CHAP. XV.

that it might take an occasion of bringing him to his end. However, Zedekiah made horns of iron, and said to Ahab, that "God made those horns by all thy power, and by the spirit of all thy might, by the all Syrians." But Micaiah replied, that "Zedekiah in a few days should go from one secret chamber to another, to hide himself, that he might escape the punishment of his lying." Then did the king give orders that they should take Micaiah away, and guard him to Amos, the governor of the city, and to give him nothing but bread and water.

5. Then did Ahab, and Jeoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem, take their forces, and marched to Ramoth, a city of Gilead; and when the king of Syria heard of this expedition, he brought out his army to oppose them, and pitched his camp not far from Ramoth. Now Ahab and Jeoshaphat had agreed, that Ahab should lay aside his royal robes, but the king of Jerusalem should put on his [Ahab's] proper habit, and stand before the army, in order to disprove, by this artifice, what Micaiah had foretold; but Ahab's fate found him out with his royal robes, and Benhadad, the king of Syria, had charged his army, by the means of their commanders, to kill nobody else but only the king of Israel. So when the Syrians, upon their joining battle with the king of Jerusalem, first shot arrows against the army, and conjectured that he was Ahab, 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 light lasted from the morning-light to the evening, in the army, and the Syrians were conquerors, they killed nobody, as their king had commanded them. And when they sought to kill Ahab alone, but could not find him, there was a young servant, and a slave belonging to king Benhadad, whose name was Naaman; he drew his bow against the enemy, and wounded the king through his breastplate, in his lungs. Upon this, Ahab

resolved not to make his mischances known to his army, lest they should run away, but he bade the driver of his chariot to turn it back, and carry him home, but when he got there, he was both cruelly and mortally wounded; however, he sat in his chariot and endured the pain till sunset, and then he fainted away and died.

6. And now the Syrian army, upon the coming of the night, were ready to pass away; but-v. 20. and when the herald belonging to the camp gave notice that Ahab was dead, they returned home; and they took the dead body of Ahab to Samaria and buried it there; but when they had washed his chariot, in the fountain of Jeruel, which was bloody with the dead body of the king, they acknowledged that the prophecy of Elijah was true, for the dogs licked his blood, and the harlots contended afterward to wash themselves in that fountain; but still he lay at Ramoth, as Micaiah had foretold. And as what things were foretold should happen to Ahab, by the two prophets, came to pass, we ought hence to have high notions of God, and to worship him, and never to suppose that what is pleasant and agreeable is worthy of belief before what is true, and to esteem nothing more advantageous than the gift of prophecy, and that foresee knowledge of future events which is derived from it, since God shows man thereby what we ought to avoid. We may also guess, from what happened to this king, and have reason to consider the power of fate, that there is no way of avoiding it, even when we know it. It creeps upon human souls, and festers them with pleasing hopes, till it leads them about to the place where it will be too hard for them. Accordingly, Ahab appears to have been deceived thereby, till he disbelieved those that foretold his death, but by giving credit to such as foretold what was grateful to him, was slain: and his son Absaiah succeeded him.

† We have here a very wise reflection of Josephus about Divine Providence, and what is derived from it, prophecy, and the inevitable certainty of its accomplishment; and that when wicked men think they take proper methods to evade what is denounced against them, they are often mistaken; and without repentance, they are ever by Providence instigated to bring about their own destruction, and thereby withal to demonstrate the perfect veracity of that God whose predictions they in vain endeavor to elude.

BOOK IX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SEVEN YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF AHAB TO THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Jeoshaphat again; how he constituted Judges, and, by God's Assistance, overcame his Enemies.

§ 1. When Jeoshaphat the king was come to Jerusalem, from the assistance he had afforded Ahab, the king of Israel, when he fought with Benhadad king of Syria, the prophet Jehezekiel met him, and accused him for assisting Ahab, a man both iniquious 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 better disposition, which was good." Whereupon the king betook himself to thanksgivings and sacrifices to God: after which he presently went over all that country which he ruled round about,

and taught the people, as well the laws which God gave them by Moses, as that religious worship that was due to him. He also constituted judges in every one of the cities of his kingdom; and charged them "to have regard to nothing so much in judging the multitude as to do justice, and not to be moved by bribes, nor by the dignity of men eminent for either their riches or their high birth, but to distribute justice equally to all, as knowing that God is conscious of every secret action of theirs." When he had himself instructed them thus, and gone over every city of the two tribes, he returned to Jerusalem. He there also called together the elders of the Levites, and the Levites' and principal persons of the multitude, and admonished them to pass all their sentences with care and justice. And that if any of the people of his country had differences

2 Chron. xxii. 8, much like the old Christian judicatures of the bishop, the presbyters, the deacons and the people.
against the king of Moab, whose name was Mo-
sha; for, as we told you before, he was passion-
ate in his love for either Ahab [Ahabah] or
Jehoshaphat, while he paid to his father Ahab two
hundred thousand sheep with their fleeces of wool.
When therefore he had gathered his own army to-
gether, he sent messengers to Jehoshaphat, 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 neglected the acts of kindness that
he hadowiowed to Jehoshaphat, but even when
he had been sumptuously entertained by the
king of Jerusalem, it was resolved upon by
them to take their march against their enemies
through the wilderness of Edom; and when they
had come near his army with him, and came up
against him, they were in distress for want of
water for the cattle, and for the army, from the
mistake of their roads by the guides that
accompanied them, so much that the whole was
in a great and serious sorrow, and [designed to]
know what wickedness had been committed by
them, that induced him to deliver three kings to
him, without fighting, of whom one was Jehosh-
aphat, the other Elijah, and the third was a
righteous man, encouraged him, and bade him
send to the camp, and know whether any
prophet of God was come along with them, that
we might by him learn from God what we should
do. And when none of the inhabitants of Edom
and of Israel knew what to do, they sent to the
god of Ekron to inquire of him what
would be the end of this thy distemper, know this,
that thou shalt die.

2. Accordingly, the king in a very little time
did not delay to despatch the envoys to the
prophets; but Jehoram his brother succeeded him in the kingdom, for he
died without children: but for this Jehoram, he was
like his father Ahab in wickedness, and
reigned twelve years, indulging himself in all
sorts of wickedness, upbraiding, and spoiling God;
for, leaving off his worship, he worshipped for-
soign gods: but in other respects he was an
active man. Now at this time it was that Elijah
died, according to the prophecy of the
word: but he left behind him his disciple Elisha, as we have formerly
described. And indeed, as to Elijah, and as to Elisha,
who was before the deluge, it is written in the
scriptures, that he was translated to heaven, but so that
nobody knew that they died.

CHAPTER III.

How Jehoram and Jehoshaphat made an Expedition
against the Moabites; as also concerning the
Wonders of Elisha; and the death of Jehosha-
phat.

1. When Jehoram had taken upon him
the kingdom, he determined to make an expedition
against the Moabites.

2. Thus Jehoram and Jehoshaphat made an Expedition
against the Moabites, whose name was Mo-
sha; for, as we told you before, he was passion-
ate in his love for either Ahab [Ahabah] or
Jehoshaphat, while he paid to his father Ahab two
hundred thousand sheep with their fleeces of wool.
When therefore he had gathered his own army to-
gether, he sent messengers to Jehoshaphat, 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 neglected the acts of kindness that
he hadowiowed to Jehoshaphat, but even when
he had been sumptuously entertained by the
king of Jerusalem, it was resolved upon by
them to take their march against their enemies
through the wilderness of Edom; and when they
had come near his army with him, and came up
against him, they were in distress for want of
water for the cattle, and for the army, from the
mistake of their roads by the guides that
accompanied them, so much that the whole was
in a great and serious sorrow, and [designed to]
know what wickedness had been committed by
them, that induced him to deliver three kings to
him, without fighting, of whom one was Jehosh-
aphat, the other Elijah, and the third was a
righteous man, encouraged him, and bade him
send to the camp, and know whether any
prophet of God was come along with them, that
we might by him learn from God what we should
do. And when none of the inhabitants of Edom
and of Israel knew what to do, they sent to the
god of Ekron to inquire of him what
would be the end of this thy distemper, know this,
that thou shalt die.

2. Accordingly, the king in a very little time
did not delay to despatch the envoys to the
prophets; but Jehoram his brother succeeded him in the kingdom, for he
died without children: but for this Jehoram, he was
like his father Ahab in wickedness, and
reigned twelve years, indulging himself in all
sorts of wickedness, upbraiding, and spoiling God;
for, leaving off his worship, he worshipped for-
soign gods: but in other respects he was an
active man. Now at this time it was that Elijah
died, according to the prophecy of the
word: but he left behind him his disciple Elisha, as we have formerly
described. And indeed, as to Elijah, and as to Elisha,
who was before the deluge, it is written in the
scriptures, that he was translated to heaven, but so that
nobody knew that they died.
any, because the sea rising, a great torrent came strongly; for God had caused it to rain plentifully at the distance of three days' journey into Edom; so that the army and the cattle found water to drink in abundance. But when the Moabites heard that the three kings were on their way against 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 they might attack the three kings, cut off their country, they might not be concealed from them. But when at the rising of the sun they saw the water in the torrent, for it was not far from the land made a valley, and was covered with a great sea of blood, for at such a time the water especially looks red, by the shining of the sun upon it, they formed a false notion of the state of their enemies, as if they had slain one another for thirst, and the river was without water in it, destroying them destroyed 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 three kings cut the land of Moab, they overthrew the cities that were in it, and spoiled their fields, and marred them, filling them with stones out of the brooks, and cutting down the bough of their trees, and stopping up the fountain of water, so that they drew their walls to their foundations. But the king of Moab, when he was perished, endured a siege, and seeing his city in danger of being overthrown by famine, he made war with publicans and sheriffs, in order to break through the enemies' camp with his horsemen, on that side where the watch seemed to be kept most negligently: and when upon trial, he could not get near either the town or the city, being watched, he returned into the city, and did a thing that showed despair and the utmost distress; for he took his eldest son, who was to reign after him, and lifting him up upon the wall, that they might see all the destruction, he offered him as a whole burnt-offering to God, whom, when the kings saw, they communicated the distress that was the occasion of it, and were so affected, in way of humanity and pity, that they rescinded their war and returned to their own houses. So Jehoshaphat came to Jerusalem, and continued in peace there, and outfitted this expedition but a little time, and then died, having lived in all sixty years, and of them twenty-two were. He was buried in an magnificent manner in Jerusalem, for he had imitated the actions of David.

*That this woman who cried to Elisah, and who in our Bible is styled the wife of one of the sons of the prophet, Ex. 21:8, is also Ordah, the good steward of Ahab, is confirmed by the Chaldee paraphrase, and by the Rabbins and others. But when, as has been already said, that these debts were contracted by her husband for the support of those hundred of the Lord's prophets whom he maintained by fifty a piece, in the days of Ahab and Jehoshaphat, 1 Kings xviii. 4, which circumstances rendered it highly fit that the prophet Eliasha should provide her a remedy, and enable her to redeem herself and her sons from the fear of that servitude which involved debters to be liable to by the law of Moses, Lev. xxv. 38, 39, the best solution accordingly, with God's help, at the expense of a miracle.*

† Dr. Hudson, with very good reason, suspects that there is no such word in the Hebrew, just before the beginning of this section, and that chiefly as to that distinct account which he had given as reason to expect in the first section, and so it is to me. However, I see to point out that the spirit of Josephus, after he had been miraculously cured by a prophet of the true God, went into the house of Raimus to worship there; and he went near, and I bow myself in the House of Raimus; when I bow myself in the House of God. 7 And he is something of a thing. And Elisah said, Go in peace. This looks like a prophet's permission for being partner inidelity justly, out of compliance with an idealist sense.
BOOK IX.—CHAP. IV.

should not mistake himself, nor suspect that they had discovered to his enemy his sending men to kill him, but this right to know that it was Elisha the prophet, who discovered all the time and laid open all his counsels." So he gave orders that they should send some to learn in what city Elisha dwelt. Accordingly, those that were sent went first to Gilead, and therefrom to the city of Gilead, wherefore Benhadad sent to that city a great army, with horses and chariots, to take Elisha; so they compassed the city round about by night, and kept him therein confined; but when the king had learned of all this, and that his enemies sought to take Elisha, he came running, and crying out after a disord- ered manner to him, and told him of it; but he encouraged him, and bid him not be afraid, and told him the same thing, and trusted to the power 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 cour- age. Accordingly God heard the prayer of the prophet, and made the servant see a multitude of chariots and horses encompassing Elisha, till he laid aside his fear, and his courage revived and increased, and this was the means of his giving them their assistance. After this Elisha did farther entreat God that he would Dim the eyes of their enemies, and cast a mist before them, whereby they might not discern him. When this was done, the army was made to find another road, and they asked them who it was that they came to seek; and when they replied, the prophet Elisha, he promised he would deliver him to them, if they would follow him to the city where he was. So they followed him, and were thus delivered by God in their sight and in their mind, that they followed him very diligently; and when Elisha had brought them to Samaria, he ordered Joram the king to shut the gates, and to place his own army round about, and to order no one to go to God to cleave the eyes of these their enemies, and take the mist from before them. Accordingly, when they were freed from the obscurity they had been in, they saw themselves in the midst of their enemies; and as the Syrians were strangely amazed and distressed, as was but reasonable, at an action so divine and surprising: and as king Joram asked the prophet if he would give him leave to address himself to Elisha, and receive and make such offer to the prophet; but Elisha was not acquainted with the wrath of the king against him; for as he sat in his house by himself, with none but his disciples about him, he told them, that Joram, who was the son of Ahab, was a man that was not to be trusted, he could be too hard for his enemies by the multitude of his army and power. So he made an expedi- tion with a great army against Joram, who, not thinking himself a match for him, put himself up in Samaria, and depended on the strength of its walls. But Benhadad supposed he should take the city, if he only kept the gates of it open, that he should overcome the Samaritans by famine, and the want of necessaries, and brought his army upon them, and besieged the city; and the plenty of corn, and the abundance of all kinds of things there, with Joram, that from the extremity of want an ass's head was sold in Samaria for fourscore pieces of silver, and the Hebrews bought a sextary of dore's dung, instead of salt, for five pieces of silver. Now it was not a time for God to leave them, that should betray the city to the enemy by reason of the famine, and went every day round the walls and the guards, to see whether any such were concealed among them; and by being thus seen, and taking such care of him, God had given them an opportunity of contriving any such thing, and if they had a mind to do it, he, by these means, prevented them; but upon a certain woman's crying out, "Have pity on me, my lord," while he thought that she was about to ask for somewhat to eat, he imprecated God's curse upon her, and said, "He had neither threshing-floor nor wine-press, whence he might give her any thing at her petition." He was willing, which she said she desired in any such thing, nor trouble him about food, but desired that he would do her justice as to another woman. And when he bade her say on, and let him know what she desired, she said, "Let there be given me, my lord, one flat of another woman, who was her neighbor and her friend, that because the famine and want was intolerable, they should kill their children, each of them having a son of her own, and we will live upon them them, and we will come unto thee upon one son, and the other day upon the other: and, (said she,) I have killed my son the first day, and we lived upon my son yesterday, but this other woman will not do the same thing, but hath broken the head of her son, and hath hid his son." This story mightily grieved Joram when he heard it; so he rent his garment, and cried out with a loud voice, and conceived great wrath against Elisha the prophet, and set himself eagerly to have him slain, because he did not pray to God to provide them some exit and way of escape out of the miseries with which they were surrounded, and sent one away immediately to cut off the head of Elisha, and to slay and destroy the prophet; but Elisha was not acquainted with the wrath of the king against him; for as he sat in his house by himself, with none but his disciples about him, he told them, that Joram, who was the son of Ahab, was a man that was not to be trusted, and that the miseries they now lay under, but saw themselves so sadly destroyed by them. Hereupon Elisha promised, that the very next day, at the very
same hour in which the king came to him, they should have great plenty of food, and that two seaus of barley should be sold in the market for a shekel, and a seash of fine flour should be sold for a shekel. This prevailed in the time of Joram, and those that were present, very joyful, for they did not scruple believing what the prophet said, on account of the experience they had of the truth of his former predictions; and the expectation of plenty was more in that day, with the uneasiness that accompanied it, appear a light thing to them: but the captain of the third band, who was a friend of the king, and one of the chief officers of it, 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 that what thou sayest should come to pass." 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." 5. Now what Elisha had thus foretold, came to pass in the manner following: there was a law at Samaria, that the king of Syria that had hired, whose bodies were not cleansed from it, should abide without the city; and there were four men on this account 400 before the gates, with their horses and flocks, by reason of the extremity of the famine: and they were prohibited from entering into the city by the law, and they considered that if they were permitted to enter, they should miserably perish by the famine: so that if they were 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 live, but if they should be killed, 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 beguiled and disturbed the Syrians, and to bring the noise of chariots and armor to their ears, and when the army was coming upon them, and had made them suspect that it was coming nearer and nearer to them. In short, they were in such a dread of this army, that they left their tents, and ran together to Benhadad, and said, "The king of Syria that had hired us, had hired us for auxiliaries, both the king of Egypt, and the king of the islands, and led them against them, for they heard the noise of them as they were coming. And 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 beasts in their camp, with immense riches of all sorts before them, and went to the fight. 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 hid it out of the camp; after what they did, they came thence, and carried off what was in it, as they did at the former, and this did they for several times, without the least interruption from any body. So they gathered thereby, that they approached 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 things were, as did 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, that "he sus-

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*A This law of the Jews, for the exclusion of lepers out of the camp in the wilderness, and out of cities in Judea, as well known ones, Lev. xiv. 8. & Num. v. 1–6.*
not thinking himself a match for him, but him- 
self up in Samaria, and depended on the strength of its walls; but Benhadad expected he should 
take the city, if not by his engines of war, yet 
that he should overcome the Samaritans by fa-
mine, 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 
as's head was sold in Samaria for fourscore pie-
ces of silver, and the Hebrews bought a sextary 
of dove's dung, instead of salt, for five pieces of 
silver. Nor did Joram forget how he should 
not betray the city to the enemy by reason of 
the famine, and went every day round the walls 
and the guards, to see whether any such were 
concealed among them; and by thus seeming, 
and taking such care, he improved them 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, "Holofernes, I pray you, my lord," whom he 
thought she was about to ask for somewhat 
to eat, he impregnated God's curse upon her, and 
said, "he had neither threshing-floor nor wine-
press, whence he might give her any thing at her 
petition." And which the more rather, because he 
desired not his aid in any such thing, nor trouble 
him about food, but desired that he would do her jus-
tice as to another woman. And when he bade 
her say on, and let him know what she desired, 
she said, "I have heard my master's business, and 
the business of every other woman, who was her neighbor and her 
friend, that because the famine and want was in-
tolerable, they should kill their children, each of 
them having a son or her own, and we will live 
upon them: and, therefore, I have this day 
chosen one son, and the other day the other: 
and, (said she,) I have killed my son the first day, 
and we lived upon us my son yesterday, but this 
other woman, (for so he said,) hath broken her agreement, and hath hid her 
son." This story mightily grieved Joram when 
he heard it; so he rent his garments, and cried 
out with a loud voice, and conceived great wrath 
against Eliasha the prophet, and set himself 
savagely to have him slain, because he did not 
pray to God to provide them some exit and way 
of escape out of the miseries with which they 
were surrounded, and sent one away immedi-
ately to cut his throat. Joram, who was the 
prophet, and threatened with his hand, sent 
the prophet; but Eliasha was not unsanctioned 
with the wrath of the king against him; for as 
he sat in his house by himself, with none but his 
disciples about him, he told them, that Joram, 
who was the son of Ahab, was the man to take 
to take away his head; but, said he, "when he 
that is commanded to do this comes, take care 
that you do not let him come in, but press the 
door against him, and hold him fast there, for 
the king himself will follow him, and come to 
me, having altered his mind." Accordingly, 
they did as they were bidden, when he that was 
sent by the king to kill Eliasha came; but Joram 
with great astonishment said, "What fear have 
I of death? for the king of Israel is not so far 
from me that he can send a man to kill me. 
As for the fear that was commanded to kill him 
should have done it before he came, he made haste 
to hinder his slaughter, and to save the prophet; 
and when he came to him, he accused him that 
he did not pray to God for those that had once 
the miseries they now lay under, but saw them 
so sadly destroyed by them. Hereupon Eliasha 
promised, that the very next day, at the very 

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* Upon occasion of this stratagem of Eliasha's in Jose-
phus, we may take notice, that although Josephus was 
one of the greatest lovers of truth in the world, yet in a 
judgment of this kind, I doubt not but he has misled 
us, and been infected with the imputation of all such 
stratagems possible to deceive public enemies. See also Josephus's account of Jeremiah's im-
prisonment at Jericho, chap. xix. sect. 5, and 2 Sam. xvi. 
14, 44.

† This son of a murderer was Joram, the son of Ahab; 
which Ahab slew, or permitted his wife Jezebel to slay 
the Lord's prophets, and Naboth, 1 Kings xvii. 4, 
21, 22, and he is here put among the list of those who 
caused he had now also himself sent an officer to murder 
him; yet is Josephus's account of Joram's coming him-
self at last, as one of those who had the misfortune of 
the three, more probable than that in our copies, 2 Kings xii. 
33, which rather implies the contrary.
but the wound was not mortal: so he returned to have his wound healed in Jezreel, but left his white horse 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 to give holy oil to assist 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 bade him take his journey as if he fled, that when he came away he might escape. And when he came to 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 was abreast of him, 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 his destroying the house of Ahab, and that he might revenge the blood of the prophets, that were unjustly slain by Jezebel, so that their house might utterly perish, as those of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and of Bethel, that were punished for their sin, and that no seed might remain of Ahab's family." So when he had said this, he went away hastily out of the chamber, and endeavored not to be seen by any of the army.

2. But Jehu 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 he spake were the words of a madman:" and when they were eager about the matter, and desired him to tell them, he answered, that God had said, "I will remove from him the king over the multitude." When he had said this, every one of them put off his garment, and strewn it under him, and blew with trumpets, and gave notice that Jehu was king. So when he had gathered the army together, he set out imme-

mediately 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. And when Ahab, the king of Jerusalem, was now come to Joram, and commanded him to come down to him. At last he ordered the eunuchs to throw him down from the tower, and being thrown down, she sprinkled the wall with her blood, and men began to shout, and said, "Thus doth the dog, the son of Ahab." When this was done, Jehu came to the palace with his friends, and took some refreshment after his journey, both with other things, and by eating a meal. He also bade his servants to take up Jezebel and bury her, because of the nobility of her blood, for she was descended from kings; but those that were appointed to bury her found nothing else remaining but the extremest parts of her body, for the rest were eaten by dogs. With this great joy, he admired the prophecy of Elijah, for he foresaw that she should perish in this manner at Jezreel.

3. So they were pleased with what he did, and guarded the roads, lest somebody should privately tell the thing to those that were at Jezreel.

Now Jehu took his choice horsemen, and sent on over his chariot, and went on for Jezreel; and when he was come near, the watchman whom Joram had set there to spy out such as came to the city, saw Jehu marching on, and told Joram that he saw a troop of horsesmen marching on. Upon which he immediately gave orders, that one of his horsemen should be sent out to meet them, and to know who it was that was coming. So when the horseman came up to Jehu, he asked him, in what condition the army was; for that the
avenge 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 read the letter, they were afeard: and considering that they were not able to oppose him, and that he had already subdued two very great kings, they returned him this answer, that "they owned him for their lord, and their God, and their king." So he wrote back to them such a reply as enjoined them to obey what he gave order for, and to cut off the heads of Ahab's sons, and send them to him. Accordingly, the rulers sent for those that brought up the children, and said, "Now this Baal that thou lovest, and Ahab, in order to gratify his father- in-law, Eth- baal, who was the king of Tyre and Sidon, built a temple for him in Samaria, and appointed him prophets, and worshipped him with all sorts of worship, although, when this god was denounced, Eth-baal permitted the Israelites to worship the golden heifers. 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 hundred and thirty years, and in this condition was Jehu at this time.

CHAP. VII.

How Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem for five [six] Years, when Jehoishah, the High Priest, slew her, and made Jehoash, the Son of Ahaziah, King.

§ 1. Now, when Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, heard of the death of her brother Joram, and of her son Ahaziah, and of the royal family, she endeavored that none of the house of David might be left alive, but that the whole family might be exterminated; but then, when Joram's son, Jehoash, appeared to her, she took him up, and went about to secure him. Now, the king of Judah, whose name was Jehoishah, was a high priest, which title was given to all the Levites, and who was a high priest of God, because he attended to the worship of God, and was devoted to God's service, and was set over the whole people. But now, Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem, and the two tribes.

2. Now, on the seventh year, Jehoishah communicated the matter to certain of the captains of hundreds, five in number, and persuaded them to be assailing to what attempts he was making against Athaliah, 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 another from the fear of discovery; and he was then of good hope that, they should depose Athaliah. Now, those men whom Jehoishah, the priest, had taken to be his partners, went into all the country, and gathered together the priests and Levites, and the heads of the tribes of Judah, and did what Athaliah did, and brought them to Jerusalem, to the high priest. So he demanded the security of an oath of them, to keep private whatever he should discover among them, which Athaliah used to have their assistance. So when they had taken the oath, and had thereby made it safe for him to speak, he produced the child that he had brought up of the family of David, and said to them, "this is your king;" and he showed it to them, and said to them, "I know God hath foresaid 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 another part stand at 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 horsemen go into the temple but the priest only. He also gave them this order besides, that a part of the priests and the Levites should be 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 armed into the temple; and bade them be afraid of nobody, but persevere in guarding the king." So these men obeyed what the high priest advised him to, and declared the resolution by the actions. Jehoiada also opened that armory which David had made in the temple, and distributed to the captains of hundreds, as also to the priests and Levites, all the spears and quivers, and what kind of weapons ever it contained, and set them armed in a circle round about the temple, so as to touch one another's hands, and by that means excluding those from entering that ought not to enter. So they brought the child into the midst of them, and put on him the royal crown, and Jehoiada anointed him with the oil, and made him king; and the multitude rejoiced, and made a noise, and cried "God save the king!"

2. Jehoiada also heard the tumult and the acclamations, she was greatly disturbed in her mind, and suddenly issued out of the royal palace with her own army; and when she was come to the temple, the priest received her, and those that stood about also went into the temple, as they were ordered by the high priest to do, they hindered the armed men that followed her from going in. But when Athaliah saw the child standing upon a pillar, with the royal crown upon her head, and her clothes, and cried out vehemently, and commanded [her guards] to kill him that had laid snares for her, and endeavored to deprive her of the government, Jehoiada called for the captains of hundreds, and commanded them to bring Athaliah to the valley of Cedron, and slay her there, for he would not have the temple desecrated with the punishment of this pernicious woman; and he gave orders, that if any one came near to help her, he should be slain also; wherefore those that had the charge of her slaughter, took hold of her, and led her to the gate of the king's mules, and slew her there.

3. So now what concerned Athaliah was by this stratagem, after this manner despatched, Jehoiada called together the people and the armed men into the temple, and made them take an oath that the king should be obedient to them, and take care of his safety, and of the safety of his government; after which he obliged the king to give security [upon oath] that he would worship God, and not transgress the laws of Moses. They then ran to the horse of Baal, which Athaliah and her husband Jehoram had built, to the dishonor of the God of their fathers, and to the honor of Ahab, and demolished it, and slew Matan, that had his priests, and burned the places and the priests, according to the appointment of king David, and enjoined them to bring their regular burnt-offerings twice a day, and to offer incense according to the order for incense; whereupon the Levites, with the porters, to be a guard to the temple, that no one that was defiled might come there.

And when Jehoiada had set these things in order, he, with the captains of hundreds, and the rulers, and all the people, took Jehoiash out of the temple into the king's palace; and when he had set him upon the king's throne, the people shouted and betook themselves to feasting, and kept a festival for many days; but the city was quiet upon the death of Athaliah. Now Jehoiash was seven years old when he took the kingdom: his mother's name was Zibiah, of the city Beerseba. And all the time Jehoiada lived, Jehoiash was careful that the laws should be kept, and very zealous in the worship of God; and when he was of age, he married two wives, who were given to him by the high priest, by whom were born to him both sons and daughters. And as he had received counsel concerning king Jehoash, how he escaped the treachery of Athaliah, and how he received the kingdom.

CHAP. VIII.

Hazaël makes an Expedition against the People of Israel, and the Inhabitants of Jerusalem.

1. Now Hazael, king of Syria, feared to come 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 tribe of Manasseh, and wholly spoiled the land of 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 attempt to defend the country when Hazael was under this distress. But he was a statesman, 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. He was buried in the city of Samaria, and his son succeeded him in the government.

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 his order, and they sent a talent and 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 his 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 sent the Levites to enjoin them, and still continued to demand them to take care of the temple, but the high priest, he used this stratagem for collecting the money, with which the multitude was pleased. He made a wooden chest, and closed it up fast with locks, and shut up the key; and 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 the temple, and it was castore before the face of the Lord. But when the multitude appeared to have cast in as much as was wanted, the high priest Jehoiada, and king Jehoash, sent to hire masons and carpenters, and to buy large pieces of timber and hewn stone, and all that was necessary for the rebuilding of the temple; 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 vessels, and they went on to make the altar every day fast with sacrifices of great value. And these things were taken suitable care of, as long as Jehoiada lived.

3. But as soon as he was dead, which was when he was old, and the daughter of his wife had come to 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." king Je-
hoah betrayed his [want of] care about God. The
principal men of the people were corrupted also
together with him, and offended against their
duty, and what their constitution determined
for their good. He was therefore displeased with the
change that was made on the king, and on the rest of the
people; and sent prophets to testify to them what their
actions were, and to bring them to leave off their
wickedness: but the king was so harden, and so
affection and so violent an inclination to it, that
neither could the examples of those that had of-
served afronts to the laws, and had been so se-
verely punished, they and their entire families,
sort of examples to the prophets now fore-
told, bring them to repentance, and turn them
back from their course of transgression to their
former duty. But the king commanded that
Zachariah, the son of the high priest Jehoiada,
should be stoned to death in the temple, and
forgot the kindnesses he had received from his
father; for when God had appointed him to pro-
phesy, he stood in the midst of the multitude and
gave his message to them, that if they should act
righteously, and foretold to them, that if they
would not hearken to his admoni-
tions, they should suffer a heavy punishment;
but as Zachariah was ready to die, he appeal-
ed to him in his means that he was
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
Jehosh. 

4. Nevertheless, it was not long before the king
suffered punishment for his transgression: for
when Hazael, king of Syria, made an irruption
into his country, and when he had overthrown Gath, and
spoiled it, he made an expedition against Jerusalem;
and king Jehoah was afraid, and emptied all the treasures of
God, and of the king's [before him] and took down the
the gifts that had been dedicated, in the temple,
and sent them to the king of Syria, and procured so
to his own loss, being taken as a
and his kingdom quite endangered, but Hazael
was induced by the greatness of the sum of money
not to bring his army against Jerusalem: yet Je-
hoah, though he did not act as he should, was set
upon by his friends, in order to revenge the death
of Zachariah the son of Jehoiada. These laid
wares for the king, and slew him. He was in-
deed buried in Jerusalem, but not in the royal sepulchre of
of the prophet, but in the house of the
Hebrews. He lived forty-seven years, and Amaziah
his son succeeded him in the kingdom.

5. In the one-and-twentieth year of the reign
of Jehoah, Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, took the
government of the Israelites in Samaria, and
held it seventeen years. He did not [proper]
imitate his father, but was guilty of wicked
practices as those that first had God in contempt:
but the king of Syria brought him low, and by
by means of it obtained possession of his
and set his forces, that there remained no more of
so great an army than ten thousand armed men,
and fifty horsemen. He also took away from
him all the great gold and silver of them also,
and all his armory. And these were the things
that the people of Israel suffered, according to

*This character of Josiah, the son of Je-chaniah, has
the prophecy of Elisha, when he foretold that
Hazael should kill his master, and reign over
the Syrians and Damascus. But when Jehoahes was
under such unavoidable necessities, he had re-
course to prayer and supplication to God, and
besought him to deliver him out of the hands of
Hazael, and not to destroy him, but to deliver
him into his hands. Accordingly, God accepted of
his repentance instead of virtue, and being desir-
ous rather to admonish those that might repeat,
and not to determine a thing about them, but utterly
destroyed, he granted him deliverance from fear
and dangers. So the country, having obtained
peace, returned again to its former condition,
and flourished as before.

6. Now, after the death of Jehoahaz, his son
Josiah took the kingdom, in the thirty-seventh
year of Jehoah, the king of the tribes of Judah.
This Josiah then took the kingdom of Israel in
Samaria, for he had the same name with the king
of Jerusalem, and he retained the kingdom six-
teen years. He was a good man, and in his dis-
position not at all like his father. Now at this
time it was, that when Elisha the prophet, who
was already very old, and was now fallen into a
disease, the king of Israel came to see him; and
when he found him very near death, he be-
gan to weep in his sight, and lament, to call him
his father, and his weapons, because it was by
his means that he had now long and of his new-
pons against his enemies, and that he overcame
his own adversaries by his prophecies, without
fighting; and that he was now departing this
life, and leaving him to the Syrians, who were
already ruined, and had no more weapons
under their power: so he said it was not
safe for him to live any longer, but that it would
be well for him to hasten to his end, and depart
out of this life with him. As the king was thus
begging of him, he pronounced this word of
the king bend a bow that was brought him,
and when the king had fitted the bow for shoot-
ing, Elisha took hold of his hands and bade him
shoot: and when he had shot three arrows, and
then left off, Elisha said, "Of the thoir that
more arrows, thou badst cut the kingdom of
Syria up by the roots, but since thou hast been
satisfied with shooting three times only, thou
shalt give the Syrins the same measure of
righteousness; and in eminent favor with God.
He also performed wonderful and surprising
works by prophecy, and such as were gloriously
preserved in memory among the Hebrews.
He also obtained a magnificent funeral, such a one
indeed as it was fit a person so beloved of
God should have. It also happened, that at that
time certain robbers cast a dart on a man whom they had
slain into Elisha's grave, and upon his dead body
coming close to the dead man, it was more than
three, that thou mayst recover that country
which they cut off from thy kingdom in the
reign of thy father." So when the king had
heard that, he departed, and a little while after,
Elisha died, and a little while after, Syria was
overthrown by Elisha the prophet, both such as he did while
he was alive, and how he had a divine power
should have been such. Then the kingdom

7. Now upon the death of Hazael, the king of
Syria, that kingdom came to Adad his son,
copies, and supposes this king to have been then a
good man, and no idolater, with whom God's prophets used
not to be so familiar. Upon the whole, since it ap-
ears, even by Jehoah's own account, that Amaziah
the good king of Judah, while he was a good king,
was forbidden to make use of the 100,000 auxiliaries
he had hired of this same king, when they were then idolaters, by Chron. xxxiv. 6-8, it is most
likely that these different characters of Josiah evince
the different parts of his life. In the different
common copies, he was at first a wicked king, and
afterward was reclaimed, and became a good one, as
according to Josephus.
with whom Joash 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 the kingdom of Israel, which came to pass, according to the prophecy of Elisha. But when Joash had succeeded to the throne, he was buried in Samaria, and the government devolved on his son Jeroboam.

CHAP. IX.

How Amaanaz made an Expedition against the Edomites and Maalikites, and conquered them; but he was afterward made a prisoner against Ju- ash, 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 Joash over Israel, Amaanaz reigned over the tribe of Judah at Jerusalem. His mother's name was Jehovahaddan, who was born at Jerusalem. He was exceedingly careful in doing what was right, and this when he was very young; but when he came to the management of affairs, and to the government, he resolved that he ought first of all to make his family as secure as possible, to punish those his friends that had laid violent hands upon him; so he seized upon them all, and put them to death, yet did he execute no severer penalty upon their children, but acted therein according to the law 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 set captains of hundreds over them. He also sent to the king of Israel, and hired a hundred thousand soldiers for a hundred talents of silver, for he had resolved to make an expedition against the nations of the Amalekites, and Edomites, and Gebalites: but as he was preparing for his expedition, and ready to go out to the war, a prophet said unto him, the king of the Amalekites, of the Israelites, because they were bad beasts, and because God foretold that he should be beaten, if he made use of them as auxiliaries; but that he should overcome his enemies, though he had rotten olives, 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 God would have him, because thereby he should 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 nations before mentioned; and when he had beaten them, he brought the spoils of ten thousand talents, 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. So the prophet sent 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 honors; nor had delivered them from his hand, but had beaten them and the beasts, third of the ten thousand, 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 reproach provoked the king to anger, and he commanded the prophet to hold his peace, and threatened to punish him if he persisted in his conduct. So he replied, “That he should indeed hold his peace; but foretold, that God would not overlook his attempts for innovation. But Amaanaz was not able to contain himself, his prosperity would be a prodigy, and he had given him, although he had affronted God thereupon; but in a vein of insolence he wrote to Joash, the king of Israel, and “commanded” that he and all his people should be observed as those who had so cruelly been obedient to his persecutors, David and Solomon; and he let him know, that if he would not be so wise as to do what he commanded him, he must fight for his dominion. To which Joash sent this answer in writing: “King Joash to king Amaanaz. There was a vasty tall cypress-tree in mount Lebanon, as also a thistle; this thistle sent to the cypress-tree, to give the cypress tree a rod, and a reed. But the cypress-tree said to the thistle, though it be so: but as the thistle was saying this, there came a wild beast and trod down the thistle; and this may be a lesson to thee not to be so ambitious, and to do a care, lest upon thy good success in the fight against the Amalekites, thou mayest prove so proud as to bring dangers upon thyself and upon thy kingdom.”

2. When Amaanaz had read this letter, he was moved to the depths of sorrow: for this expedition 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 Joash, and they were going to join battle with him, there came a great rain; and the army of Amaanaz, as God, when he is displeased, sends upon men, and discomfits them, even before they came to a close fight. Now it happened, that as they were scattered about by the torrent of rain which came, he left alone, and was taken prisoner by the enemy; whereupon Joash threatened to kill him, unless he would persuade the people of Jerusalem to open their gates to him, and receive him and his army into the city. Accordingly, Amaanaz was so distressed, and in such fear of his life, that he made his enemy to receive him into the city. So Joash overthrew a part of the wall, of 10. Then he led the king of the Amalekites into the city in a chariot through the breach into Jerusalem, and led Amaanaz captive along with him: by which means he became master of Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of God, and carried off all 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 Amaanaz, who after this had a life 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 in the midst of the palace, and thus exemplify the word of the prophet for him. This was the end of the life of Amaanaz, 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 Uzziah.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Jeroboam, King of Israel, and Joash the Prophet: and how, after the Death of Jeroboam, his Son Zachariah took the Government. How Uzziah, King of Jerusalem, subdued the Nations that were round about him: and what befell him when he attempted to offer Incense to God.

1. In the fourteenth year of the reign of Amaanaz Jeroboam the son of Joash reigned over
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Israel and Samaria forty years. The king was guilty of contumacy against God, and became very wicked in worshipping idols, and in many unrighteous things; and that he was openly abandoned and foreign. He was also the cause of ten thousand private men and families to be dispossessed and to go to the people of Israel. Now one Jonah, a prophet, foretold to him, that he should make war with the Syrians, and conquer their army, and reduce their king to the state of a subject, and divide the countries of the Canaanites, parts, to the city Hamath, and on the southern, to the lake Asphaltitis, for the bounds of the Canaanites originally were these, as Joshua their general had determined them. So Jeroboam made war against the citizen of Jerusalem, and was vanquished by the Jerusalem army, terrorized by the presence of the Ark, and driven away from the country, as Jonah had foretold.

2. Now I cannot but think it necessary for me, who have promised to give an accurate account of our affairs, to describe the actions of this prophet, so far as I have found them written down in the Hebrew books. Jonah had been commanded by God to go to the kingdom of Nineveh; and when he was there, to publish in that city, how it should lose the dominion of the nations. But he went not, out of fear; nay, he ran away from God to the city of Joppa, and sailing a ship there, he went into it, and sailed to Tarshish, in Cilicia; and upon the rise of a most terrible storm, which he built and repaired, was afraid, and was in danger of sinking, the mariner, the master, and the pilot himself, made prayers and vows, and in case they escaped the sea; but Jonah lay still and covered [in the ship], without imitating anything that they did, and his father Amos prayed and besought the Lord to save him into the city. Moreover, he built a great many towers, of one hundred and fifty cubits high, and built walled towns in desert places and put garrisons into them, and dug many channels for conveyance of water. He had also beasts for labor, 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 land, 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 were men of valor and of unconquerable 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 bronze helmets. And besides these, he made for them many engines of war, for besieging of cities, such as cast stones and darts, with grapples, and other instruments of war.

3. When Jeroboam the king had passed his life in great happiness, and had ruled forty years, he died, and was buried in Samaria, and his son reigned. As Zeculiah took the kingdom, in a manner did Uzziah, the son of Amaziah begin to reign over the two tribes in Jerusalem, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Jeroboam. He was born of Jecoliah, his mother, who was a virgin, and was seven years old when he began to reign, and lived fifty and two years, and reigned two and twenty years. He was a righteous and magnanimous, and laborious in taking care of the affairs of his kingdom. He made an expedition also against the Philistines, and overcame him in battle, and took the cities of Gath and Jabesh, and brake down their walls; after which expedition, he assaulted those Arabs that adhered to Egypt. He also built a city upon the Red Sea, and put a garrison into it. He also overthrew the Ammonites, and appointed that they should pay tribute. He also overcame all the countries as far as the bounds of Egypt, and then began to take care of Jerusalem itself for the rest of his life, for he reigned five and twenty years, and all this time which had either fallen down by length of time, 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 and burnt the city, had all been restored. When he came to the city, he gathered all the people together, and planted it with all kinds of plants, and sowed it with all kinds 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 were men of valor and of unconquerable 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 bronze helmets. And besides these, he made for them many engines of war, for besieging of cities, such as cast stones and darts, with grapples, and other instruments of war.

4. While Uzziah was in this state, and making preparation [for futurity, he was corrupted in his mind by pride, and became insolent, and this an account of that abundance which he had of things that will soon perish, and despised that power which is of eternal duration, which carried the strength of current, upon a storm, as far as Jonah. He took counsel in the Euxine Sea, and sent vessels thither, and as far as the storm might have driven the ship, while Jonah was in it, near to that Euxine Sea, and since in three more days, while he was in the depth of water, might bring him to the Assyrian coast, and since within that coast could bring him nearer to Nineveh than could any coast of the Mediterranean, it is by no means an improbable determination in Josephus.

1 This ancient piece of religion, of supposing there was great sin where there was great misery, and of using such lamentations, as reasons for a change of things, is common in the Saracens, but among these heathen mariners, seems a remarkable remains of the ancient tradition which prevailed of old, and still more, that Providence was used to interpose visibly in all human affairs, and never to bring, or at least not long to continue, notorious judgments but for necessary reasons. But this book of Job shows to have been the state of mankind for about the former 3000 years of the world, till the days of Job and Moses.
he went thence, and came to the city Tiph a; but the citizens that were in it shut their gates and barred them. He would not admit him; but in order to be avenged on them, he burned the country round about it, and took the city by force, upon a siege; and being very much displeased at what the inhabitants of Tiphah had done, he spared not them all, and spared not so much as the infants, without omitting the utmost instances of cruelty and barbarity; for he used such severity upon his own countrymen, as would not be pardonable with regard to strangers.

The reason for this was, because this monarch was not able to get a sufficient number of men to execute all his designs; and his exclaimed that he was not able to furnish them with his own forces, as he had done in the war with Syria, and was 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 son shine through it, and fell upon the king's face, insomuch that the leprosy arose upon him immediately. And before the cit, at a place called Elegh, half the inhabitants were killed by the rent, and rain fell from the sky, and selfish four furlings, and stood still at the east, mountain, till the roads, as well as the king's gardens, were spoiled by the obstruction. Now, the king saw that the leprosy was infected with the leprosy, they told him of the calamity he was under, and commanded that he should go out of the city as a polluted person. Hereupon he was so constrained at the and dismayed, and sensible that he was not at liberty nor contract, that he did as he was commanded, and underwent this miserable and terrible punish-...
to another, stand, stand still, seize their gold and silver, for there shall be no one to wish them well, and the very earth will withal strike them dead and maim them; for a terrible contention shall possess them one with another, and lamentation, and loosing of the members, and their countenance will be perfectly black with fear, and then they shall be the dead of the living, the slaying of the young lions. God says to thee, Nivereth, that they shall deface thee, and the lion shall no longer go out from thee to give laws to the world. And the prophet prophesied many other things besides these concerning Nivereth, which I do not think necessary to repeat; and I have omitted them, that I may not appear troublesome to my readers; all which things happened about nineteen hundred and fifteen years afterwards; so this may suffice to have spoken of these matters.

CHAP. XII.

1. Now Jotham died when he had lived forty years, and was buried in the sepulchres of the kings: and the kingdom came to his son Ahaz, who proved most impious towards God, and a transgressor of the laws of his country. He imitated the kings of the Gentiles, and planted the people of Damascus in Jerusalem, and offered sacrifices upon to idols; to which also he offered his own son as a burnt-offering, according to the practices of the Canaanites. His other actions were also of the same nature, and he took the king of Syria, and the king of Damascus, and Pekah the king of Israel, who were now at animity with one another, made war with him: and when they had driven him into Jerusalem, they besieged that city a long while, making but small progress, on account of the strength of its walls; and when the king of Syria had taken the city Eleaph, upon the Red Sea, and had slain the inhabitants of that city, and had slain those in the [other] garrisons, and the Jews in their neighborhood, and had driven away much prey, he returned with his army back to Damascus. Now when the king of Jer- usalem had taken Eleaph, and was bereft of his enemies, he, supposing himself a match for the king of Israel, drew out his army against him, and, joining battle with him, was beaten: and this happened because God was angry with him on account of his many and great enormities. Accordingly, there were slain by the Israelites one hundred and twenty thousand of his men that day, whose general, Amaziah by name, slew Zechariah the king's son in his presence, and he also slew Amaziah, the general of the troops of the tribe of Judah, into captivity. They also carried away the women and children of the tribe of Benjamin captives; and when they had gotten a great deal of prey, they returned to Samaria.

2. Now there was one Obed, who was a prophet at that time in Samaria: he met the army before they went into Jerusalem, and said to them, "That they had gotten the victory, not by their own strength, but by reason of the anger God had against king Ahaz. And he complained, that they were not satisfied with the good success they had against him, but were so bold as

CHAP. XIII.

1. About the same time, Pekah, the king of Israel, died, by the treachery of a friend of his, whose name was Hoshea, who retained the kingdom nine years' time, but was a wicked man and a despiser of the divine worship. And Shalma- neser, the king of Assyria, made an expedition particularly set down, and compared together, In the Es- say on the Old Testament, page 187.
against him, and overruled him, (which meant here, because he had not God favorably or assistingly to him,) and brought him to submission, and ordered him to pay an appointed tribute. Now in the fourth year of the reign of Heshoa, Heshieux, the son of Aba, began to reign in Jerusalem, and he had 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. For the feast of unleavened bread was now come, when they had offered that sacrifice which is called the Passover, they after that offered other sacrifices for seven days. When the king had bestowed on the multitude, besides what was spent in sacrifices, twelve thousand cards, and seven thousand other cattle, the same thing was done by the rulers; for they gave them twelve thousand bulls, and a thousand and forty other cattle, besides the daily burnt offerings, as was observed from the days of king Solomon, as it was now first observed with great splendor and magnificence: and when the festival was ended, they went out into the country, and purged it, and returned, and offered sacrifices. The king also gave order that the daily sacrifices should be offered, at his own charges, and according to the law; and appointed that the tithes and the first-fruits should be given by the multitude to the priests and Levites, and that they should constantly attend on divine service, and never be taken off from the worship of God. Accordingly, the multitude brought together all sorts of their fruits to the priests and the Levites. The king also made gardens and vinyards, where these fruits, and distributed them to every one of the priests and Levites, and to their children and wives. And thus did they return to their old ordinance of worship. Now when the king had settled the multitude, and had already described, he made war upon the Philistines, and beat them, and possessed himself of all the enemies' cities from Gaza to Gath; but the king's heart was exalted, and he was not very constant in worship. And all the sacrifices and burnt-offerings, and all the other services, were overthrown by the king, and he was judged The king also informed the priests and Levites, and all the people, and offered for himself seven bulls, and as many rams, with seven lambs, and as many kids of the goats. The king also himself,

*This siege of Samaria, though not given a particular account of, either in our Hebrew and Greek Bibbes, or in Josephus, was so very long, no less than three years; so that, in the year that the parents, and particularly mothers, might therein be reduced to eat their own child, even the law of Moses had threatened, and the rulers, laid their hands on the heads of the sacrifices, and permitted the priests to complete the sacred offices about them. So they both slew the sacrifices, and burned the burnt-offerings, while the Levites stood round about them with their musical instruments, and the king and the multitude, the king and the multitude threw themselves down upon their face, and worshipped God. He also sacrificed seventy bulls, one hundred rams, and two hundred lambs. He also granted the multi-
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marched by force in the ninth year of the reign of Hoshah, and in the seventh year of King Kessah, king of Jerusalem, and quite demolished the government of the Israelites, and transplanted all the people into Medea and Persia, among whom he took King Hoshah alive and when he had removed these people out of this their land, he transplanted other nations out of Cuthah, a place so called, (for there is [still] a river of that name in Persia,) into Samaria, and into the country of Tyre. Nevertheless, these Israelites were removed out of Judas nine hundred and forty-seven years after their forefathers were come out of the land of Egypt, and possessed themselves of this country but eight hundred years after Joshua had been their leader, and, as I have already observed, two hundred and forty years, seven months, and seven days, after they had revolted from Rehoboam, the grandson of David, and had given the kingdom to Jeroboam. And such a conclusion overtook the Israelites, when they had transgressed the laws, and would not hearken to the prophets, who foretold that this calamity would come upon them, if they would not leave off their evil doings. For such was the case that sedition which they had raised against Rehoboam, the grandson of David, when they set up Jeroboam, his servant, to be their king, who, by slaying against God, and against their ministers, and against the priests, and against the king, endeavored to drive them out of the land. And when they found no cure for their miseries, they learned by the oracle that they ought to worship Almighty God, as the method for their deliverance. So they sent ambassadors to Jerusalem, to the king, and desired him to send them some of the priests of the Israelites whom he had taken captive. And when he thereupon sent them, the people were by them taught the law, and the holy worship of God, they worshiped him in a respectful manner, and the plague ceased immediately; and indeed they continue to make use of the very same customs to this very time, and are called in the Hebrew tongue Cuthites, but the people of this name were in the ancient Greek language, given us the following history: "One whose name was Eliezer, reigned thirty-six years: this king, upon the revolt of the Cuthites, sailed to them, and reduced them against submis- sion. Against that city, which is the king of Assyria sent an army, and in a hostile manner he overran all Phoenicia, but soon made peace with them all, and returned back: but Sidon and Ace, and Puteis and others, revolted; and many other cities there were which desired to be subject to the king of Assyria. Accordingly, when the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king returned, and fell upon them again, while the Phoenicians had furnished him with three-score ships, and eight hundred men to row them; and when the Ty- rians had come upon them in twelve ships, and the enemies' ships were dispersed, they took five hundred men prisoners, and the reputation of all the cities of Tyre was thereby increased; but the king of Assyria returned, and placed his army at the river and aqueducts, who should hinder the Tyrians from drawing water. This continued for five years, and still the Tyrians bore the siege; and thus they were starved, when they besought them to save them from their distress; and it is said that they were taken prisoners, when they were about to go away. And thus is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Salamon's the king of Assyria.

3. But now the Cuthites, who were removed into Samaria, (for that is the same name they have been called by to this time, because they were brought out of the country called Cuthah, which is a country of Persia, and there is a river of the same name in it,) each of them, according to their se- diens, 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 consumed. And when they found no cure for their miseries, they learned by the oracle that they ought to worship Almighty God, as the method for their deliverance. So they sent ambassadors to Jerusalem, and desired him to send them some of the priests of the Israelites whom he had taken captive. And when he thereupon sent them, the people were by them taught the law, and the holy worship of God, they worshiped him in a respectful manner, and the plague ceased immediately; and indeed they continue to make use of the very same customs to this very time, and are called in the Hebrew tongue Cuthites, but the people of this name were in the ancient Greek language, given us the following history: "One whose name was Eliezer, reigned thirty-six years: this king, upon the revolt of the Cuthites, sailed to them, and reduced them against submis- sion. Against that city, which is the king of Assyria sent an army, and in a hostile manner he overran all Phoenicia, but soon made peace with them all, and returned back: but Sidon and Ace, and Puteis and others, revolted; and many other cities there were which desired to be subject to the king of Assyria. Accordingly, when the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king returned, and fell upon them again, while the Phoenicians had furnished him with three-score ships, and eight hundred men to row them; and when the Ty- rians had come upon them in twelve ships, and the enemies' ships were dispersed, they took five hundred men prisoners, and the reputation of all the cities of Tyre was thereby increased; but the king of Assyria returned, and placed his army at the river and aqueducts, who should hinder the Tyrians from drawing water. This continued for five years, and still the Tyrians bore the siege; and thus they were starved, when they besought them to save them from their distress; and it is said that they were taken prisoners, when they were about to go away. And thus is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Salamon's the king of Assyria.

BOOK X.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-TWO YEARS AND A HALF FROM THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES TO THE FIRST OF CYRUS.

CHAP. I.

How Sennacherib made an Expedition against Israel; what Threatenings Rabshakeh made to them; which Sennacherib, having failed of Success in Egypt, returned thence to Jeru- salem; and how, upon his finding his Army destroyed, he returned home; and what befell him a little afterward.

1. It was now the fourteenth year of the reign of Hoshah, king of the two tribes, when the king of Assyria, whose name was Sennacherib, made an expedition against him with a great army, and took all the cities of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin by force; and when he was ready to bring his army against Jerusalem, Hoshah sent ambassadors to him beforehand, and promised to submit, and pay what tribute he should appoint. Hereupon Sennacherib, 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 three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, he promised that he would depart in a friendly manner; and he gave a signal with security upon him, that his ambassadors should return home; and when they returned home, he would then do him no harm, but go away as he came. So Hoshah submitted, and emptied his treasures, and sent the money, as supposing he should be freed from his enemy, and from any further distress from the king of Egypt. And the Assyrian king took it, and yet had no re- gard to what he had promised; but while he himself went to the war against the Egyptians and Ethiopiaans, and to take his share of their spoil, and the two other commanders, with great forces, to destroy Jerusalem. The names of the two other commanders were Tartaen and Rabaria.
same hour in which the king came to him, they should have great plenty of food, and that two sheals of barley should be sold in the market for a shekel, and a seash of fine flour should be sold for a shilling. They proved the same, and those that were present, very joyful, for they did not scruple believing what the prophet said, on account of the experience they had of the truth of his former predictions; and the expectation they had of what they were to hear in that day, with the oneness in which accompanied it, appeared a light thing to them; but the captain of the third band, who was a friend of the king, and on whose hand the king leaned, said, 'Thou talkest jestingly.' Of barley, or five sheals, it is impossible for God to pour down torrents of barley, or fine flour, out of heaven, so it is impossible that what thou sayest should come to pass.

To which the prophet made this reply, 'Thou shalt not see these things happen; 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: there was a law at Samaria; wherein there were four men, whose bodies were not cleansed from it, should abide without the city, and there were four men that on this account abode before the gates, while nobody gave them any food, by reason of the great famine; and they were prohibited from entering into the city by the law, and they considered that if they were permitted to enter, they should miserably perish by the famine; as also, that if they said where they were, they would be scourged in the same manner. Therefore they resolved to deliver themselves up to the enemy, that in case they should spare them, they should live, but if they should be killed, that would be an easy death. So when they had communicated this to the captain of a band of horse, they came by night to the enemy's camp. Now God had begun to afflict and disturb the Syrians, and to bring the noise of chariots and armor to their ears, and an army were coming upon them, and had made them fear that it was coming nearer and nearer to them. In short, they were in such a dread of this army, that they left their tents, and ran together to Benhadad, the captain of one of the bands of horse, and had hired for auxiliaries, both the king of Egypt and the king of the islands, and led them against them, for they heard the noise of them as they were coming. And Benhadad believed what they said, and made ready the horses and chariots (as well as it did to theirs), so they fell into a mighty disorder and tumult, and left their horses and beasts in their camp, with immense riches also, and betook themselves to flight. And those lepers who had departed from 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 the tents, and when they saw nobody there, they ate and drank, and carried garments and a great quantity of gold, and hid it out of the camp; after which they made another track 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 thereby that the enemies were departed, whereupon they declared 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 these 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, that 'This law of the Jews, for the exclusion of lepers out of the camp in the wilderness, and out of cities in Judea, is as well known one, Lev. xiv. 8: 41: and Num. v. 1—4. suspected that this departure of the king of Syria was by way of ambush and treachery, and that out of despair of ruining you by famine, when you imagine them to be fled away, you may come upon them, and they shall be caught, and may then fall upon you on a sudden, and may both kill you, and take the city without fighting; this is that I shew you to guard the city carefully, and by no means to go out of it, or otherwise they should be caught, and there were really gone away.' And when a certain person said, that 'he did very well and wisely to admit such a suspicion, but that he still advised him to send a couple of horsemen to search for them,' the king answered, 'Oh! for as much as if they were seized by an ambush of the enemy, they might be a security to your army, that they may not go out as if they suspected nothing, nor undergo the like misfortunes: and, (said he,) received no benefit be numbered for as he that have died by the famine, supposing they be caught and destroyed by the enemy.' So the king was pleased with this opinion, and sent such an one, and orders to be given, and their journey over a road that was without any enemies, but found it full of provisions, and of weapons, that they had therefore thrown away, and left behind them, in order to their being lighted up and in the camp; and when these horsemen had boarded this, he sent out the multitude to take the spoils of the camp; which gains of theirs were not of things of small value, but they took a great quantity of gold, and a great quantity of silver, and the kind of vessels also in the same manner, and seized themselves of (so many) ten thousand measures of wheat and barley, as they never in the least dreamed of; and were not only freed from their former miseries, but had such plenty, that they resolved not to sell the silver, or shekel, and a seash of fine flour for a shekel, according to the prophecy of Elisha. Now a shekel is equal to an Italian modius and a half. The captain of the third band was the only man that was appointed by the king to oversee the gate, that he might prevent too great a crowd of the multitude, that they might not endanger one another; and he, being one of the chief among the press, he suffered himself in that very way, and died in that very manner, as Elisha had foretold such his death, when he alone of them all disbelieved what he said concerning that plenty of provision for Syria.
strayed. So the king was in great dread, and a terrible agony at this calamity; and being in great fear for his whole army, he fled with the rest of his forces to his own kingdom, and to his city Nineveh; and when he had abode there a little while, he was told that Ishah had died by the hands of his elder sons. *Adrammelech and Sharezer,* and was slain in his own temple, which was called *Arasek.* Now these sons of his were driven away, on account of the murder of their father; their mothers went into Armenia, while Assarachodias, took the kingdom of *Sennacherib.* And this proved to be the conclusion of this Assyrian expedition against the people of Jerusalem.

CHAP. II.

Now Hezekiah was sick and ready to die; and how God bestowed upon him fifteen years longer life, [and secured that Promise, by the going back of the Shadow ten Degrees.

1. Now king Hezekiah being thus delivered, after a surprising manner, from the dread he had so long been under, he desired of God to show him the reason of this unexpected deliverance, and answer why he had so preserved his people, because nothing else had destroyed some of their enemies, and made the rest so fearful of undergoing the same fate, that they departed from Jerusalem, but that now they should assist the king. *In the vastness of hiscleanness and diligence about the worship of God, did he so soon afterward fall into a severe distemper, insomuch that the physicians despairs of him, and expected to go through with this distemper in a short space of time. For his friends; and besides the distemper itself, there was a very melancholy circumstance that disordered the king, which was the consideration that he was childless, and was going to die, and leave his state and kingdom without a successor of his own body; so he was troubled at the thoughts of this his condition, and lamented himself, and entreated of God that he would prolong his life for a little while, till he had some children, and not suffer him to depart this life before he had become a father. Henceupon God had mercy upon him, and accepted of his supplication, because the trouble he was under at his supposed death was not because he was soon to leave the advantages he enjoyed in the kingdom; nor did he on that account pray that he might have a longer life afforded him, but in order to have sons, that might receive the government after his death; for the prophet is only a preacher, and commanded him to inform Hezekiah, that "Within three days' time he should get clear of his distemper, and should survive it fifteen years, and that he should have children also." Now, upon the prophet's saying this, as God had 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 surprising nature of what was told him, so he desired that Isaiah would give him some sign or token, that he was prevailed upon by God, and had said, and be sensible that he came from God: for things that are beyond expectation, and greater than our hopes, are made credible by actions of like nature. And when Isaiah had asked him what sign he desired to be shewed him, he desired that he should make the shadow of the sun, which he had already made to go down ten steps [or degrees] in his house, to return again to the House to which it was before. And when the prophet prayed 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. But the king of Babylon, whose name was Belasdan, sent ambassadors unto Hezekiah, which desired nothing else but what he desired; he said, that he had heard that he was sick, and would like to see him. To which he replied, that "they came from Babylon, from the king; and that he had showed them all he had, that by the sight of his riches and forces they might thereby guess at [the plenty he was in,] and be able to judge of his riches. Therefore they went to see the king; and when they came, the king and his officers, and all the inhabitants of the city, went out to meet them, and had a large audience with them; and when they had returned, the king said to the prophet, "Know thou, that after a little while, these riches of thine shall be carried away to Babylon, and thy posterity shall be made uncums there, and lose their manhood, and be servants to the king of Babylon, for that God foretold such things would come to pass." Upon which words Hezekiah was troubled, and said, that "he was himself unwilling that his nation should fall into such calamities; yet since it is not possible to alter what God had determined, he prayed that there might be peace while he lived." Beroseus also makes mention of this Belasdan king of Babylon. Now as to this prophet, he is known as Ezechiel, 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 down all his prophecies, and left them behind him in books, his accomplishment might be judged of, were not apparent only, and performed by an aerial phosporus, 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 of his, he notes that Josephus seems to have understood it otherwise than we generally do, that the shadow was accelerated as much as at first forward, was now reversed, and moved backward, and so the day was neither longer nor shorter than usual, which, it must be confessed, agrees best of all to astronomy, and was observed at the same time of the day as if this miracle had never happened. After all, this wonderful signal was not, it seems, peculiar to Judea, but either seen, or at least foreseen, at Babylon also, after the passage of the world by 3 Chron. xxi. 31, where we learn that the Babylonian ambassadors were sent to Hezekiah, among other things, to inquire whether the shadow had been reversed. This expression of Josephus, that the Medes, upon this destruction of the Assyrian empire, overthrow the Assyrian empire, and took Babylon, is immediately cast off the Assyrian yoke, and set up Dar"
but the wound was not mortal: so he returned to have his wound healed in Jezreel, but left his whole army in Ramoth, and Jehu the son of Nimshi for their general, for he had already taken the city by force; and he proposed, after he was healed, to make war with both armies; but Elisa the prophet sent one of his disciples to Ramoth, and gave him holy oil to anoint Jehu, and to tell him that God had chosen him to be their king: He also sent him to say other things to him, because they had taken their journeys so hastily, if he died, that when he came away he might escape the knowledge of all men. So when he was come to the city, he found Jehu sitting in the midst of the captains of the army, as Elisa had foretold, and he came up to him, and said, and that he desired to speak with him about certain matters; and when he was arisen, and had followed him into an inward chamber, the young man took the vessel, and poured it on his head, and said, that "God ordained him to be king, in order to destroy the house of Ahab, and that he might revenge the blood of the prophets, that were unjustly slain by Jezebel; the house might perish, as those of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and of Baasha, had perished for their wickedness, and no seed might remain of Ahab's family." So when he had said this, he went away hastily out of the city, and endeavored not to be seen by any of the army.

2. But Jehu 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, what he would do, he said, that this young man came to him; and added withal that he was mad: he replied, "You guess right, for the words he spake were the words of a madman." and when they were eager about the matter, and desired him, he would tell them, he answered, that God had said, "he had chosen him to be king over the multitude." When he had said this, every one of them put off his garment, and stretched it under him, and blew with trumpets, and gave notice that Jehu was king. So when he had gotten the army together, he was preparing to set out immediately against Joram, at the city of Jezreel, in which city, as we said before, he was healing of his wounds, which he had received in the siege of Ramoth. It happened also that Ahabiah, king of Jerusalem, was now come to Joram, for he was his sister's son, as we have said already, to seek for her, as was said before, and this upon account of their kindness; but Jehu, who was sent to Joram, was rash enough, to tell 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 guided the roads, lest somebody should privately tell the thing to those that were at Jezreel. Now Jehu took his choice horsemen, and sat upon his chariot, and went on for Jareel; and when he was come near, the watchman whom Joram had sent to bring up a party of chariots, in the city, saw Jehu marching on, and told Joram that he saw a troop of horsemen marching on. Upon which he immediately gave orders, that one of his horsemen should be sent out to meet them, and to know who it was that was coming. So when the horseman came up to Jehu, he asked him, in what condition the army was? for that the king wanted to know it; but Jehu bade him not at all to meddle with such matters, but to follow him. When the watchman saw this, he told Joram that the horseman had mingled himself among the company, and came along with them. 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 Ahabiah, the king of Jerusalem; for Joram was uncertain of the case. Joram did, after he had been wounded, as being his relation. So he went out to meet Jehu, who marched slowly, and in good order; and when Joram met him in the field of Naboth, he asked him if he was the king. Jehu was a little profane, and reproached him bitterly, and ventured to call his mother a witch, and a harlot. Upon this the king, fearing what he intended, and suspecting he had no good meaning, turned his chariot, as soon as he could, and said to Ahabiah, "We are fought against by deceit and treachery!" but Jehu drew his bow, and smote him, the arrow going through his heart; so Joram fell down dead. And Joram's horse ran away, and was carried on to Beth-granat, where Jehu also gave orders to Bidkar, the captain of the third part of his army, to cast the dead body of Joram into the field of Naboth, putting him in mind of the prophecy which Elijah prophesied of him, and then, when he had dead him, that both he and his family should perish in that place, for that as they set behind Ahab's chariot, they heard the prophet say so, and that it was now come to pass according to his prophecy. Upon the fall of Joram, Ahabiah was afraid for his own life, and turned his chariot into another road, supposing he should not be seen by Jehu; but he followed after him, and overtook him at Beth-granat, where he had caused Ahabiah to be killed, so he left his chariot, and got upon his horse, and fled from Jehu to Megiddo, and though he was under cure, in a little time he died of that wound, and was carried to Jerusalem, and buried there, after he had reigned one year, and had proved a wicked man, and worse than his father.

4. Now when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jesebel adorned herself, and stood upon a tower, and she said to her servants, "Who is the man? and shall I tell my lord his servant?" But she said, "Go in, and inquire;" and when he looked up to her, he asked who she was, and commanded her to come down to him. At first he ordered the eunuchs to throw her down from the tower, and being thrown down, she was broken upon the stones, and was trodden upon by the horses, and so died. When this was done, Jehu came to the palace with his friends, and took some refreshment after his journey, both with other things, and by eating a meal. He also bade his servants to take up Jesebel and bury her, because of the nobility of her blood, for she was descended from kings; but those that were appointed to bury her found nothing else remaining but the extreme parts of her body, for all the rest were eaten by dogs. When Jehu heard this, he admired the prophecy of Elijah, for he foretold that she should perish in this manner at Jezreel. And this happened to Jesebel, the haughty woman of Samaria. So Jehu sent two epistles the one to them that brought up the children, the other to the rulers of Samaria, which said that they should set up the most valiant of Ahab's sons for their king, and the strongest part of his host, the chariots, and horses, and armor, and a great army, and fenced cities, and that by so doing they might marched slowly, and in good order. Nor can it be denied that since there was interval enough for king Joram to send out two horsemen, one after another, to Jehu, and to return home, as it were, two or three times, and all this after he was come within sight of the watchman, and before he was come to Jezreel, the probability is greatly on the side of Josephus's copy or interpretation.
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was overflowed, he should cast caps, and diadems, and vials for administration [in the temple,] and besides, that they should bring all the gold and silver which was among the treasures, and expend that also in making cups and like vessels. But as the high priest was bringing out the gold, he lit upon the holy books of Moses that were 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 Joash, and told him, and he had said to Shaphan, the prophet, and to the wife of Shallum, (which Shallum was a man of dignity, and of an eminent family,) and had sent them to Huldah, the prophetess, the wife of Shallum, which Shallum was a man of dignity, and of an eminent family, and of a family of the priests, and of the fathers of the men she had heard, and he had said to her, 'What shall I do to this gold and silver which Joash hath brought forth?' and she had said to him, 'He shall appease God, and endeavor to render him propitious to them, for that there was cause of fear, lest, upon the transgression of the laws of Moses by their forefathers, they should suffer punishment, or be cast out of their own country; lest they should be in want of all things, and so end their days miserably.' When the prophetesses had heard this from the messengers that were sent to her, she had called the king, and said, that 'God had already given sentence against them, to destroy the people, and cast them out of their country, and deprive them of all the food they had enjoyed, which sentence none could set aside by the word of their own; for since it was based on account of their transgressions of the laws of Moses, and of their not having repeated in so long a time, while the prophets had said it was their duty, they should be exposed to the punishment that would ensue on their impious practices; which threatening God would certainly execute upon them, that they might be persuaded that he is God, and had not deceived him. But yet to the end that the word held not out to his prophets: that yet, because Joash was a righteous man, he would at present delay those calamities; but that, after his death, he would send on the multitude what miseries he had determined to execute upon them.

3. So these messengers, upon this prophecy of the woman, came and told it to the king; whereasupon he sent to the people everywhere, and ordered that the priests and the Levites should come together at Jereboam, and commanded that those of every age should be present also. And when they were gathered together, he first read to them the holy books; after which he called upon a prophet, in the midst of the multitude, and obliged them to make a covenant with a 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 recommended 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 vessels that were not holy, or too ornate, kings, he should cast it out. So when a great number of such vessels were got together, he burned them, and scattered their ashes abroad, and slew 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 honor of strange gods; and he burnt the houses of the false prophets upon that altar which Jeroboam had first built. And as the prophet [Jadon,] who came to Jeroboam when he 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, Joash, should be anointed king,' and that he should take in his hands the sword of the house of David, and reign over the house of David, and reign over the house of Israel. 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 assist from their impious practices, and to leave off the honors they paid to strange gods, but to worship rightly the God Almighty, 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 chalizias [of the sun] that were set up in Jerusalem, and in the cities of his predecessors had framed, and what thing soever there was besides which they worshipped as a god. And when he had thus purged all the country, he called the people, and there called upon the priests of unleavened bread, and that called the Passover. He also gave the people, for paschal sacrifices, young kids of the goats and lambs thirty thousand, and those 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 thousand he-goats; and they offered a great plenty of sacrifices: and they offered those sacrifices according to the laws of Moses, while every priest explained the matter, and ministered to the multitude. And indeed there had been no other festival thus celebrated by the Hebrews from the times of Samuel the prophet; and the plenty of sacrifices now was the occasion that all things were performed according to the laws, and according to the customs of their forefathers. When Josiah had thus purified the house of the Lord, in riches and reputation also among all men, he ended his life in the manner following.

CHAP. V.

How Josiah fought with Neco [King of Egypt] and was wounded, and died in a little time afterward; as also, how Neco carried Jehoiakim, who had been made King, into Egypt, and delivered the Kingdom to Jehoiakim; and [lastly] concerning Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

1. Now Neco, king of Egypt, raised an army, and marched to the river Euphrates, in order to fight with the Medes and Babylonians, who had overthrown the dominion of the Assyrians; for he had a desire to reign over Asia. Now, when he was come to the city Medes, which belonged to the kingdom of Josiah, he brought an army; and by the passage through his own country, in his expedition against the Medes. Now Neco sent a herald to Josiah, and told him, that 'he did not make this expedition against him, but was only sent to Euphrates; and desired that he would not

* This is a remarkable passage of chronology in Josephus, that, about the latter end of the reign of Josiah, the Medes and Babylonians had subdued the empire of the Assyrians; or, in the words of Tobit's continuator, that "before Tobias died, he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was more than two hundred and fifty years before the Babylonian, and Assur, the Medes." Tol. xiv. 15; see Dean Prideaux's Connetions, at the year 612.
led his life for the time to come, that, from the time of his return to piety towards God, he was deemed a happy man and a pattern for imitation. When, therefore, he had lived sixty-seven years, he departed this life, having lived one hundred years, and was buried in his own garden; and the kingdom came to his son Amon, whose mother's name was Mechelemother, of the city of Jotbah.

CHAP. IV.

How Amon reigned instead of Manasseh; and after Amon reigned Josiah; he was both righteous and religious. As also concerning Huldah the Prophetess.

1. Thus Amon imitated those works of his father which he insolently did when he was young; for he had a contumacious spirit, and despised his own servants, and was slain in his own house, when he had lived twenty-four years, and of them had reigned two: but the multitude punished those that slew Amon, and hurled stones upon him, and thrust him to his son Josiah, who was eight years old. His mother was of the city of Besoth; and her name was Jeediah. He was of the most excellent disposition, and natively virtuous, and followed the ways of righteousness in all his days, and in the whole conduct of his life. And when he was twelve years old, he gave demonstrations of his religious and righteous behavior; for he brought the people to a sober way of living, and exalted them to leave off the opulent they had of their idols, because they were not gods, but to worship their own God. And by reflecting on the actions of his predecessors, he prudently corrected them; and he was very religious in all the days of his life, 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 over, and imitated the same. And thus he acted in following the wisdom and sagacity of his mother and father, 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, that the transgressions of the former kings were seen no more, but quite vanished away; for the king went about the city, and the whole country, and cut down the groves which were devoted to strange gods; and there was no king that was so zealous for 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 generally belonging, and have regard to justice above all things, and distribute it with the same concern they would have about their own soul. He also sent over all the country and desired such as pleased to bring gold and silver and the best of all precious things according to every one's inclinations and abilities. And when the money was brought in, he made one Maseish the governor of the city, and Shaphan the scribe, and Josia the recorder, and Elisha the high priest, curators of the temple, and of the charges contributed thereto, who made no delay, nor put off the work at all, but prepared architects, and whatsoever was proper for the temple, and the whole entire work. So the temple was repaired by these means, and became a public demonstration of the king's piety.

2. But when he was now in the eighteenth year of his reign, he sent to Eliaish, the high priest, and gave order, that out of such money
BOOK V.—CHAP. V.

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 honor of strange gods; and he burnt the bones of the priests upon that altar which Jeroboam had first built. And as the prophet [Jadon, who] came to Jeroboam when he was offering sacrifices, and persuaded them to desist from their impious practices, and to leave off the honors they paid to strange gods, 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: 1 private; or, indeed, to the custody of their forefathers; that is, 2 and there celebrated the feast of unleavened 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 bulls, and five hundred ephahs of flour, to make unleavened bread, and there celebrated the feast of unleavened 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 bulls, and five hundred ephahs of flour, to make unleavened bread, and there celebrated the feast of unleavened bread, and that called the Passover. 

3. 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 commanded that the priests should come together at Jerusalem; and commanded that those of every age should be present also. And when they were gathered together, he first read to them the holy books; after which he stood upon the 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 consent willingly, and undertook to do what the king had recommended 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 priests and Levites to give the king any vessel that was dedicated to idols, or to foreign gods, he should cast it out. So when a great number of such vessels were got together, he burned them, and scattered their ashes abroad, and cast them upon the idols, that were not of the family of Aaron.

*It is hard to reconcile the account in the second book of Kings, ch. xii. 11, with this account in Josephus, and to make them consistent. Josephus, whose copies are supposed to be here imperfect; however, the general sense of both seems to be this, that there were certain places where the sun, or to Moloch, which idol might be carried these in procession and worshipped by the people, which were assaulted by Josiah; and as the book of Kings says, burnt with fire by Josiah.

†This is a remarkable passage of chronology in Josephus, than about the latter end of the reign of Josiah, the Medes and Babylonians overthrew the empire of the Assyrians; or, in the words of Tobioc's continuator, that "before Tobias died, he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was then over the Babylonian, and Assuerus the Mede," Tob. xiv. 15; see Dean Prideaux's Conclusions, at the year 612.
rem the events, by posterity; nor did this pro-
sert do so alone, but the others, which were
waxen in number, did the same. And whilst-
vow among us, whether it be good, or
whether it be bad, comes to pass according to
hair prophecies; but of every one of these we
shall speak hereafter.

CHAP. III.

How Manasseh reigned after Hasekiah; 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 Hasekiah had survived
the interval of time already mentioned, and had
lived all that time in peace, he died, having
reigned thirty-nine years of his life, and reign-
edge twenty-nine: and when his son Manasseh, whom
his mother's name was Hephbakah, of Jerusalem,
and taken the kingdom, he departed from the
reduct of his father, and fell into a course of
life quite contrary thereto, and showed himself
so to his masters most wicked in all respects, and
emitted no sort of impiety, but imitated those
transgressions of the Israelites, by the comissi-
on of which his ancestors were guilty. For this
reason he was so hardy as to defile the temple
of God, and the city, and the whole country;
by setting out from a contempt of God, he bar-
barously slew all the righteous men who were
among the Hebrews, and he caused them to be
brought the prophets, for he every day slew some of them,
till Jerusalem was swollen with blood. So God was
angry at these proceedings, and sent prophets to
the king, and to the multitude, by whom he
hoped to bring the same into repentance and fear
what they had pleased upon him. But then it was that Ma-
manasseh perceived what a miserable condition he
was in, and set himself to do the very thing he had
promised and prayed, and granted him what he prayed for.
So Manasseh was restored by the king of Babylon,
and escaped the danger he was in; and when he
was come to Jerusalem, he endeavored, if it
were possible, to cast out of his memory those
of his former sins against God, of which he now re-
pented, and to apply himself to a very religion
life. He sanctified the temple, and purged the
city, and the rest, and his god, he was
inclined to nothing but to return to the worship
of God, for his deliverance, and to preserve him
provisions to all his life long. He also in-
structed the multitude to do the same, as having
received the same, and from the example of Jerusalem;
he did not only repair the old walls
with great diligence, but added another wall to
the former.

He also built very lofty towers, and the
arranged places before the city he strength-
enced, and not in other respects, but with pro-
visions of all sorts that they wanted. And indeed,
when he had changed his former course, he so
led his life for the time to come, that, from the
same time of his return to piety towards God, he was
deemed a happy man and a pattern for imitation.
When, therefore, he departed from his own
world, and was buried in his own garden; and
the kingdom came to his son Amon, whose mo-
ther's name was Mesheschemeth, of the city of Jot-
beth.

CHAP. IV.

How Amon reigned instead of Manasseh; and
after Amon reigned Josiah; he was both righteous
and religious. As also concerning Hal-
dah the Prophetess.

1. Thus Amon imitated those works of his
father which he insolently did when he was
young; so he had a conspiracy made against
him by his own servants, and was slain in his
own house, when he had lived twenty-four
years, and of them had reigned two: but the multitude
placed those that slew Amon, and buried him with his father, and gave the kingdom
unto his son Josiah, who was eight years old.
His mother was of the city of Boscas; and her name
was Jehida, and she was of the tribe of Judah,
by profession, and naturally virtuous, and followed
the actions of king David, as a pattern and a rule
to him in the whole conduct of his life. And when he
was twelve years old, he gave demonstrations
of his religiousness; he constantly brought the people
to a sober way of living, and exhorted them to leave off the opinion they had
of their idols, because there were no gods, but to
worship their own God.

And by reflecting on the unnatural
vices of the Gentiles towards the God of Israel,
they might have known 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 over,
and imitated the former; and still he kept and
favored the wisdom and sagacity of his own nature
and in compliance with the advice and instruc-
tion 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 di-
vine worship. And this happened because the
transgressions of the former kings were seen no
more, but quite vanished away; for the king
went about the place of the temple, and the
chapel cut down the groves which were devoted to
strange gods, and overthrew their altars; and if
there was any gift dedicated to them by his
forefathers, he made it ignominious, and plucked
it from its place, and overthrowing it, and build-
peal from back their opinion about it to the
worship of God. He also offered his accustomed
sacrifices and burnt-offerings upon the altar.
Moreover, he ordained certain judges and over-
seers, that they might order the matters to
them severally belonging, and have regard to
justice above all things, and distribute it
with the same concern they would have about their
own soul.

He also went over all the country
and desired the scribe to write to the king of
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
piece of the money, and poured it into the city
of Jerusalem; he did not only repaired the old
walls with great diligence, but added another wall to
the former.

He also built very lofty towers, and the
arranged places before the city he strengthened,
and not in other respects, but with provisions of all sorts that they wanted. And indeed,
when he had changed his former course, he so
led his life for the time to come, that, from the
time of his return to piety towards God, he was
deemed a happy man and a pattern for imitation.
When, therefore, he departed from his own
world, and was buried in his own garden; and
the kingdom came to his son Amon, whose mo-
ther's name was Mesheschemeth, of the city of Jot-
beth.
was overplus, he should cast cups, and dikes, and vials for ministration [in the temple], and besides, that they should bring all the gold and silver which was among the treasures, and expend that also in making the like vessels. But as the high priest was bringing out the gold, he lit upon the holy books of Moses that were 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 all was finished which he had ordered to be done. He also read over the books to him, who, when he had heard, was pleased with his management, and, for Eliakim, the high priest, and for Shaphan the scribe, and for certain [other] of his most particular friends, and sent them to Huldah, the prophetess, the wife of Shallum, (which Simeon was an man of dignity, and of an excommunicated family,) and bade them go to her and say, that he desired "she would apposease God, and endeavor to render them propitious to them, for that there was cause of fear, lest, upon the transgression of these laws, the judgments of God would fall upon the land, and take away from the nation the enjoyment of all the happiness they enjoyed, which sentence none could set aside by any prayers of theirs, since it was pure on account of their transgressions of the laws, and of their not having caused the priests and Levites to do what had been enjoined to them, and had foretold the punishment that would ensue upon their impious practices; which threatening God would certainly execute upon them, that they might be punished in the midst of the multitude, and be examples to them in any respect as to what he had denounced by his prophet: that yet, because Josiah was a righteous man, he would at present delay those calamities; but that, after his death, he would send them such miseries as his forefathers had determined for them."

3. So these messengers, upon this prophecy of the woman, came and told it to the king: who was sent to the priests, and Levites, and ordered that the priests and Levites should come together at Jerusalem; and commanded that those of every age should be present also. And when they were gathered together, they knelt down before the altar which 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 consent willingly, and undertook to do what the king had recommended 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 priests and the Levites, to make an account of the vessels that were dedicated to the Lord, and of those that were dedicated to the priests. He also ordered that the vessels used in the service of the Lord should be distributed, and the priests should share with the Levites, and the Levites with the priests. And when they had done this, the king gave orders that the books of Moses should be burnt with fire by Josiah.

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 honor of strange gods; and he burnt the houses of the high priests, which were built upon the altar which Jeroboam had first built. And as the prophet [Jadon.] who came to Jeroboam when he was offering sacrifices, 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 desert from their impious practices, and to leave off the heathen customs and idolatries, and 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 some idol or other; pry, how, on the half of what God had for his house, he had given to him. When he had searched all the country, he called the people to Jerusalem, and there celebrated the feast of unleavened bread, and that called the Passover. He also gave the people, for passchal sacrifices, young corn, and leaven, and golde, and fat of the goats, and the 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, thousand lambs and five hundred oxen, by which means there was great plenty of sacrifices: and they offered those sacrifices according to the laws of Moses, while every priest explained the matter, and ministered to the multitude. And Josiah appointed a festival thus celebrated by the Hebrews from the times of Samuel the prophet; and the festival of sacrifices now was the occasion that all things were performed according to the laws, and according to the ordinance of their forefathers. So when Josiah had after this lived in peace, may, in riches and reputation also among all men, he ended his life in the manner following.

CHAP. V.

How Josiah fought with Neco [King of Egypt;] and was wounded, and died in a little time afterward; as also, how Neco carried Jehoiakim, who had been made King, into Egypt, and delivered the Kingdom to Jehoiakim; and [lastly] concerning Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

§ 1. Now Neco, king of Egypt, raised an army, and marched to the river Euphrates, in order to fight with the Medes and Babylonians, who had overthrown the dominion of the Assyrians; for he had a desire to reign over Asia. Now, when he was come to the city Mizpah, which belonged to the land of Ammon, having received from the king of Jerusalem, he brought an army to hinder him from passing through his own country, in his expedition against the Medes. Now Neco sent a herald to Josiah, and told him, that the king and the army of Neco, which was taken by Nebuchadnezzar the Babylonian, and Assurus the Mede, Tob. xsr. 15; see Dean Prideaux's Connections, at the year 612.
provoke 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 being sorely wounded, he commanded a retreat to be sounded for his army, and returned to Jerusalem, and died of that wound; and was magnificently buried in the sepulchre of his fathers, when he had lived thirty years and ten months, and reigned thirty years overall. 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 day. Moreover, this prophecy 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 to our day, and the taking of the city; and he was only planted who delivered such predictions beforehand to the multitude, but so did Ezechiel also, who was the first person that wrote, and left behind him in writing, a prediction concerning these events. Now these two prophets were contemporaries; but of them Jeremiah dwelt in Jerusalem, from the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, until the city and temple were utterly destroyed. However, as to what befell this prophet, we will relate in its proper place.

2. Upon the death of Josiah, which we have already mentioned, his son, Jehoash by name, took the kingdom; being about twenty-three years of age, when he ascended to the throne; and his mother was Hamutal, of the city Libnah. He was an impious man, and impious in his course of life: but as the king of Egypt returned from the battle, he sent for Jehoash to come to him to the city called Eloth, 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 Elishaiah, and changed his name to Jehoiakim, and laid a tribute upon the land, besides a hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold, and this sum of money Jehoiakim paid by way of tribute: but Neco carried away Jehoash into Egypt, where he died within the space of three months, and ten days, and he died at the city of Megiddo. Now Jehoiakim's mother was called Zebudiah, of the city Rummah. 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 Jehoiachin 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, and the next year, in the same time, he set up to the city Carchemish, which was at Ephrates, 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

*This battle is justly esteemed the very same that Esedoth, B. ii. sect. 196, mentions, when he says, that 'Necus joined battle with the Syrians [or Jews] at Megiddo,' &c. and beat them,' as Dr. Hudeca here observes.

† Whether Josephus, from 2 Chron. xxiv. 25. here means the book of the Lamentations of Jeremiah will extend, which chiefly belongs to the destruction of Jerusalem under Nebuchadnezzar, or to any other like of the king of Babylon, and that this expedition was made against him, he did not despise his strength, but made haste with the greatest band of men to Ephraes, 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 Ephrates, and took all Syria, as far as Phoenicia, excepting Jezreel. But when Nebuchadnezzar had already regained four years, which was the eighth of Jehoiakim's government over the Hebrews, the king of Babylon fell sick, and made a retreat to be sounded for his army, and returned to Jerusalem, and died of that wound; and was magnificently buried in the sepulchre of his fathers, when he had lived thirty years and ten months, and reigned thirty years overall. 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 day. Moreover, this prophecy 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 to our day, and the taking of the city; and he was only planted who delivered such predictions beforehand to the multitude, but so did Ezechiel also, who was the first person that wrote, and left behind him in writing, a prediction concerning these events. Now these two prophets were contemporaries; but of them Jeremiah dwelt in Jerusalem, from the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, until the city and temple were utterly destroyed. However, as to what befell this prophet, we will relate in its proper place.

2. Upon the death of Josiah, which we have already mentioned, his son, Jehoash by name, took the kingdom; being about twenty-three years of age, when he ascended to the throne; and his mother was Hamutal, of the city Libnah. He was an impious man, and impious in his course of life: but as the king of Egypt returned from the battle, he sent for Jehoash to come to him to the city called Eloth, 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 Elishaiah, and changed his name to Jehoiakim, and laid a tribute upon the land, besides a hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold, and this sum of money Jehoiakim paid by way of tribute: but Neco carried away Jehoash into Egypt, where he died within the space of three months, and ten days, and he died at the city of Megiddo. Now Jehoiakim's mother was called Zebudiah, of the city Rummah. He was of a wicked disposition, and ready to do mischief; nor was he either religious towards God or good-natured towards men.
was terrible, because he neither shut the gates, nor sought against him; yet when he was come into the city, he did not observe the covenant he had made, but he slew such as were in the tower of the Hinnom, and all the young men that had borne the king's name, because of the covenant of God which their fathers the kings of Judah had made. And he took the captivity, three thousand in number, and led them away to Babylon; among whom was the prophet Ezechiel, who was then but young. And this was the end of king Jehoiakim, whom he had led thirty-six years, and of them reigned eleven; but Jehoiachin succeeded him in the kingdom, whose mother's name was Nehushta: she was a citizen of Jerusalem. He reigned three months and ten days.

CHAP. VII.

That the King of Babylon repeated of making Jehoiachin King, and took him away to Babylon, and delivered the Kingdom to Zedekiah.

This king would not believe what was predic’d by Jeremiah and Ezechiel, but joined himself to the Egyptians; who, on that account, the Jews, were vanquished by the King of Babylon; as also what befell Jeremiah.

§ 1. But a terror seized on the king of Babylon, who had given the kingdom to Jehoiachin, and that immediately; he was afraid that he should lose the country he had subdued, through his father, and thereupon should make the country revolt from him; wherefore he sent an army, and besieged Jehoiachin in Jerusalem; but because he was of a gentle and just disposition, he did not desire to see the city endangered. He took account, but he took his mother, and kindred, and delivered them to the commanders sent by the king of Babylon, and accepted of their oaths, that neither should they suffer any harm, nor the city; which agreement they did not observe for a single year, for the king of Babylon did not keep it, but gave orders to his generals to take all that were in the city captives; both the youth and the handmaidsmen, and bring them bound to him, their number was ten thousand eight hundred and thirty-two; as also Jehoiachin, and his mother and friends; and when these were brought to him, he kept them in custody, and apparel, and appointed a監司 over them, to rule to the king; and made him take as oath that he would certainly keep the kingdom for him, and make no innovation, nor have any league of friendship with the Egyptians.

§ 2. Now Zedekiah was twenty and one year old when he took the government; and had the same mother with his brother Jehoiakim, but was a despiser 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 protested to him, and insisted, that he had better and greater advantage in the kingdom, and the people, and the country, and the captivity, and take care of what was right, and neither give ear to the rulers, (among whom were wicked men,) nor give credit to their false prophets, who deluded them, as if the king of Babylon would not take 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. Now, as to Zedekiah himself, while he heard the prophet speak, he believed him, and agreed to every thing as true, and supposed it was for his advantage; but then his friends persuaded him, and dissuaded him from what the prophet advised, and obliged him to do what they pleased. Ezechiel also foretold in Babylon what calamities were coming upon the people, whither he had been commissioned by the king to observe and count of them to Jerusalem; but Zedekiah did not believe their prophecies, for the reasons following: it happened that the two prophets agreed with one another in what they said. The other thing, if the city should be taken, and Zedekiah himself should be taken captive, but Ezechiel disagreed with him, and said that "Zedekiah should not see Babylon," while Jeremiah said to him, that "the king of Babylon should carry him away thither in bonds." And because they did not both say the same thing as to this circumstance, he disbelieved what they both appeared to agree in, and condemned them as not speaking truth; and although the things foretold him did come to pass according to their prophecies, as we shall show upon a fortiori opportunity.

§ 3. Now when Zedekiah preserved the league of mutual assistance he made with the Babylonians, for eight years, he brake it, and revolted to the Egyptians, in hopes, by their assistance, of overcoming the Babylonians. When the king of Babylon heard this, he was very angry against him: he laid his country waste, and took his fortified towns, and came to the city Jerusalem itself to besiege it: but when the king of Egypt heard what circumstances Zedekiah’s ally was in, he made war upon the Babylonians, and came into Judæa, as if he would raise the siege upon which the king of Babylon departed from Jerusalem, and met the Egyptians, and joined battle with them, and beat them, and when he had put them to great confusion, he drove them out of all Syria. Now as soon as the king of Babylon was departed from Jerusalem, the false prophets deceived Zedekiah, and said, that "the king of Babylon would not any more make war upon the king of Judah, nor throw them out of their own country into Babylon, and that those then in captivity would return, with all those vessels of the temple, of which the king of Babylon had despoiled that temple." But Jeremiah came among them, and prophesied what contradicted those predictions, and what proved to be true, that "they did ill, and deluded the king; that the Egyptians would be of no advan’tage to them; that the king of Babylon would renew the war against Jerusalem, and besiege it again, and would destroy the people by famine and carry away those that remained into captivity, and would take away what they had as their chattels, and would cast off their captivity, and would be in the temple; nay, that, besides this, he would burn it, and utterly overthrow the city, and that they should serve him and his posterity seventy years; that then the Persians and the Medes should put an end to their servitude, and overthrow the Babylonians, and that we shall be disannulled, and return to this land, and rebuild the temple, and restore Jerusalem." When Jeremiah spoke these words, Zedekiah believed the false prophets, and the rulers, and those that were wicked, despaired him, as one disorder’d in his senses. Now he had resolved to go elsewhere, to his own country, which was called Anathoth, and was twenty furlongs distant from Jerusalem. When Jeremiah went going, one of the rulers met him, and seized upon him, and accused him falsely, as though he were going as a deserter to the Babylonians; but Jeremiah said, that he accused him falsely, and added, that he was only going to his own country; but the other would not believe him, but seized upon him, and led him away to the ruler;
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 all that I have already described to you.

4. Now in the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the tenth month, the king of Babylon made a second expedition against Jerusalem, and lay before it eighteen months, as he before described, and the same calamities befell the city. There came upon them also two of the greatest calamities at the same time that Jerusalem was besieged, a famine and pestilential distemper, and the loss of the joy of life, and the poor state it was in the city. Then the prophet Jeremiah was in prison, he did not rest, but cried out, and proclaimed aloud, and exhorted the multitude to open their gates, and admit the king of Babylon, for that if they did so, they should be preserved, and their whole families; but if they did not so, they should be destroyed; and he foretold, that if any one stayed in the city, he should certainly perish by one of these ways, either 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, even when they were in the midst of their sore calamity, nor did they resolve upon it to try the king, and their anger, informed him what Jeremiah said, and accused him, and complained of the prophet as a madman, and one that disheartened their minds, and by the desacunciation of miseries, were filled with a great deal of the multitude, who were otherwise ready to expose themselves to dangers for him, and for their country, while be, 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 encouraged with those provokings at such time, by opposing what they intended, he let them do with the prophet whatsoever they would: whereupon, when the king had granted them such a permission, they presently came into the prison and took him, and let him down with a cord into a pit full of mire, that he might be suffocated, and die of himself. So he stood up to the neck in the mire, which was all about him, and so continued: but there was of the king's squadron 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 into the mire, and by that name contriving against him that he should suffer such deals miseries as were by the bonds only. When the king heard this, he repented of his having delivered up the prophet to the rulers, and bade the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and 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 take, and brought them to the mire, and left him at liberty (in the prison).

6. But when the king had sent to call him privately, and inquired what he could say to him from God, which might be suitable to his present circumstances, and proved him to the form of it, Jeremiah replied, that "he had somewhat to say:" but he said withal, he "should not be believed, nor, if he admonished them, should be heard of" (said he); "but my 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 you, but I am afraid now the city will speak the truth, lest thou shouldst condemn me to die." And when the king had assuaged him upon oath, that he would neither himself put him to death, nor deliver him up to the rulers, he became bold upon that assurance that was given him; and gave him this advice, that "he should deliver the city up to the Babylonians, and said, that it was God that prophesied this by him, that he must do so if he would be preserved and escape out of the danger he was in, and that then neither should the city be taken, nor they suffer the calamity learned; but that if he disobeyed he would be the cause of these miseries coming upon the citizens, and of the calamity that would befall his whole house." And when Jeremiah was informed of this, he was better pleased to have the city delivered up to the Babylonians, than to have been delivered up to both, and he declared in the king's presence, how willing he was to do what he was commanded, and what advice he had declared would be to his advantage but that he was afraid of those of his own country 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 misfortune, if he would deliver all up to the Babylonians, neither himself, nor his children, nor his wives, and that the temple should then continue unhurt." So when Jeremiah had said this, the king let him go, and let him go; but he resolved on to none of the citizens, nor to tell any of the rulers, if he should have learned that he had been sent for, what he had said to him; but to pretend to them, that he besought the king to deliver the city up to the Babylonians, and that he was in prison. And indeed as 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 banks round about the whole city, whose height was very great, and where he set many of them, an Ethiopian by descent, whom the king had within the siege with courage and alacrity, for they were not discouraged, either by the famine, or by the pestilential distemper, but were of cheerful mind in the prospect of the loss of their city, and the miseries within oppressed them also, and they did not suffer themselves to be terrified, either by the coarseness of the enemy, or by their engines of war, but contrived still different engines to oppose all the other, and indeed till there seemed to be an entire struggle between the Babylonians and the people of Jerusalem, which had the greater sagacity and skill; the former party supposing they should thereby make it hard for the besiegers to place the destruction of the city; the latter placing their hopes of deliverance in nothing else but in persevering in such inventions in opposition to the other, as might demonstrate the executioner's enmity: these were probably the means of the capture of the city, for on the 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 said: but I to the contrary I must say: that these general names of these generals who ravaged and subdued Jerusalem, if any one desire to know them
were these, Nergal, Shai, and, Samgar Nebi, Rabshakeh, Seraiah, and Rabshakeh. And when the city was taken about midnight, and the enemies' generals were entered into the temple, and when Zedekiah was sensible of it, he took his sons and his children, and took with him his sons' wives, and the women of his body, and his friends, and with them fled out of the city, through the fortilled ditch, and through the desert; and when certain of the deserters had informed Zedekiah that they made haste to pursue after Zedekiah, and overtook him not far from Jericho, and encompassed him about; but for those friends and captains of Zedekiah who had fled out of the city with him, they returned again to the city; for when they saw them, they left him and dispersed themselves some one way and some another, and every one resolved to save himself; so the enemy took Zedekiah alive, when he was deserted by all but a few, with his children and his wives, and brought him to the king. When he was come, Nebuchadnezzar began to "call him a wicked wretch, and a covenant-breaker, and one that had reviled God. And the king of Babylon also took him, and put his eyes inropes, and took him to Babylon, and brought the rest of the captains locked on, after which he put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him, and carried him to Babylon. And these things happened to him," as Jeremiah and Ezekiel say, "so that he was 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 sufficient to show the nature of God to such as are ignorant of him, that he is a just and powerful Being, and acts many different ways, and that all events happen after a regular manner, in their proper season, and that it foretells what must come to pass. It is also sufficient to show the ignorance and incredulity of the enemies of God, to foresee any that is future, and are, without any guard, exposed to calamities, so that it is impossible for them to avoid the experience of these calamities.

4. And after this manner have the kings of David's race ended their lives, being in amabul twenty one until the last king; who altogether reigned five hundred and fourteen years, and six months, and ten days; of whom Saul, who was their first king, reigned the government twenty years, though he was not of the same tribe with the rest.

5. And now it was that the king of Babylon saw the excellency of general of his army, to Jerusalem, to pillage the town, who had also is command to burn it, and the royal palace, and to lay the city even with the ground, and to transplanted the people into Babylon. Accordingly, the people of Jerusalem in the days of king Zedekiah, and pillaged the temple, and carried 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 month, on the first day of the month, which was the fourteenth year of the reign of Zedekiah, and on the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar; he also burnt the palace and overthrew the city. Now the temple was burnt four hundred and sixty months, and ten days after it was built. It was then one thousand and sixty-two years, six months, and ten days from the departure out of Egypt; and from the deluge to the destruction of Solomon's temple, it was four hundred and nine hundred fifty-seven years, six months, and ten days; but from the generation of Adam until this beset the temple, there were three thousand five hundred and thirteen years, six months, and ten days; so great was the number of years hereto belonging. And what actions were done during those years, we have particularly related. But the general of the Babylonian king now overpowered the inhabitants, and removed all the people, and took for prisoners the high priest Jerahmeel, and Zephaniah the priest that was next him, and the rulers that guarded the temple, who were three in number, and the names of whom are over the armed men, and seven friends of Zedekiah, and his scribe, and six other rulers; all which, together with the vessels which they had pillaged, he carried to the king of Babylon to Riblah, a city in Syria. So he numbered all the vessels of gold, and the high priest and of the rulers to be cut off there; but he himself led all the captives, and Zedekiah, to Babylon. He also led Josedek the high priest away bound. He was the son of Se- zadin, the high priest whom the king of Babylon had slain in Riblah, a city of Syria, as we have just now related.

6. And now, because we have enumerated the succession of the kings, and who they were, and how long they reigned, I think it necessary to set down the names of the high priests, and who they were that succeeded one another in the high priesthood under the kings. The first high priest then at the temple which Solomon built, was Zadok; after him his son Achimias received that dignity; after Achimias was Asaria; his son was Jeram, and Jeram's son was Issus; after him was Aniromma; his son was Phideas, and Phideas's son was Sussanias, and Sussanias's son was Phidas, and Phidas's son was Jusl, and Jusl's son was Jotham, and Jotham's son was Ursia, and Ursia's son was Nerias, and Nerias's son was Odisa, and his son was Salumus, and Salumus's son was Elies, and his son [was Asaria, and his son was Sussanias, and his son was Josedek, who was carried captive to Babylon. All these received the high priesthood by succession, the sons from their father. 7. When the king was come to Babylon, he kept Zedekiah in prison till he died, and buried him magnificently, and dedicated the vessels he had pillaged out of the temple of Jerusalem to his own gods, and planted the people in the country of Babylon, but freed the high priest from his bonds.

CHAP. IX.

How Nebuchadnezzar set Zedekiah over the Jews that were left in Judea, which Nebuchadnezzar was a little afterwards slain by Jehoiakim; and how Jo- nathan, after Jehoiakim was driven away went

† I have here inserted in brackets this high priest Asar- raha, though he be omitted in all Josephus's copies, out of the Jewish chronicle, Seder Olam, of how little authority among such men as rabbi- cal historians; because we know from Josephus himself, that the number of the high priests belonging to this interval was nine, as it is in M.K. xxvii. ch. vi., whereas his copies have here but seventeen.
and laid an accusation against him, under whom he endured all sorts of tortures 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 for the Babylonians; and he said, that it was God that proscribed this by him, that (he must do so) if he would be preserved and escape out of the danger he was in, and that then neither should the city nor the ground from which the temple burned; but that (if he disobeyed) he would be the cause of these miseries coming upon the citizens, and of the calamity that would befall his whole house.

4. Now in the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the tenth month, the king of Babylon made a second expedition against Jerusalem, and lay before it eighteen months, and besieged it by land and sea. There came upon them also two of the greatest calamities at the same time that Jerusalem was besieged, a famine and pestilential distemper, and they brought great destruction of the citizens and the king. And the prophet Jeremiah was in prison, he did not rest, but cried out, and proclaimed aloud, and exhorted the multitude to open their gates, and admit the king of Babylon, for that if they did so, they should be preserved, and their whole families; but if they did not so, they should be destroyed; and he foretold, that if any one stayed in the city, he should certainly perish by one of these ways, either 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, even when they were in the midst of their sore perplexity, he came to them. "To betray their anger, informed him what Jeremiah said, and accused him, and complained of the prophet as of a madman, and one that disheartened their minds, and by the denunciation of miseries, terrified them by the solitude of the land, which 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 continue taken, and be utterly destroyed.

5. But the king himself was not at all irritated against Jeremiah, such was his gentle and righteous disposition; yet that he might not be engaged in quarrels with those of his court at such time, by opposing what they intended, he let them do with the prophet whatever they would: whereupon, when the king had granted them such a permission, they presently came into the prison and took him, and let him down with a cord into a pit full of mire, that he might be suffocated, and die of himself. So he stood up to the neck in the mire, which was all about him, and so continued: but there was of the king's servants who had listened to 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 into prison, and by that same contriving against him that he should suffer, desiderated better than that by his bonds only. When the king heard this, he repented of his having delivered up the prophet to the rulers, and bade the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and 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 take, and the ropes of the mire, and left him at liberty [in the prison.]

6. But when the king had sent to call him privately, and inquired what he could say to him from God, which might be suitable to his present circumstances, and desired him to inform him of it, Jeremiah replied, that "he had somewhat to say;" but he said within, he "should not be believed, nor, if he admonished them, should be hearkened to (he said); but his 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? For 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 bold upon that assurance that was given him; and gave him this advice, that "he should deliver the city up to the Babylonians; and he said, that it was God that proscribed this by him, that (he must do so) if he would be preserved and escape out of the danger he was in, and that then neither should the city nor the ground from which the temple burned; but that (if he disobeyed) he would be the cause of these miseries coming upon the citizens, and of the calamity that would befall his whole house."

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 baquets round about the whole city, whose height was doubled, and were within the walls, and those were within bear the siege with courage and acclivity, for they were not discouraged, either by the famine, or by the pestilential distemper, but were of cheerful minds in the prosecution of the war, and those who considered them also, and they did not suffer themselves to be terrified, either by the couariorance 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 energy and skill; the former party supposing they should have the enemy on the point of hard for the overthrow of the city, and the destruction of the city; the latter placing their hopes of deliverance in nothing else but in persevering in such inventions in opposition to the other, as might demonstrate the enemy's enemy to be his ally, since they did not believe in the success of the Babylonians; and he, in the month 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, and he commanded them to do all that was necessary, and to name the names of these generals who ravaged and subdued Jerusalem, if any one desire to know them.
were these, Nergal, Shassuer, Samgar Neba, Rabaeus, Sereschim, and Rabnag. And when the city was taken about midnight, and the ene-
mies' generals were entered into the temple, and when Zedekiah was sensible of it, he took
his wives, and his children, and his captains, and his friends, and with these fled out of the city, through the fortified ditch, and through the de-
sert; and when certain of the deserters had in-
fected Zedekiah to run away with them, they made haste to pursue after Zedekiah, and
overtook him not far from Jericho, and encom-
pass'd him about; but for those friends and cap-
tains of Zedekiah who had fled out of the city with him, through the desert, and with them, they left him, and dispersed themselves some one way and some another, and every one resolved to save himself; so the enemy took
Zedekiah alive, when he was cleaned, 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 died, and his former words many be promised to keep the country for him. He also reproached him for his ingratitude, that when he had received the kingdom from him, who had taken it from Jehoiachin, and given it him, and made him king against him that gave it; but (said he) God is great, who hateth that conduct of thine, and hath brought thee under us. And when he had used these words, he returned to the king's son and his friends to be slain, while Zedekiah and the rest of the captains looked on, after which he put the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him, and carried him to Babylon. And thus was his great magnificence; how Ezekiel had foretold to him, that he should be caught and brought before the king of Babylon, and should speak to him face to face; and should see his eyes with his own eyes; and thus far did Jerem. vi. 24. But now came Zedekiah, and Ezekiel had foretold to him, that he should be caught 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 sufficient to show the nature of God to such as are ignorant of his greatness, and of his power; but we must observe, that all events happen after a regular manner, in their proper season, and that it foretells what must come to pass. It is also sufficient to show the ignorance of those who believe themselves to be in a state of liberty, and are permitted to foresee any thing that is future, and are, without any guard, exposed to calamities, so that it is impossible for them to avoid the experience of the prophecy.

4. And after this manner have the kings of David's race ended their lives, being in number twenty one until the last king; who altogether reigned five hundred and fourteen years, and six months, and ten days; of whom Saul, who was their first king, retained the government twenty years, though he was not of the same tribe with the rest.

5. And now it was that the king of Babylon sent Nebuzaradon, who was general of his army, to Jerusalem, to pillage the temple, which had it also is command to burn it, and the royal palace, and to lay the city even with the ground, and to transplant the people into Babylon. But Zedekiah, by the eleventh year of king Zedekiah, and pillaged the temple, and carried out the vessels of God, both gold and silver, and particularly that large lever which Solomon dedicated, as also the pillars of brass, and their chapiters, with the golden tables and the candlesticks; and when he had carried these off, he set fire to the temple in the fifth month, the first day of the month, on the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, and on the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar; he also burnt the pa-
lace and overthrew the city. Now the temple was burnt forty and one years, six months, and ten days after it was built. It was then one thousand and sixty-two years, six months, and ten days from the departure out of Egypt; and from the deluge to the destruction of the temple, the time of the flood to the time of the nine hundred and 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 the seven years, six months, and ten days; so great was the number of years hereto belonging. And what actions were done during those years, we have particularly related. But the general of the Babylonian king now overtook the inhabitants, and drove them to the sea, and those left in the city and in their cities, and razed the city of Nineveh to the foundations, and removed all the people, and took for prisoners the high priest Serani, and Zephaniah the priest that was next to him, and the rulers that guarded the temple, who were three in number, and the king's son, and the chief men, and seven friends of Zedekiah, and his scribe, and six other rulers; all which, together with the vessels which they had pillaged, he carried to the king of Babylon to Riblah, a city of Syria. So that the king of Babylon set his own son of Zedekiah, the high priest, upon the throne that was in the house of the high priest and of the rulers to be cut off there; but he himself led all the captives, and Zedekiah, to Babylon. He also led Josedek the high priest away captive. He was the son of Se-
rain, the high priest whom the king of Babylon had slain in Riblah, a city of Syria, as we have just now related.

6. And now, because we have enumerated the succession of the kings of the tribe of Judah, and how long they reigned, I think it necessary to set down the names of the high priests, and who they were that succeeded one another in the high priesthood under the kings. The first high priest then at the temple which Solomon had built was Zadoc; after him his son Achias received that dignity; after Achias was Azarias; his son was Joram, and Joram's son was Jesus; after him was Azionavus; his son was Phidias, and Phidias's son was Suedes; and Suedes's son was Justel, and Justel's son was Joatham, and Joatham's son was Uria, and Uria's son was Nerias, and Nerias's son was Odessa, and his son was Salu-
man, and Salaman's son and Salamanah's son [was Azarias], and his son] was Sarea, and his son was Josedek, who was carried captive to Bab-
ylon. All these received the high priesthood by succession, the sons from their father.

7. When the king was come to Babylon, he kept Zedekiah in prison till he died, and buried him magnificently, and dedicated the vessels he had pillaged out of the temple of Jerusalem to his own gods, and planted the people in the country of Babylon, but freed the high priest from his bonds.

CHAP. IX.

How Nebuzaradon set Godaiiah over the Jews that were left in Judea, which Godaiiah was a little afterward slain by Ishmael: and how Jo-
hem, after Ishmael was driven away went

* This observation of Josephus about the seeming dis-
agreement of Jeremiah, chap. xxi, 6, and xxiv, 3, and
Ezek. xii, 13, but real agreement at last, concerning the fact that the temple and the authority overer came to
ch. vii, sect. 2. Nor is it at all unlikely that the secon-
day and false prophets might make use of this seeming con-
trast to support their own views; and hence the words of
those prophets, as Josephus here intimates, he was dis-
missed thereby.
and laid an accusation against him, under whom he endured all sorts of tortures and torments, and was reserved to be punished; and this was the condition he was in for some time, while he suffered that 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 made a second expedition against Jerusalem, and lay before it eighteen months, and did not deliver him up to the king of Babylon, and was reserved to be punished. There came upon them also two of the greatest calamities at the same time that Jerusalem was besieged, a famine and pestilential distemper, and such a famine as it was told of them; and though the prophet Jeremiah was in prison, he did not rest, but cried out, and proclaimed aloud, and exhorted the multitude to open their gates, and admit the king of Babylon, for that if they did so, they should be preserved, and their whole families; but if they did not so, they should be destroyed; and he foretold, that if any one stayed in the city, he should certainly perish by one of these ways, either 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, even when they were in the midst of their sore case, and saw one came to the king, and, in their anger, informed him that Jeremiah had said, and accused him, and complained of the prophet as a madman, and one that disheartened their minds, and by the denunciation of miseries, warned the multitude to their destruction, 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 be taken, and be utterly destroyed.

5. But the king himself was not at all irritated against Jeremiah, such was his gentle and righteous disposition; yet that he might not be engaged in a quarrel with those rulers at such a time as this, he consented, he let them do with the prophet whatsoever they would: whereupon, when the king had granted them such a permission, they presently came into the prison and took him, and let him down with a cord into a pit full of mire, that he might be suffocated, and die of himself. So he stood up to the neck in the mire, which was all about him, and so continued: but there was of the king’s servants in the prison 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 into the mire, and by that means contriving against him, and said much worse of him than that by his bonds only. When the king heard this, he repented of his having delivered up the prophet to the rulers, and bade the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and 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 take, and the cords of the mire, and left him at liberty [in the prison.]

6. But when the king had sent to call him privately, and inquired what he could say to him from God, which might be suitable to his present condition, and to them all; and of it, Jeremiah replied, that he had somewhat to say: but he said withheld, he should not be believed, nor, if he should Manuished, they should be hardened against him. And his friends had 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? But I afraid now to speak the truth, lest thou shouldst condemn me to death. And when the king had assured him upon oath, that he would neither himself put him to death, nor deliver him up to the rulers, he became bold upon that assurance that was given him; and gave him this advice, that he should deliver the city 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 and escape out of the danger he was in, and then neither should the city fall to the glory of the king of Babylon; but that (if he disobeyed) he would be the cause of these miseries coming upon the citizens, and of the calamity that would befall his whole house.

7. When the king had heard this, he would willingly do what he persuaded him to, and what he declared would be to his advantage but that he was afraid of those of his own country 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 misfortune, if he would deliver all up to the Babylonians, neither himself, nor his children, nor his wives, and that the temple should then continue unhurt. So when Jeremiah had said this, the king let him go, and charged him that he should not deliver any of the citizens, nor tell any of the rulers, if they should have learned that he had been sent for, what he had said to him: but to pretend to them, that he brought a message from the king totake prisoners. And indeed as 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 banks round about the whole city, whose height and breadth was in each of them, 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 into the mire, and by that means contriving against him, and said much worse of him than that by his bonds only. When the king heard this, he repented of his having delivered up the prophet to the rulers, and bade the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and 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 take, and the cords of the mire, and left him at liberty [in the prison.]

6. But when the king had sent to call him privately, and inquired what he could say to him from God, which might be suitable to his present condition, and to them all; and of it, Jeremiah replied, that he had somewhat to say: but he said withheld, he should not be believed, nor, if he should Manuished, they should be hardened against him. And his friends had 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? But I afraid now to speak the truth, lest thou shouldst condemn me to death. And when the king had assured him upon oath, that he would neither himself put him to death, nor deliver him up to the rulers, he became bold upon that assurance that was given him; and gave him this advice, that he should deliver the city 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 and escape out of the danger he was in, and then neither should the city fall to the glory of the king of Babylon; but that (if he disobeyed) he would be the cause of these miseries coming upon the citizens, and of the calamity that would befall his whole house.

7. When the king had heard this, he would willingly do what he persuaded him to, and what he declared would be to his advantage but that he was afraid of those of his own country 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 misfortune, if he would deliver all up to the Babylonians, neither himself, nor his children, nor his wives, and that the temple should then continue unhurt. So when Jeremiah had said this, the king let him go, and charged him that he should not deliver any of the citizens, nor tell any of the rulers, if they should have learned that he had been sent for, what he had said to him: but to pretend to them, that he brought a message from the king totake prisoners. And indeed as 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 banks round about the whole city, whose height and breadth was in each of them, 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 into the mire, and by that means contriving against him, and said much worse of him than that by his bonds only. When the king heard this, he repented of his having delivered up the prophet to the rulers, and bade the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and 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 take, and the cords of the mire, and left him at liberty [in the prison.]

6. But when the king had sent to call him privately, and inquired what he could say to him from God, which might be suitable to his present condition, and to them all; and of it, Jeremiah replied, that he had somewhat to say: but he said withheld, he should not be believed, nor, if he should Manuished, they should be hardened against him. And his friends had 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? But I afraid now to speak the truth, lest thou shouldst condemn me to death. And when the king had assured him
were these, Nergal, Shammu, Samgar Nebu, Rabbeerias, Serechshah, and Rahmag. And when the city was taken about midnight, and the ene-
gies' generals were entered into the temple, and when Zedekiah was sensible of it, he took his
wife, and his children, and his captains, and his
friends, and with them fled out of the city,
through the fortded ditch, and through the de-
sert; and when certain of the deserters had in-
fomed the king that the manner of their
flight was as they said, they made haste to pursue after Zedekiah, and overtook him not far
from Jericho, and encompassed him about; but for those friends and cap-
tains of Zedekiah that had fled out of the city
with him, when they found them, they took them, they left him, and dispersed themselves
some one way and some another, and every one resolved to save himself; so the enemy took
Zedekiah alive, when he was deserted by all but a few, with his children and his wives,
and brought him to the king. When he was come,
Nebuchadnezzar began to "call him a wicked
wretch, and a covenant-breaker, and one that
knew not that he was his former words many
promises to keep the country for him. He
also reproached him for his ingratitude, that
when he had received the kingdom from him,
who had taken it from Jehoiachin, and given it
him, he had not saved himself and his fortun
against him that gave it; but (said he) God is
great, who hateth that conduct of thine, and hath
brought thee under us." And when he had used
these words to him, his son and his friends to be slain, while Zedekiah
and the rest of the captains looked on, after
which he put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and
bound him, and carried him to Babylon. And
these things happened to him as Ezekiel had foretold to him, that he should
be caught and carried before the king of Babylon,
and should speak to him face to face; and
should see his eyes with his own eyes; and thus far did Josedek know what had taken place, 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 sufi-
cient to show the nature of God to such as are ignorant of it. For those of his former words many
men had different ways, and that all events happen after a regular manner, in their proper season, and
that it foretells what must come to pass. It is
also very certain from the experiences of the
reeility of men, whereby they are not permitted to
foresee any thing that is future, and are, without
any guard, exposed to calamities, so that it is
impossible for them to avoid the experience of
these things when they happen. And
4. And after this manner have the kings of
David's race ended their lives, being in number twenty one up 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
tribe with the rest. 5. And now it is told that the king of Babylon sent to Nebuchadnezzar, the general of his army, to
Jerusalem, to pillage the temple, who had it also
was command to burn it, and the royal palace,
and to lay the city even with the ground, and to
transport all who came into Babylon to captiv-
ity, he came to Jerusalem in the eleventh year
of king Zedekiah, and pillaged the temple, and
carried 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 month,
the first day of the month, on the eleventh year
of the reign of Zedekiah, and on the eighteenth
year of Nebuchadnezzar; he also burnt the pa-
lace and overthrew the city. Now the temple
was burnt four hundred and sixty years, six
months, and ten days after it was built. It was
then one thousand and sixty-two years, six
months, and ten days from the departure out
of Egypt; and from the deluge to the destruction
of the temple, from the fifth month of the third
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 thirty years, six
months, and ten days; so great was the number
of years hereto belonging. And what actions
were done during those years, we have particu-
larly related. But the general of the Babylonian
king now set the temple which Solomon had con-
structions, and removed all the people, and took for prisoners the high priest Seraijah, and Zephaniah
the priest that was next to him, and the ru-
lers that guarded the temple, who were three
in number, and the chamberlain of the guards,
and seven friends of Zedekiah, and his
scribe, and six other rulers; all which, together
with the vessels which they had pillaged, he
brought into the land of Judah, and carried to
the city of Syria. So the king commanded the heads of the high priests and of the rulers to be cut off
there; but he himself led all the captives, and
Zedekiah, to Babylon. He also led Josedek the
high priest away with him: 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 succession of the kings, and who they were, and
how long they reigned, I think it necessary to
set down the names of the high priests, and who
they were that succeeded one another in the high
priesthood under the kings. The first high priest
then at the temple which Solomon had con-
structed, was Zadoc; after him his son Achimus received that


dignity; after Achimus was Azarias; his son was Joram, and Joram's son was Jesus; after him was
Anthonius; his son was Scudel, and Scudel's son was Jesus,
and Jesus's son was Isaias, and Isaias's son was Iotham, and Iotham's son was Urias, and Urias's son was Nerias,
and Nerias's son wos Odias, and his son was Salu-
son's son, and Selamaneas's son [was Azarias, and his son was Saras, and his son was Josedek, who was carried captive to
Babylon. All these received the high priesthood by succession, the sons from their father.
9. When the king was come to Babylon, he kept Zedekiah in prison till he died, and buried
him magnificently, and dedicated the vessels he
had pillaged out of the temple of Jerusalem to his
own gods, and planted the people in the country
of Babylon, but freed the high priest from his
bonds.

CHAP. IX.

How Nebuchadnezzar set Gedaliah over the Jews
that were left in Judæa, which Gedaliah was a little afterward slain by Ishmael: and how Joh-
ham, after Ishmael was driven away went

This observation of Josephus about the seeming disa-

greements of Jeremias, chap. xxiii. 4, and xxiv. 3, and Ezra. xii. 13, but real agreement at last, concerning the far

reached 7th authority severely constrains the historical author. So it is not at all unlikely that the seerish

and false prophets might make use of this seeming con-

trast; but, as Josephus intimates, he was dis-

mised thereby.
and laid an accusation against him, under whom he endured all sorts of tortures and torments, and was reserved to be punished; and this was the condition he was in for some time, while he suffered that I had already written about it. 4. Now in the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the tenth month, the king of Babylon made a second expedition against Jerusalem, and lay before it eighteen months, and on that day the king sent spotters. There came upon them also two of the greatest calamities at the same time that Jerusalem was besieged, famine and pestilential distemper, and the multitude died of famine; and through the prophet Jeremiah was in prison, he did not rest, but cried out, and proclaimed aloud, and exhorted the multitude to open their gates, and admit the king of Babylon, for that if they did so, they should be preserved, and their whole families; but if they did not so, they should be destroyed; and he foretold, that if any one stayed in the city, he should certainly perish by one of these ways, either 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, even when they were in the midst of their sore distress, when 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 minds, and by the denunciation of miseries, would alienate the minds of the people; 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 taken, and be utterly destroyed. 5. But the king himself was not at all irritated against Jeremiah, such was his gentle and righteous disposition; yet that he might not be engaged, he quarreled with those rulers at such a time, by choosing with whom he should let them do with the prophet whatsoever they would; whereupon, when the king had granted them such a permission, they presently came into the prison and took him, and let him down with a cord into a pit full of mine, that he might be suffocated, and die of himself. So he stood up to the neck in the mine, which was all about him, and so continued; but there was of the king's agency in it, for he sent with him, an Ethiopian by descent, who told the king what a statue the prophet was in, and said, that his friends and his rulers had done evil in putting the prophet into prison; and that means contriving against him that he should suffer dishonour worse than that by his bonds only. When the king heard this, he repented of his having delivered up the prophet to the rulers, and bade the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and 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 take, and went to get the cords; and the mine, 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 to inform him of it, Jeremiah replied, that "he had somewhat to say:" but he said vitally, he "should not be believed, nor, if he admonished them, should be heard." He added that; for he was 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? I have heard it said, but I 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 bold upon that assurance, that was given him, 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 and escape out of the danger he was in, and that then neither should the city fall to be burnt by the Babylonians; but that (if he disobeyed) he would be the cause of these miseries coming upon the citizens, and of the calamity that would befall his whole house." And when the Prophet said, that he would willingly do what he persuaded him to, and what he declared would be to his advantage but that he was afraid of those of his own country 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 misfortune, if he would deliver all up to the Babylonians, or himself, nor his children, nor his wives, and that the temple should then continue unharmed." So when Jeremiah had said this, the king let him go, and commanded the Ethiopian to convey him out of the prison to one of the citizens, nor to tell the rulers, if they should have learned that he had been sent for, what he had said to him; but to pretend to them, that he besought them not to hinder him, or he would be put into the 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 burned 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 instant and earnest upon the siege of Jerusalem; and he erected towers upon great banks of earth, and from them repelled those that stood upon the walls: he also made a great number of such banks round about the whole city, whose height was great, and whose strength was small, 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 of cheerful minds in the prosecution of the war, and suffered themselves and were taken also, and they did not suffer themselves to be terrified, either by the constivances 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 rage, city and skill; the former party supposing they should have the means of enduring the siege, for they had endured for eighteen months, until they were destroyed by the famine, and by the darts which the enemy threw at them from the towers. Now the 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 sent now to Riblah the names of these generals who ravaged and subdued Jerusalem, if any one desires to know them
were these, Nergal, She Ezur, Shammash, Nisra, Ereshkigal, and Nisaba. And when the city was taken about midnight, and the enem-
ies gathered were entered into the temple, and with Zeidkiah was seized he, his sons, and his children, and his captains, and his friends, and with them fled out of the city, through the fortified ditch, and through the de-
sert; and when came of the deserters had in formed the Babylonians of this, at break of day they made haste to pursue after Zeidkiah, and overtook him not far from Jericho, and encom-
passed him about; but for those friends and cap-
tains that was with him, they turned back with him, when they saw their enemies near them, they left him, and dispersed themselves some one way and some another, and every one resolved to save himself; so the enemy took Zeidkiah 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, Nebuchadrezzar began to "call him a wise and a coun-
tenant, 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 when he had received the kingdom from him, who had taken it from Jerusalem; for, said he, he had made use of the power he gave him against him that gave it; and (said he) God is great, who hateth that conduct of thee, and hath brought thee under his hand. And when he had used them so, he commanded the king of Babylon and his sons and his friends to be slain, while Zeidkiah and the rest of the captains looked on, after which he put out the eyes of Zeidkiah, and bound him, and carried him to Babylon. And these things happened to Zeidkiah, the twenty-fourth of the year of the captivity of Ezechiel had foretold to him, that he should be caught and brought before the king of Babylon, and should speak to him face to face; and said, see thy eyes with thy own eyes; and the king of Babylon prophesied, but he was also made blind, and brought to Babylon, but he did not see it, according to the prediction of Ezechiel.

3. We have said thus much because it was suffi-
ciently clear to us how the nature of God is such as to make us ignorant of it, that it is various, and acts many different ways, and that all events happen under a regular manner, in their proper season, and that it foretells what must come to pass. It is also clear from the Scriptures that if men, whereby they are not permitted to foresee any thing that is future, and see, without any guard, exposed to calamities, so that it is impossible for them to avoid the experience of them. And now, after this manner the kings of David's race ended their lives, being in number twenty-one until the last king; who altogether reigned five hundred and fourteen years, and six months, and ten days; of whom Salm, who was their first king, retained the govern-
ment twenty years, though he was not of the same tribe with the rest.

4. It is certain that the king of Babylon sent Nebuzarraden, the general of his army, to Jeru-
salem, to pillage the temple, who had it also is command to burn it, and the royal palace, and to lay the city even with the ground, and to transport people into Babylon. Supplying by mag-
ety, he came to Jerusalem in the eleventh year of king Zeidkiah, and pillaged the temple, and carried out the vessels of God, both gold and

silver, and particularly that large lever which Solomon dedicated, as also the pillars of brass, and their chapiters, with the golden tables and the candlesticks; and when he had carried these off, he set fire to the temple in the fifth month, the first day of the month, on the eleventh year of the reign of Zeidkiah, and on the eighteenth year of Nebuchadrezzar; but he burnt the pa-
gran and the temple of the Lord, and the palace and overthrew the city. Now the temple was burnt four hundred and seventy years, six months, and ten days after it was built. It was then one thousand and sixty-two years, six months, and ten days from the departure out of Egypt; and from the departure 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 Adan
until this befell the temple, there were three thousand five hundred and thirteen years, six months, and ten days; so great was the number of years hareto belonging. And what actions were done during those years, we have particu-
larly related. But at 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 Zephaniah the priest that was next to him, and the re-
ers that guarded the Ark, and the king's chamber, and the king's treasure, and the precious stones of the temple, and the gilding of the images of gold, which were in the temple; and the vases, and the altars, and the vessels that were in the temple; and the ends of the temple and the roof, and the whole building of the temple, the whole temple was burnt.

5. And now, because we have enumerated the succession of the kings, and who they were, and how long they reigned, I think it necessary to set down the names of the high priests, and who they were that succeeded one another in the high-

priesthood under the kings. The first high priest then at the temple which Solomon built, was Zadok; after him his son Achimnas received that dignity; after Achimnas was Azarias; his son was Joram, and Joram's son was Jexas; after him was Ahianor; his son was Azarias, and his son was Suda, and Suda's son was Juseus, and Juseus's son was Jotham, and Jotham's son was Urias, and Urias's son was Neria, and Neria's son was Odos, and Odos's son was Salu-

mcr, and Salu'mcr's son was Elias, and Elias [was Azarias, and his son's was Saras, and his son was Joscnd, who was carried captive to Babylon. All these received the high priesthood by succession, the sons from their father.

6. When the king was come to Babylon, he kept Zeidkiah in prison till he died, and buried him magnificently, and dedicated the vessels he had pillaged out of the temple of Jerusalem to his own gods, and put the body of Zeidkiah, king of Babylon, but freed the high priest from his bonds.

CHAP. IX.

How Nebuzarraden set Gedeliah over the Jews that were left in Judea, which Gedeliah was a little afterward slain by Ishmael; and how Jo-

ham, after Ishmael was driven away went
and laid an accusation against him, under whom he endured all sorts of tortures and tortures, and was reserved to be punished; and this was the condition he was in for some time, while he suffered that I have already described so minutely.

4. Now in the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the tenth month, the king of Babylon made a second expedition against Jerusalem. But he lay before it eighteen months, and the city besieged it with the utmost severity. There came upon them also two of the greatest calamities at the same time that Jerusalem was besieged, a famine and pestilential distemper, and the king and all the people of the land, and thus he said, that it was God that prophesied this by him, that (he must do so) if he would be preserved and escape out of the danger he was in, and that then neither he nor the temple should be burned; but that (if he disobeyed) he would be the cause of these miseries coming upon the citizens, and of the calamity that would befall his whole house.

5. When Jeremiah had said this, they took him to the king, and in his anger informed him what Jeremiah said, and accused him, and explained to the prophet as a madman, and one that disheartened their minds, and by the denunciation of miseries, warned him of the vengeance of the multitude, who were otherwise ready to expose themselves to dangers for him, and for their country, while he, in a state of threatening, warned them to fly to the hills, and told them that the city should certainly be taken, and was utterly destroyed.

6. But the king himself was not at all irritated against Jeremiah, such was his gentle and righteous disposition; yet that he might not be engrossed with those cares at such a time, by opposing what they intended, he let them do with the prophet whatsoever they would: whereupon, when the king had granted them such a permission, they presently came into the prison and took him, and let him down with a cord into a pit full of mire, that he might be suffocated, and die of himself. So he stood up to the neck in the mire, which was all about him, and so continued: but there was of the king's servants who was so kind to 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 a prison by that means, and contrary against him that he should suffer a death more bitter than that by his bonds only. When the king heard this, he repented of his having delivered up the prophet to the rulers, and bade the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and 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 take, and came to the prison, and left him at liberty [in the prison].

7. 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 the present circumstances, and desired him to inform him of it, Jeremiah replied, that "he had something to say:" but he said withal, "he should not be believed, nor, if he denominated them, should he be heard" and added, "he said his friends were 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?" and he would 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 bold upon that assurance that was given him; and gave him this advice, that "he should deliver the city, to the Babylonians, that they might say, that it was God that prophesied this by him, that (he must do so) if he would be preserved and escape out of the danger he was in, and that then neither he nor the temple should be burned; but that (if he disobeyed) he would be the cause of these miseries coming upon the citizens, and of the calamity that would befall his whole house."}

— Antiquities of the Jews. Book VIII.
were those, Nergal, Shararzer, Samsar, Nebu, Nabu, Nabu, and Bane. And when the city was taken about midnight, and the enemies' generals were entered into the temple, and when Zedekiah was sensible of it, he took his wife, and his children, and his captains, and his friends, and with them fled out of the city through the fortified ditch, and through the desert; and when certain of the deserters had informed the Babylonians of this, at break of day they made haste to pursue after Zedekiah, and overtook him not, nor passed him about; but for these friends and captains of Zedekiah who had fled out of the city with him, when they saw their enemies near them, some one way and some another, and every one resolved to save himself; so the enemy took Zedekiah alive, when he was deserted by all but a few, with his children and his wives, and brought him to the king. When he was 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 answered, saying, I will not speak with thee; but he was made use of the power he gave him, and with such sharpness as not to be able to answer it; but he was a great, who hated that command of thine, and hath brought thee under us." And when he had used these words to Zedekiah, he commanded his sons and his friends to be slain, while Zedekiah and the captains took up on, after which he put the eyes of Zedekiah, 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 carried to Babylon through all the captivity, and should speak to him face to face; 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 his own forebodings.  

3. We have said thus much because it was sufficient to show the nature of God to such as are ignorant of it, that it is various, and acts in many different ways, and so that he is a king, a conqueror, in their proper sense, and that it foretells what must come to pass. It is also sufficient to show the ignorance and incredulity of men, whereby they are not permitted to form a high opinion of the power and majesty of God, as a secure guard, exposed to calamities, so that it is impossible for them to avoid the experience of those calamities.  

4. And after this manner the kings of David's race ended their lives, being in number twenty one until the last king; who altogether reigned five hundred and fourteen years, and six months, and ten days; of whom Saul, who was their first king, retained the government twenty years, though he was not of the same tribe with the rest.  

5. And now it was the king of Babylon sent Nebuzaradan, the general of his army, to Jerusalem, to pillage the people, who had it also in command to burn it, and the royal palace, and to lay the city even with the ground, and to transport the people into Babylonia. Accordingly, he came to Jerusalem in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, and burned down his palace and his house, and carried away 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 month, the first day of the month, on the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, and on the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar; he also burnt the palace and overthrew the city. Now the temple was burnt four hundred and seventy years, six months, and ten days after it was built. It was then overthrown; and then one hundred and ten months, and ten days from the departure out of Egypt; and from the deluge to the destruction of the temple, the whole interval was one thousand nine hundred and fifty seven years and ten days; but from the generation of Adam until this befell the temple, there were three thousand five hundred and thirteen years, six months, and ten days; so great was the number of years hirerto belonging. And what actions were done during these years, we have particularly related. But the general of the Babylonians then overthrew the city to the very foundations, and removed all the people, and took for prisoners the head of prisoners, and brought away all the priests that was next to him, and the rulers that guarded the temple, who were three in number, and the eunuch who was over the armed men, and seven friends of Zedekiah, and his maid, and his prophet, and six other ministers; all which vessels with the vessels which they had pillaged, he carried to the king of Babylon to Riblah, a city of Syria. So the king commanded the heads of the priests and of the king's officers to be carried thither, but he himself led all the captives, and Zedekiah, to Babylon. He also led Jochedek the high priest away bound. He was the son of Seraiah, the high priest whom the king of Babylon had slain in Babylonia, a city of Syria, as we have just now related.  

6. And now, because we have enumerated the succession of the kings, and who they were, and how long they reigned, I think it necessary to set down the names of the high priests, and those they were that succeeded one another in the high priesthood under the kings. The first high priest then at the temple which Solomon built, was Zadok; after him his son Achimeas received that dignity; after Achimeas his son, Azariah; after Azariah his son, Zadok; after Zadok his son, Josiah; after Josiah his son, Zephaniah; after Zephaniah his son, Urias; after Urias his son, Josiah; after Josiah his son, Zedekiah; after Zedekiah his son, Jairus, and Jairus's son was Zedekiah; after Zedekiah his son, Jehoiakim; and Jehoiakim's son was Jehoiachin, and Jehoiachin's son was Zedekiah; after Zedekiah, his son, Urias, and Urias's son was Nerias, and Nerias's son was Oded, and his son was Salum, and Salum's son was Elia, and his son [was Azarias, and his son] was Seraeas, and his son was Joseph, who was carried captive to Babylon. All these received the high priesthood by succession, the sons from their father.  

7. When the king was come to Babylon, he kept Zedekiah in prison till he died, and buried him magnificently, and conducted his vessels he had pillaged out of the temple of Jerusalem to 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 Zedekiah over the Jews that were left in Judah, which Zedekiah was little afterwars set free, and Jehoiachin, after Enholm, was driven away unto

† have been inserted in brackets this high priest Azariah, though he is omitted in all Josephus, in the Jewish chronicle, Seder Olam, of how little authority soever I generally esteem such late rabbi traditions; these are not what I believe, as to that which I have myself, that the number of the high priests belonging to this interval was eighteen, Andes. E. X. ch. I. whereas his copies have here but fourteen.
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 Ishmael, the son of Nemaniah, a son 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. He also took Jeremiah the visionaries 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 to do so, he desired him to inform him where he resol

2. When Nebuzaradan had done thus, he made haste to Babylon: but as to those that fled away during the siege of Jerusalem, and had been scattered among the other countries, and as the Babylonians were gone away, and had left a remnant in the hand of Jerusalem, and those such as were to cultivate the same, they came together from all parts to Gedaliah in Mizpah, as also the rulers that were over them were Jehonathan, the son of Kareah, and Jazeniah, and Sarashia, and others beside them. Now there was of the royal family one Ishmael, a wicked man, and very treacherous, who being entertained by Jeremias, the son of Neryahah, the son of Brain, the captain of the guard, and of his countrey Jerusalem, fled to Baslie, the king of the Ammonites, and abode with him during that time: and Gedaliah persuaded them, now they were there, to stay with him, and to have no fear of the Babylonians, for it was not for anything to kill them; but he advised them to 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, they should find him ready to defend them. He also advised them to dwell in any city, as every one of them pleased; and that they would send men along with his own servants, and rebuild their houses upon the old foundations, and dwell there, and be admonished them beforehand, that they should make preparation, while the seasons lasted, of corn, and wine, and oil, that they might have wherewith to feed during the winter. When he had thus discoursed to them he came again, and put to the king, from Ishmael, and overtook him at the fountain in Hebron, and when those that were carried away captives by Ishmael, saw Jehonathan and the rulers, they were very glad, and looked upon them as coming from him; and they carried them captives, and came over to Jo

3. Now when this report was spread abroad as far as the nations that bordered on Judea, that Gedaliah kindly entertained those that came to him, and gave them a place away from the common condition, that they should pay tribute to the king of Babylon, they also came readily to Gedaliah, and inhabited the country. And when Jehonathan and the rulers that with him out served the country, and the humanity of Gedaliah, they were exceedingly in love with him, and told him that Baslie, the king of the Ammon

4. So Jehonathan, and the rulers that were with him, not being able to persuade Gedaliah, went away into the land of the Philistines, through fear, and the king had him put in prison, and Judah also, of the many that were with him, was put to death, and his sons and servants were put to death with him, and he was put to death in Jerusalem, and his house. Gedaliah, and all of them that were with him, were put to death, and Gedaliah also, and all of them that were with him, were put to death in Jerusalem, and his house.

5. But when Jehonathan and the rulers with him heard of what was done at Misaph by Ishmael, and of the death of Gedaliah, they had indignation at it, and every one of them took his own arms, and came to Gedaliah, and carried them captives, and came over to Jo
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and determined to remove from thence, and go into Egypt, out of fear lest the Babylonians should attack against them, they continued in the country, and that out of sorrow at the slaughter of Gedaliah, who had been by them set over it for governor.

6. Now while they were under this deliberation, Jehovah, the son of Kezron, who had been with them, came to Jeremiah the prophet, and desired that he would pray to God, that because they were at an utter loss about what they ought to do, he would discover it to them, and that because they thought that they would be with them while they continued in that country, and take care of them, and keep them from being hurt by the Babylonians, on whom they were agreed; but that he would desert them, if they went into Egypt, and, out of his wrath against them, would inflict the same punishments upon them which they knew their brethren had already endured. So when the prophet heard this, he was inclined to think that God had foretold these things, he was not believed, when he said that God commanded them to continue in that country, but they imagined that he said so to gratify Baruch, his own disciple; for he of all others was most excellent in that respect, and was inclined to stay there, that they might be destroyed by the Babylonians. Accordingly, both the people and Jehovah disobeyed the counsel of God, which he gave them by the prophet, and removed to Egypt, but Baruch remained with Jeremiah and Baruch among them.

7. And when they were there, God signified to the prophet, that the king of Babylon was about to make an expedition against the Egyptians, and commanded him to foretell to them, that Egypt should be taken, and the king of Babylon should slay some of them, and should take others captive, and bring them to Babylon; which things came to pass, because, five years after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, he made an expedition against Caraeusiris, and when he had possessed himself of it, he made it his capital, but when he had brought all those nations under subjection, he fell upon Egypt, in order to overthrow it; and he slew the king that then reigned, and set up another; and he took those Jews that were in Egypt, and brought them to Babylon. And such was the end of the nation of the Hebrews, as it hath been delivered down to us, it having twice gone beyond Egypt: for the people of the ten tribes were carried out of Samaria by the Assyrians, in the days of king Hoshea, after which the people of the two tribes, that remained after Jerusalem was taken, were carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, and men of other nations; and when he had removed the Israelites out of their country, and placed therein the nation of the Cuthians, who had formerly belonged to the inner parts of Persia and Media, but were then called Scaramiels, by taking the name of the country to which 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 Judea and Jerusalem, and the temple, and 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 kinsmen of Zedekiah, their king, and sent letters, ordering them out of what way they should come, and to meet the king of Babylon, and to bring their sons and daughter 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 people of the land of Babylon, and their language and deserts; and they had now exercised themselves sufficiently in that wisdom which he had ordered they should apply themselves to. Now among these there were four of the family of Zedekiah, called Daniel, and his companions, Shadrach, Meshach, and Azariah, but they called Daniel, another was called Ananias, another Mishael, and the fourth Azariah: and the king of Babylon changed their names, and commanded that they should make use of other names; Daniel he called Belteshazzar, and his companions, Meshach, Mishael, and Azariah, and made them different among the king's understanding.

§ 2. Now Daniel and his kinsmen had resolved to use a severe diet, and to abstain from those kinds of food which came from the king's table, and entirely to forbear to eat of all living creatures: so he came to Ashpenaz, who was that eunuch to whom the care of them was committed; and desired him to take and spend what was brought for them from the king, but to give them their diet, and to mark their face, and to know what became to them, and what was their condition, and what was the king's will to them, and what would be discovered by the king, from their messenger, and the alteration of their countenances, because it could not be avoided but their bodies and colors 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 God in all things preserve them, and thus fear, 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, the king of Egypt, [Pharaoh Hophra, or Apries] was slain by the Egyptians, as Jeremiah foretold his slaughter by his enemies, Jer. xii. 39, 36, and 2 Macc. xii. 13, 14; [That Daniel was not one of those captives, which Isaiah prophesied, Isa. xlix. 7, and the three children his companions also, seems to me plain, both in Josephus, and in our commentary, Dan. i. 3, 6, 7—11, 18; although it must be granted, that five married persons, that had children, were sometimes called eunuchs, in a general conception for courtesans, on account that so many of the ancient countries were sensual eunuchs. See Gen. xxxix. 18.}
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look meager and worse than the rest, he should reduce them to their former diet. Now, when it appeared to those that knew the business worse by the use of this food, that they grew plumper and fuller in body than the rest, insomuch that he thought those who fed 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; Ariocho, from that time, securely took himself what the king sent every day from his supper, according to custom, to the children, but gave it to Daniel; for Darius did wish the eight men that had their souls in some measure more pure, and less burdened, and so fitter for learning, and had their bodies in better tune for hard labor, for they neither had the former oppression and burden of most meats, nor were they in the other eminence 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 before already was greatly skill'd 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, the king 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 Chaldeans, and magicians, and the philosophers; and informed them that he had forgotten the accomplishment of what he had seen, and he enjoined them to tell him, both what the dream was, and what its significations were. 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 tell him its significations. Hereupon he commanded them to tell it, 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 Ariocho, who was captain of the king's guards, and showed him what had happened to him what his reasons were why the king had given command that all the wise men, and Chaldeans, and magicians, should be slain. So when he had learned that the king had had a dream, and had forgotten it, and that when he sent for the Chaldeans to inform the king of their dream, they had said they could not do it, and had thereby provoked him to anger; he desired of Ariocho that he would go in to the king, and desire respite for the magicians for one night, in order that he might within that time to obtain, by prayer to God, the knowledge of the dream. Accordingly, Ariocho informed the king of what Daniel desired; so the king beseeched them delay the slaughter of the magicians, until he should hear what Daniel would come to: but the young man retired to his own house, with his kinsmen, and besought God that while night to discover the dream, and thereby deliver the magicians and Chaldeans, with whom they were themselves to perish, from the king's anger, by enabling him to declare his vision, and to make manifest what the king had seen the night before in his sleep, but had forgotten. God did signify to him to those that were in danger, and out of regard to the wisdom of Daniel, made known to him the dream and its interpretation, that so the king might understand by him its significations also. When Daniel had obtained this knowledge from God, he arose very joyful, and told it to his brethren, and made them glad, and to hope well, that they should now preserve their lives, of which they despaired before, and had their minds full of sorrow and distress, because they were not wise enough to discover the dream, he was undertaking to inform them 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 had pity on me, and did not thereby add to that which I had, but he had with them returned thanks to God who had commiserated their youth, when it was day he came to Ariocho, and desired him to bring him to the king, because he would discover to him that dream which he had had the night before in his sleep.

4. When Daniel was come in to the king, he excused himself at first, that he did not pretend to be wiser than the other Chaldeans and magicians when they had the counsel of the king to discover the 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 had pity on me, and did not thereby add to that which I had, but he had with them returned thanks to God who had commiserated their youth, when it was day he came to Ariocho, and desired him to bring him to the king, because he would discover to him that dream which he had had the night before in his sleep.

5. When Nebuchadnezzar heard this, and read of the Jews, take the words of Horace, book 2. 4. "No is able to be wondered at, that he would not now meddle with things future, for he has no reason to provoke the Romans, by speaking of the destruction of that city, which they called the eternal city."
collected his dream, he was astonished at the nature of Daniel, and fell upon his face, and sat down and was taken with a great sorrow of mind. [Balsas,] and made him and his kinman rulers of the whole kingdom; which kinman of his happened to fall into great danger by the envy and malice of [their enemies]; for they offended the king upon the occasion following: he made a great image of gold that was sixty cubits, and his breadth was twelve, and he 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, and commanded them in the first place, that when they should hear the sound of the trumpet, they should then fall down and worship the image; and he threatened that those who did not so, should be cast into a fiery furnace. When, therefore, all the rest, upon the hearing of the sound of the trumpet, worshipped the image, they relented that Daniel's kinman did not do it, because they would not transgress the laws of their country; so these men were carried away captive by the image, 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 them not only on account of their piety, but 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 done by the power of God, who made their bodies so far more valuable than that of gold, that it could not consume them. This it was which recommended them to the king as righteous men, and men beloved of God, on which account they continued in great esteem with him.

e. a. and did dream in his sleep again another vision; how he should fall from his dominion, and feed among the wild beasts, and that when he had lived in this manner in the desert for seven years, he should recover his dominion as in times past. And the king, in his sleep, upon the calling the magicians together again, and inquiring of them about it, and desired them to tell him what it signified; but when none of them could interpret it, he was angry, and desired the magicians to bring it to the king. Daniel was the only person that explained it: and as he foretold, so it came to pass; for after he had continued in the wilderness the forementioned interval of time, while he was in the desert, and amongst the wild beasts, seven years, he was restored to 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 ancient books; for as to that matter, I have plainly assured those that think me defective in any such point, or complain of my management, and have told them in the beginning of this history that I intend to do no more than to translate the Hebrew books into the Greek language, and promised them to explain those facts, without adding anything 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 excessive man, and more magico than any others that were before him. Now Berosus makes mention of his actions in the third book of his Chaldaic history, where he says thus: "When his father, Nebuchadnezzar, [Nabopolassar,] heard that the governor whom he had sent over Egypt and the places about the Euphrates and Phenicia, had revolted from him, while he was not himself able any longer to undergo the hardships of war, he committed to his son Nebuchadnezzar, and gave him over to the governance of the whole kingdom, and made it a branch of his own kingdom; but about that time it happened, that his father Nebuchadnezzar [Nabopolassar] fell ill, and ended his life in the city of Babylon, when he had reigned twenty-one years. His father had made him even as he was in a little time, that his father Nebuchadnezzar [Nabopolassar] was dead, and having settled the affairs of Egypt, and the other countries, as also those that concerned the captive Jews, and of the provinces, and the kingdom of the Egyptian nations, and having committed the conveyance of them to Babylon to certain of his friends, together with the gros of his army, and the rest of their asemanation and provisions, he left them to the care of the Persians, 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 from him. He had the government of the Chaldeans, and he received the entire dominions of his father, and appointed, that when the captives came, they should be placed as colonists, in the most proper places of Babylonia; but the Persians received them gently, and received them with 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, that such as would besiege it hereafter might no more swim through the course of the river, and thereby attack the city markable, both in sacred and profane authors, that such a faculty of eighty years at the least, at the latter end of his reign, must be allowed to agree very well with Daniel's account, that after a seven years' brutal life he might return to his reason, and to the exercise of his authority, in a pernicious and most unjust manner. Moreover, the same events also confirm this captivity of the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar; and adds, what is very remarkable in the history, that one of those Jews that were carried away captive put away into Armenia, and raised the great family of the Bagraditians there.

These 31st, 32nd, 33rd years were named Nabopolassar in the first book against Apion, or to Nabopolassar, the father of the great Nebuchadnezzar, are also given the very same number of years. And not to mention many other things; Nebuchadnezzar himself, is a groundless mistake of some modern chronologers only, and destitute of all proper original authority
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He therefore built three walls round about the inner city, and three others about that which was the outer, and this he did with burnt brick. And after he had, after a becoming manner, walled the city, and adorned its gates gloriously, he built another palace before his father's palace, but so that it was joined to it; to describe whose vast height, and immense riches, it would perhaps be too much for me to attempt; yet as large and lofty as they were, they were complete. He also erected eleventh places for walking, of stone, and made it resemble mountains, and built it so that it might be planted with all sorts of trees. He also erected what was called a pleasant paradise, because his wife was not content to have the beautiful Medes with herself, she having been bred up in the palaces of Media. Megasthenes also, in the fourth book of his accounts of India, makes mention of these things, and thereby endeavors to show that this king [Nebuchadnezzar] exceeded Hercules in fortitude, and in the greatness of his actions; for he saith, that "he conquered a great part of Libya and Iberia." Besides also in the second book of his accounts of Persia, he mentions this king; as does Philostratus, in his accounts both of India and of Phoenicia, say, that "this king besieged Tyre thirteen years, while at the same time Ethbaal reigned at Tyre. These are all the particulars that I have met with concerning this king.

2. But now, after the death of Nebuchadnez-
zar, Evil-Merodach, his son, succeeded in the kingdom, who immediately set Jehoiachin at liberty, and made him one of his most intimate friends: he also gave him many presents, and made him honorable above the rest of the kings that were in Babylon; for his father had not known his faith with Jehoiachin, when he voluntarily delivered up himself to him, with his wives and children, and his whole kindred, for the sake of his country, that it might not be taken by siege, and utterly destroyed, as we said before. When this was decreed, after a reign of eighteen years, Niggissar, his son, took the government, and reigned forty years, and then ended his life: and after him the succession in the kingdom came to his son Labosorncius, who continued in his kingdom for many years, and then he was dead it came to Beltsrzr, by who, the Babylonians, was called Nebunadelius; against him did Cyrus, the king of Persia, and Darius, the son of Hystaspes, make war; and when he was besieged in Babylon, there happened a wonderful and prodigious vision. He was sat down at supper in a large room, and there were a great many vessels of silver, such as were made for royal entertainments, and he had with him his concubines, and his friends; whereupon he came to a resolution, and commanded that those vessels of gold which Nebuchadnezzar had plundered out of Jerusalem, and had not made use of, but had put them into his own temple, should be brought out of that temple. He also grew so hungry as to proceed to use them in the midst of his cups, drinking out of, and blasphemying against God. In the mean time, he saw a hand proceed out of the wall, and writing upon the wall certain syllables; at which sight being disturbed, he called the magicians and Chaldeans together, and all sort of men that are among these Barbarians, and were able to interpret signs and dreams, that they might explain the writing. But he remembered that he could discover nothing, nor did understand it, the king was in great disorder of mind, and under great trouble at this surprising accident; so he caused it to be proclaimed through all the countries to which he had reigned, to try to explain the writing, and give the signification thereof, he would give him a golden chain for his neck, and leave to wear a purple robe. As thus he did not do, but ordered that it should be written down, and answered such questions to Nebuchadnezzar as no one else was able to answer when they were consulted. She therefore desired that he would send him, and inquire of him concerning the writing, and to condemn the unskillfulness of those who could not find their meaning, and this, although what God signified thereby should be of a melancholy nature.

5. When he had heard this, he called for Da-
niel; and when he had dissuaded to him what he had learned concerning him and his wisdom, and how a Divine Spirit was with him; and that he alone was fully capable of finding out what this writing signified, he made Daniel one of his councilors, and commanded him to declare to him what this writing meant: that if he did so, he would give him leave to wear purple, and to put a chain of gold about his neck; and that he should be one of his officers in his dominion, as an honorary reward for his wisdom, that thereby he might become illustrious to those who saw him, and who inquired upon what occasion he obtained such honors. But Daniel de-
sired that he would keep his gifts to himself: for what is the effect of wisdom and of divine revelation, admits of no gifts, and bestows its advan-
tages on petitioners freely, but that still he would explain the writing to him; which denoted that he should soon die, and because he had for both the place of this king in that canon, as the last of those who have lived by the grace of years of his reign, seventeen, the same in both, demonstrates that it is one and the same king that is meant in the two canons: and that Josephus is well informed when he says that Darius, the partner of Cyrus, was the son of Assy-
nges, and was called by another name among the Greeks; though it does not appear he knew what that name was, we having never seen the best history of this period, which is Xenophon's. But then what Josephine's pre-
cendent copies say presently, sect. 4, that it was only illu-
sion, which was his prince and partner and successor; and that Beltsrzr was slain, does not so well agree with our copies of Daniel, which say it was the same night, Dan

* These fifteen days for finishing such vast buildings as Babylon's walls, was Judah's copy of times, would seem too absurd to be supposed to be the true number, were it not for the same testimony extant also in the first book against Apion, sect. 34, vol. iv., with the same number.

† It is here remarkable, that Josephus, without the knowledge of Daniel's canon, should call the same king, whom he himself here, Bar. i. 11, and Dan. v. 1, 3, 9, 19, 22, 29, 30, styles Beltsrzr or Belzaknazar, from the Babylonian, and Beltsrzr, from the Persian; but in the first book against Apion, sect. 34, from the same citation out of Heron, Nabonhanez, from the Babylonian and Persia and Apollon and royal entertainments, and he hath with him his concubines, and his friends; whereupon he came to a resolution, and commanded that those vessels of gold which Nebuchadnezzar had plundered out of Jerusalem, and had not made use of, but had put them into his own temple, should be brought out of that temple. He also grew so hungry as to proceed to use them in the midst of his cups, drinking out of, and blasphemying against God. In the mean time, he saw a hand proceed out of the wall, and writing upon the wall certain syllables; at which sight being disturbed, he called the magicians and Chaldeans together, and all sort of men that are among these Barbarians, and were able to interpret signs and dreams, that they might explain the writing. But he remembered that he could discover nothing, nor did understand it, the king was in great disorder of mind, and under great trouble at this surprising accident; so he caused it to be proclaimed through all the countries to which he had reigned, to try to explain the writing, and give the signification thereof, he would give him a golden chain for his neck, and leave to wear a purple robe. As thus he did not do, but ordered that it should be written down, and answered such questions to Nebuchadnezzar as no one else was able to answer when they were consulted. She therefore desired that he would send him, and inquire of him concerning the writing, and to condemn the unskillfulness of those who could not find their meaning, and this, although what God signified thereby should be of a melancholy nature.

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tages on petitioners freely, but that still he would explain the writing to him; which denoted that he should soon die, and because he had for both the place of this king in that canon, as the last of those who have lived by the grace of years of his reign, seventeen, the same in both, demonstrates that it is one and the same king that is meant in the two canons: and that Josephus is well informed when he says that Darius, the partner of Cyrus, was the son of Assy-
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cendent copies say presently, sect. 4, that it was only illu-
sion, which was his prince and partner and successor; and that Beltsrzr was slain, does not so well agree with our copies of Daniel, which say it was the same night, Dan
not learnt to honor 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 impiousness, 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 provide God all the days of his life, as one of his princes and governors; he was made to know him, and declared by his striking beforehand, when and conclusion of life he should come to. And he explained the writing thus; - MANASEH. This, if it be expounded in the Greek language, signifies a Weight, and means that God hath weighed thy kingdom in a balance, and found it wanting, but the prince and governor, and 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 told the king that the weights and measures of gold and silver of Babylon,Seleucia, and Halicarnassus, were 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 had promised Daniel, although he was never found in a former or in any other case to bestow all upon him as reasonings thus, that what he was to reward was peculiar to himself, and to fate, and did not belong to the prophet; but that with a sign of grace and of mercy, he might persuade him to give what he had promised, although the events were of a melancholy nature. Accordingly, the king determined so to do. Now after a little while, both himself and the city were taken by Cyrus, the king of Persia, who fought against him; for it was Balthasar under whom Babylon was taken, when he had reigned seventeen years. And this is the end of the posterity of king Nebuchadnezzar, as history informs us; but when Balthasar and his kinsman Cyrus, had put an end to the dominion of the Babylonians, he was sixty-two years old. He was the son of Asyragus, and had another name among the Persians, but that name he took from Daniel the prophet, and carried him with him into Media, and honored 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 favor with Darius, and was above intrusted with every thing by him, as having somewhat divinity in him, he was envied by the rest; for those that see others in greater honor than themselves with kings, envy them: and when those that were grievances at the great favor Daniel was in with Darius, sought for an occasion to bring him to punishment, or execution at all, for as he was above all the temptations of money, and despised bribery, and esteemed it a very base thing to take any thing by way of reward; even when it might be justly given to him, he despised those that offered it, and was the least handle for an accusation. So when they could find nothing for which they might calumniate him to the king; nothing that was shameful or reproofful, and thereby deprive him of the honor he was in with him, they sought for some other method whereby they might destroy him. When therefore they saw that Daniel prayed to God three times a day, they thought they had gotten an occasion by which they might ruin him; so they came to Darius, and told him, that "the princes and governors had thought proper to allow the multitude a relaxation for thirty days, that no one might offer a petition or prayer either to himself, or to the gods, but that he who should transgress this decree shall be cast into the den of lions, and there perish."

6. Whereupon the king, being not acquainted with their wicked design, nor suspecting that it was a contrivance of the princes against Daniel, but he was pleased with this decree of theirs, and he promised to confirm what they desired: he also published an edict to promulgate to the people that decree which the princes had made. Accordingly all the rest took care not to transgress those injunctions, and rested in quiet; but Daniel had no regard to them, but, as he was wont, he stood and prayed to God in the sight of them all; but the princes were very much distressed at this, for 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, while not one of the rest would do so; this, however, was not on account of his impiety, but because they had watched him, and observed him out of envy: for supposing that Daniel did thus out of a greater kindness to him than they expected, and that he was ready to get up and come on the same day, in contempt of his injunctions, and enring this very pardon to Daniel, they did not become very favorable to him, but desired he might be cast into the den of lions, according to the law. So Darius, being assured that God would deliver him, and that he would undergo nothing that was terrible by the wild beasts, bade him hear 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, and came to the den, and found the seal entire, with the guard at the mouth; he opened the stone with his hand; he 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, Daniel made answer: and the king commanded his servants to take Daniel out of the den. So Darius gave 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 an abhorrence of their wickedness, gave order that they should throw in a great deal of flesh to the lions; and when they had filled themselves, he gave further order that Daniel's enemies should be cast into the den, that he might learn whether the last thing now, he would come to 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 seized none of them, all to pieces, as if they had been very hungry, and wanted food. I suppose therefore it was not their hunger, which had been a little before satisfied with abundance of flesh, but the wicked
edness of these men, that provoked them [to destroy the princes]; for if it please God, that wickedness might, even by those irrational creatures, be somewhat esteemed a plain foundation for their punishment.

7. When, therefore, those that had intended thus to destroy Daniel by treachery, were thereof convinced, and saw how illustrious and famous, on account of the opinion men had that he was beloved of God, he built a tower at Eschatana in Media: it was a 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 that very day; when any one looks upon it, it is so fresh, flourishing, and beautiful, and no way grown old in so long a time: so for buildings suffer the same as men do, they grow old as well as they, and by numbers of years their strength is dissolved, and their beauty withered. Now they built this tower in Media, of Persia, and Parthia, in this tower to this day; and he who was intrusted with the care of it, was a Jewish priest; which thing is also observed to this day: but it is fit to give an account of what this man did, while he was alive, and the admixture of glory for he was so happy as to have strange revelations made to him, and those as to one of the greatest of the prophets, insomuch, that while he was alive he had the esteem and applause both of the kings and of the people, and now he is dead, he retains a remembrance that will never fail, for the several books that he wrote and left behind him are still read by us till this time, and from them we believe that Daniel conversed with God; for he did not publish the things he procured, and the other prophets, he but also determined the time of their accomplishment: and while prophets used to foretell misfortunes, and on that 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 procured the good-will of all men, and by the accomplishment he procured the belief of their truth, and the opinion of a sort of divinity for himself, among the multitude. He also wrote and left behind him what made manifest the accuracy and undeniable veracity of his predictions, that "when it was in Susa, 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 his eyes were purified, and fell on his face, and on his two hands, and that a certain person touched him, and at the same time, bade him rise and see what would befall his countrymen after many generations. He also related, that when he stood up, he was shown a great ram, with many horns growing out of his head, and that the last was higher than the rest; that after this he looked to the west, and saw in the air one that was above that quarter, that he rushed upon the ram with violence, and smote him twice with his horns, and overthrew him to the ground, and trampled upon him; that afterward he saw a very great horn growing out of the head of the he-goat, and

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 his nation, and take their city by force, and bring the temple-worship to confusion, and for he thought that this signification would last two hundred and ninety-six days." Daniel wrote that he saw these visions in the plain of Susa; and he hath informed us, that God interpreted the appearance of this vision after the following manner: upon the occurrence of the four kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, and the horns those kings that were to reign in them; and that the last horn signified the last king, and that he should exceed all the kings in riches and glory; owing the prisoner that came should come and reign from the Greeks, who should twice fight with the Persian, and overcome him in battle, and should receive his entire dominion; that by the great horn which sprang out of the four would be meant the first king; and that the springing up of four horns upon its falling off, and the conversion of every one of them to the four quarters of the earth, signified the division of the kingdom of the first king, and the partition of the kingdom among them, and that they should be neither his children, nor of his kindred, that should reign over the habitable earth for many years; and that the great horn that came to pass, that this king that should overcome our nation and their laws, and should take away their political government, and should spoil the temple, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered for three years, as he had forewarned us, that our nation suffered these things under Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision, and what he wrote many years before they came to pass. In the very same manner Daniel also shows that the kingdom which he had foretold would have been fulfilled, would wonder at the honor wherewith God honored Daniel; and may thence discover how the Epicureans are in an error, who cast Providence out of human life, and do not believe that God takes care of the affairs of the world, nor that the universe is governed and continued in being by that blessed and immortal nature, but say that the world is carried along of its own accord, without a ruler, or a power sufficient 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 seem to me very much to err from the truth, who do not believe 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 according to his prophecy. Now as to myself, I have not been able to find his books; and if any one is inclined 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 emancipation of the city, of the wall of Jerusalem, were brought up by the help of towers, or those of the same sort that are now commonly called the ruins of Persopolis, continued so entire and undamaged, as if they were lately put there, *[4]* says Reiske, *here cannot be true, as to those stones of the Persian kings' mausoleum which Josephus describes, to the hardiness of the stone, which scarcely yields to iron tools, and proves frequently too hard for cutting by the chisel, but oftentimes breaks it into pieces.*
BOOK XI.

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.

_How Cyrus, King of the Persians, delivered the Jews out of Babylon, and suffered them to return to their own Country, and to build their Temple, for which Work he gave them Money._

§ 1. In the first year of the reign of Cyrus, which was the seventh from the day that our people were removed out of their own land into Babylon, God commiserated the captivity and calamity of these poor people, according as he had foretold to them by Jeremiah the prophet, before the destruction of the city; that after they had served Nebuchadnezzer and his posterity, and after they had undergone that captivity and calamity of these poor people, according as he had foretold to them by Jeremiah the prophet, before the destruction of the city; that after they had served Nebuchadnezzer and his posterity, and after they had undergone that captivity and calamity of seventy years, he would restore them again to the land of their fathers, and they should build their temple, and enjoy their ancient prosperity. And these things God did afford them; for he stirred up Cyrus the king of the Persians to write this throughout all Asia, "This saith Cyrus the king, Since God Almighty hath appointed me to be king of the habitable earth, I believe that he is that God which the nations of the Israelites worship, for indeed he foretold my name by the prophets, and that I should build him a house at Jerusalem, in the country of Judea." This was known to Cyrus by his reading the book which had been sent to him by the elders of the Jews, which book contains (as the prophet saith) all the histories; for this prophet said, that God had spoken thus to him in a secret vision: "My will is, that Cyrus, whom I have appointed to be king over many and great nations, send back my people to their own land, and build my temple." This was foretold by Isaiah one hundred and forty years before the temple was demolished. Accordingly, when Cyrus read this, and admired the divine power, an earnest desire and ambition seized upon his heart; he asked God, who was immediately answered by God, for that he would be his assistant, and that he would write to the rulers and governors that were in the neighborhood of their country of Judea, that they should contribute to them gold and silver for the building of the temple, and besides that, hebla for their sacrifices.

§ 2. When Cyrus had said this to the Israelites, the rulers of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the Levites and priests, went in haste to Jerusalem, yet did many of them stay at Babylon, as not willing to leave their possessions; and when they were come thither, all the king's friends assisted them, and brought in, for the building of the temple, some gold and some silver, and some great many cattle and victual. So they performed their vows to God, and offered the sacrifice that had been accustomed of old time: I mean this upon the rebuilding of their city, and the revival of the ancient practices respecting to their worship. Cyrus also sent back to them the vessels of God which king Nebuchadnezzer had pillaged out of the temple, and had carried to Babylon. So he committed these things to Mithridates, the treasurer, to restore it away, with an order to give them to Sanabazar, that he might keep them till the temple was built; and when it was finished, he might deliver them to the priests and rulers of the multitude, in order to their being restored to the temple. Cyrus also sent an epistle to the governors that were in Syria, the contents whereof here follow:

_King Cyrus to Sinnekes and Sathyrubuzanes, 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 sent my treasurer Mithridates, and Zorobabel, the governor of the Jews, that they may lay the foundations of the temple, and may build it sixty cubits high, and the gates thereof, and 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, and also the money that I have also sent the vessels which king Nebuchadnezzer pillaged out of the temple, and have given them to Mithridates, the treasurer, and to Zorobabel the governor of the Jews, that they may have them carried to Jerusalem, and may restore them to the temple of God. Now their number is as follows: fifty chargers of gold, and five hundred of silver, forty Thiriclean cups of gold, and five hundred of silver, fifty basins 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. And these were the vessels of gold and honor which they were used to have from their forefathers, as also for their small cattle, and for wine and oil, two hundred and five thousand and five hundred drachmas; and for wheat flour, twenty thousand and five hundred shekels; and I give order, that these expenses shall be given them out of the tributes due from Samaria. The priests shall also offer these sacrifices according to the laws of Moses in Jerusalem: and when they offer them, they shall pray to God for the preservation of the king and of his family, that the kingdom of Persia may continue. But my will is, that those who disobey these injunctions, and make them void, shall be hung upon a cross and their substance brought into the king's treasury. And such was the import of this epistle. Now the number of those that came out of captivity to Jerusalem, were forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty two.

_Cyrus, 'He is my shepherd and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built, and to the temple, even saying to it, Be restored; this is not hitherto been demonstrated from the sacred history to have been completely fulfilled._

_The leave to build Jerusalem, sect. 2, 3, and the epistle of Cyrus to Blandanes and Sathyrubuzanes, to the same purpose._

_The true number of golden and silver vessels, here and elsewhere, belonging to the temple of Solomon, see the Description of the Temple, ch. xii._

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*This Cyrus is called God's shepherd by Xenophon, as well as by Isaiah, Isa. xli. 28, also it is said of him by the rabbins, that he was the most excellent and beneficent king of Persia._

†This leave to build Jerusalem, sect. 2, 3, and the epistle of Cyrus to Blandanes and Sathyrubuzanes, to the same purpose._

*The true number of golden and silver vessels, here and elsewhere, belonging to the temple of Solomon, see the Description of the Temple, ch. xii._
ANTIOCHUS OF THE JEW

edness of these men, that provoked them (to de-
stroy the princes;) for it if so please God, that
wickedness might, even by those irrational cares;
tures, be esteemed a plain foundation for their
punishment.

7. When, therefore, those that had intended
themselves to destroy Daniel by treachery, were them-
selves destroyed, king Darius sent [it bears] over
all the country, and praised that God whom
Daniel worshipped; and said, that "he was the
only true God, and had all power." He had also
Daniel's grave opened, and made him the prin-
cipal 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 built a tower at Ecbatana in Media: it was a
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
that very day; when any one looks upon it, it is
so fresh, flourishing, and born to the age and age
grown old in so long a time; * for buildings suffer
the same as men do, they grow old as well as
they, and by numbers of years their strength is
dissolved, and their beauty withered. Now they
built in the room of Media, Persia, and Parti-
in this tower to this day; and he who was in-
tested with the care of it, was a Jewish priest;
which thing is also observed to this day: but it is
not in a manner of which 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, insomuch, that while he was alive he
had visions and revelations 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
are still read by us till this time, and from them
we receive the most holy communications with God; for
he did not only prophecy of future events, as did
the other prophets, but he also determined the
time of their accomplishment: and while
prophets used to foretell misfortunes, and on that ac-
count were dispersed, and banished both of the kings
and of 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
produced the goodwill of all the kings, and by the ac-
complishment 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
and left behind him what made manifest the ac-
complishments of his predictions, and his suc-
tions; for he saith, that "when he was in Susa,
the metropolis of Persia, and went out into the
field with his companions, there was, on the
sudden, a motion and concision of the earth,
and that he was left alone by himself, his friends
dying away from him; and that he was distracted,
died on his face, and on his two hands, and
that a certain person touched him, and at the
same time, bade him rise and see what would
befall his country, and 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 others, and that after this he looked to the west,
and saw a be-gost carried though the air from
that quarter, that he rushed upon the ram with
violence, and smote him twice with his horns,
and overthrew him to the ground, and trampled
upon him; and in the same time, he saw a very
great horn growing out of the head of the be-gost, and

* What Josephus here says, that the stones of the
sepulchre of the kings of Persia at this tower, or those
perhaps of the same sort that are now commonly
called the ruins of Persepolis, continued so entire and
unexhausted, as if they were lately put there.
"I," says Reissland, "here can show to be true, as to

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 the second hundred and
ninety-six years, which, as he said, waxed great; and
that God showed to him, that it should fight against
his nation, and take their city by force, and
bring the temple-worship to confusion, and for-
bid the sacrifices to be offered for one thousand
two hundred and ninety-six days." Daniel wrote
that he saw these visions in the plain of Susa;
and he hath informed us, that God interpreted
the appearance of this vision after the following
manner:
He said that the ram signified the
kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, and the
horns those kings that were to reign in them;
and that the last horn signified the last king; and
that from among them there should arise a certain
king that should overcome our nation and their
laws, and should take away their political go-
vernment, and should spoil the temple, and for-
bid all sacrifices for another beast's time." And
indeed so it came to pass, that our nation
suffered these things under Antiochus
Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision, and
what he wrote many years before they came
that be. He had overthrown all the kings in mire.
and wrote concerning the Roman government,
and that our country should be made desolate by
them. All these things did this man leave in
writing, as God had showed them to him, inso-
much that such sore and horrid prophecies, and see
how they have been fulfilled, would wonder at
the honor wherewith God honored Daniel; and
may thence discover how the Epicureans are
so deluded, that I do not believe that God takes care of the
air of the world, nor that the universe is
governed and continued in being by that blessed
and immortal nature, but say that the world is
under the care of a number of beasts, and a
curt 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 seem to me very much to err from the truth,
and to be extremely ignorant of God's providence
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BOOK XI. — CHAP. I.

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.

How Cyrus, King of the Persians, delivered the Jews out of Babylon, and brought them back to their own Country, and to 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 signified the captivity and calamity of these poor people, according as he had foretold to them by Jeremiah the prophet, before the destruction of the city; that after they had served Nebuchadnezzar and his posterity, and after they had undergone that servitude seventy years, he would restore them again to the land of their fathers, and they should build their temple, and enjoy their ancient prosperity. And these things God did afford them: for he stirred up Cyrus his king to the same work that he had been ordered to by the angels and by the prophets, and that I should build him a house at Jerusalem, in the country of Judea."

2. This was known to Cyrus by his reading the book which Isaiah the prophet had also delivered him to, and he may be given out to the Persians; for this prophet said, that God had spoken thus to him in a secret vision: "My will is, that Cyrus, whom I have appointed to be king over many and great nations, send back my people to their own land, and build my temple. This was foretold by Isaiah one hundred and forty years before the temple was demolished. Accordingly, when Cyrus read this, and admired the divine power, an earnest desire and ambition seized upon him, to fulfill what was written: for he called for the most eminent Jews that were in Babylon, and said to them, that he gave them leave to go back to their own country, and to rebuild the city Jerusalem, and the temple of God, for they were his children. And the Jews said that he would write to the rulers and governors that were in the neighborhood of their country of Judea, that they should contribute to them gold and silver for the building of the temple, and besides that, beasts for their sacrifices."

3. When Cyrus had said this to the Israelites, the rulers of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the Levites and priests, went in haste to Jerusalem, yet did many of them stay at Babylon, as not willing to leave their possessions; and when they were come thither, all the king's friends assisted them, and brought in, for the building of the temple, some gold and some silver, and some great many cattle and horses. So they performed their vows to God, and offered the sacrifice that had been accustomed of old time: I mean this upon the rebuilding of their city, and the revival of the ancient practices relating to their worship. Cyrus also sent back to them the vessels of God which king Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged out of the temple, and had carried to Babylon. So he committed these things to Mithridates, the treasurer, and to Zarobaile, the governor of the Jews, that they might keep them till the temple was built; and when it was finished, he might deliver them to the priests and rulers of the multitude, in order to their being restored to the temple. Cyrus also sent an epistle to the governors that were in Syria, the contents whereof here follow:

King Cyrus to Shinarre and Sathyraebunre, 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 site where it was before. I have also sent my treasurer Mithridates, and to Zarobaile 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 use of the gold and silver brought thither by the prophet, and that I should build him a house at Jerusalem, in the country of Judea."

"This Cyrus is called God's shepherd by Xenophon, as well as by Isaiah, Is. xliv. 28, also it is said by him that Cyrus was more previous than fine gold, even a man the golden weige of (tophr);" Is. xliv. 28, which character makes Xenophon's most excellent history of Cyrus. This letter to build Jerusalem, sect. 2, 5, and the epistle of Cyrus to Sihannes and Sathyraebunre, to the same year, were unfortunately omitted in all our copies but the best and correctest copy of it (of which I have had the advantage) seems to be that of an ancient manuscript, whose importance is great, and whose sickness is the most frequent, viz. the description of the temple, and the description of the temple, whose rebuilding is alone permitted or directed in the decree of Cyrus in all our copies."

Cyrus, "He is my shepherd and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built, and to the temple, Build, and the godhead shall not hitherto be demonstrated from the sacred history to have been completely fulfilled, I mean as to that part of it which concerns the giving leave to the commission for rebuilding the city of Jerusalem as distinct from the temple, whose rebuilding is alone permitted or directed in the decree of Cyrus in all our copies."

Of the true number of golden and silver vessels, here and elsewhere, belonging to the temple of Solomon, see the Description of the Temple, ch. xxiii.
laws. It distinguishes them from injustice, and puts what is unrighteous to rebuke.

8. So the king was pleased with what he had said, and arose and kissed him; and wrote to the toparchs and governors, and enjoined them to conduct Zorobabel, and those that were going with him, to the temple. He also sent letters to those rulers that were in Syria and Pho-

7. So when Zorobabel had left off his discourse about truth, and the multitude had cried out aloud that he had spoken the most wisely, and that it was truth alone that had immovable strength, and such as never would wear old, the king commanded, that he should ask for some what over and above what he had promised, for that he would give it him because of his wisdom, and that prudence whereas he excelled the rest; and thou shalt sit with me, said the king, and shall rule over my kingdom. And he bethought himself of the this. Zorobabel put him in mind of the vow he had made, in case he should ever have the kingdom. Now this vow was, "To rebuild Jeru-

9. Now when Zorobabel had obtained these grants from the king, he went out of the palace, and, looking up to heaven, he began to return thanks to God for the wisdom he had given him, and the victory he had gained thereby, even in the presence of Darius himself; for said he, "I had not been thought worthy of these advantages, O Lord, unless thou hadst been favorable to me. And therefore he had returned these thanks to God for the present circumstances he was in, and had prayed to him to afford him the like favor for the time to come, he came to Babylon, and brought the good news to his coun-

10. And thus did these men go, a certain and determinate number out of every family, though I so not think it proper to recite particularly the names of those families, that I may not take off the interest of the seventy Nebo from 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 forty seventy; and of the Levites one hundred and twenty-eight, and porters one hundred and ten; and of the sacred ministers three hundred and ninety two: there were also others besides these, who said they were of kindred, but to show their genealogies, six hundred and sixty-two: some there were also who were expelled out of the number and honor of the priests, as having married wives whose genealogies they could not produce, nor were they found in the genealogies of the Levites and priests: they were about five hundred and twenty five; the multitude also of servants that followed those that went up to Jerusalem, were seven thousand three hundred and fifty; these offer their appointed sacrifices, and that whatsoever the high priest and the priests wanted, and those sacred garments wherein they used to worship God, she should beidue his own charging, and that the musical instruments which the Levites used in singing hymns to God should be given them. Moreover, he charged them that portions of land should be given to those that guarded the city, and to those that were to maintain the temple, with a determinate sum of money every year for their maintenance: and withal he sent the vessels. And all that Cyrus intended to do before him, relating to the restoration of Jerusalem, Darius also ordained should be done by him likewise. The

The Temple was built, while the Cuthenses endeavored 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 governor, sent messengers every way round about, and gathered those that were in the country together to Je-

2. This strange reading in Josephus's present copies, one of the ten grants of 40,000, is one of the grossest er-

3. Of which multitude of Jews beyond Euphras-

4. The text is also very plain. It seems as if Josephus thought, that when Ezra shortly afterward brought up another company out of Babylon and Per-

5. In the days of Xerxes, they were also, as well as the rest, out of the two tribes, and out of them only, and were in all no more than a thousand, and a remnant, while

6. So they betook themselves to drinking and eating, 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 traveled to Jerusalem with joy and pleasure, under the con-

7. The rest of the Jewish multitude mentioned, who went up with them, were of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, were four hundred sixty-two myriads and eight thousand; the Levites were seventy-four: the number of the women and children mixed to-

8. They had left the temple, and to assist him in building the city. He also wrote to them, that all the capti-

9. He also enjoined the Sanhedrim, and the maritassa, and the inhabitants of Cesarea, to re-

10. And they numbered the seven tribes from the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, were four hundred sixty-two myriads and eight thousand; the Levites were seventy-four: the number of the women and children mixed together was forty thousand seven hundred and eighty-five: the number of the men of the tribe of Judah was two hundred and twenty-eight thousand, and porters one hundred and ten; and of the sacred ministers three hundred and ninety two; there were also others besides these, who said they were of kindred, but to show their genealogies, six hundred and sixty-two: some there were also who were expelled out of the number and honor of the priests, as having married wives whose genealogies they could not produce, nor were they found in the genealogies of the Levites and priests: they were about five hundred and twenty five; the multitude also of servants that followed those that went up to Jerusalem, were seven thousand three hundred and fifty; these offer their appointed sacrifices, and that whatsoever the high priest and the priests wanted, and those sacred garments wherein they used to worship God, she should beidue his own charging, and that the musical instruments which the Levites used in singing hymns to God should be given them. Moreover, he charged them that portions of land should be given to those that guarded the city, and to those that were to maintain the temple, with a determinate sum of money every year for their maintenance: and withal he sent the vessels. And all that Cyrus intended to do before him, relating to the restoration of Jerusalem, Darius also ordained should be done by him likewise. The

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the appointed sacrifices upon it to God, according to the laws of Moses. But while they did this, they did not please the neighboring nations, 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 after that they offered sacrifices, and what were called the daily sacrifices, and those necessary for the Sabbath, and for all the holy festivals. Those also that had made vows performed them, and offered their sacrifices, from the first day of the seventh month. They also began to build their temple, and set up the wains of money to the masons and to the carpenters, and what was necessary for the maintenance of the workmen. The Sidonians also were very willing and ready to bring the cedar-trees from Lebanon to bind them together, and to bring them to the port of Joppa, for that was what Cyrus had commanded them at first, and was now done at the time, for there was a faith in the temple, and the temple had a faith in the temple. 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 its foundations on the ground, he made each servant of the king, that set as overseers of the work, such Levites as were full twenty years old; and Jeasus, and his sons and brethren, and Cudmriel the brother of Judas, the son of Amissah, with his sons; and Judas, the son of God, Nebuchadnessar, the king of the Babylonians, and of the Chaldeans, took the city by force, and destroyed it, and pillaged the temple, and burnt it down, and transplanted the people whom he had made captives, and removed them into Babylon; and of the Jews that were of the captivity of Babylon and Persia, wrote to them to build the temple, and committed the gifts and vessels, and whatsoever Nebuchadnessar had carried out of it, to Zorobabel and Merari; and the rest of the Jews that were in other places; and gave order to them to go to Jerusalem, and to have them restored to their own temple when it was built; for he had sent them to have it done speedily, and commanded Sanbasar 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, it hath not yet been finished, nor is it finished, but is in process of time, and in 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 building. 5. When Zorobabel and the high priest had made this answer, Siannes, and those that were with him, did not resolve to hinder the building, until they had informed king Darius of all this. So they immediately wrote to him about these affairs; but as the Jews were now under terror, and afraid lest the king should change his resolutions as to the building of Jerusalem and of the temple, there was much 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 God foretold this to them. So they encouraged the temple, and built themselves earnestly to building, and did not interrupt one day. 6. Now Darius, when the Samaritans had writ ten to him, and in their epistle had said to the Jews, how they had begun to build 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 showed the epistle of Cambyses, when he forbade them to be 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-
sianes, and those that were with him, he gave
order that what concerned these matters should
be sought for among the royal records. Where-
aupon a book was found at Ecbeauma, in the tower
that was in Medias, wherein was written as follows:
"Cyrus, on the first year of his reign, com-
manded that the temple should be built in
Jerusalem; and the altar: is height three score cu-
hits, and its breadth of the same, with three edi-
fices of polished stone, and one edifice of stone of
the thickness of four fingers, and that the ex-
penses of it should be paid out of the king's reve-
sue. He also commanded that the vessels which
Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged [out of the temple,]
and carried to Babylon, should be restored, and given
back to the people of Jerusalem, and that the care
of these things should belong to Sennasdassar, the
bearer and president of Syria and Phenicia, and
to his associates, that they might not meddle with
that place, but may permit the servants of God,
the Jews and their rulers, to build the temple.
He also ordained that they should assist them in
the work; and that they should pay to the Jews,
out of the tribute of the country where they were
placed, all that was needed of the sacrificial, bulls and
rams, and lambs, and kids of the goats, and fine
flour, and oil, and wine, and all other things that
the priests should suggest to them; and that they
should preserve the sacrifices to 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 cross, and their substance confiscated to
the king's use. And he took upon himself to
the Lord against them, that if any one attempted to hinder
the building of the temple, God would strike him
dead, and thereby restrain his wickedness."

7. When Darius had found this book among
the Persians, he wrote to Sennasdassar the
Jewish governor, and to Sathrabaranes, seadeth greeting: having
founded a copy of this epistle among the records of
Cyrus. I have sent you it; and I will that all
things be done as is therein written. Fare ye
well."

So when Sennasdassar, and those that were
with him, understood the intention of the king,
that he followed 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 sanhedrin, and
the structure of the temple was with great diligence brought to completion, by the prophecies of
Haggai and Zechariah, according to God's com-
mand, and by the injunctions of Cyrus and Da-
rius, the kings. Now the temple was built in
seven years' time: and in the ninth year of the
reign of Darius, on the twenty-third day of the
twelfth month, which is by us called Adar, but
by the Macedonians Dystrus, the priests and Le-
vites, and the other multitude of the Israelites,
offered sacrifices, as the redemption of their
former prosperity after their captivity, and be-
cause they had now the temple rebuilt, a hun-
dred bulls, two hundred rams, four hundred
lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, according
to the number of their tribes, (for so many are
the tribes of the Israelites,) and this last for the
sins of every tribe. The priests also and the
Levites set the porters at every gate, according
to the law of Moses. The Jews also built the
cloister 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
Jews, is called Xanthicus, but ac-
cording to us, Nisan, all the people of the
villages out of the villages to the city, and celebrated the
festivals, having purified themselves, with their
wives and children, according to the law of their
country; and they offered the sacrifice which
was called the Passover, on the fourteenth day of
the same month, and feasted seven days, and
served for no cost, but offered whole burnt-offer-
ings to God, and performed sacrifices of thank-
giving, because God had led them again to the
land of their fathers, and to the laws thereto be-
longing. And the first of the third year of the reign
of Persia favorable to them. So these men of-
fered the largest sacrifices on these accounts,
and used great magnificence in the worship of
God, and dwelt in Jerusalem, and made use of a
kind of government, that was aristocratical, but
mixed with an oligarchy, for the high priests
were at the head of their affairs, until the pos-
teriority of the Assasonesms set up kings govern-
ment; and the magnificence of their order,
and the addition of their polity, they at first had kings
government from Saul and David, for five hun-
dred and thirty-two years, six months, and ten
days; but before those kings, such rulers go-
vern them as were called Judges and kings.
Under this form of government they continued for more than five hundred years,
after the death of Moses, and of Joshua, their
commander. And this is the account I had to
the Jews who had been carried into cap-
tivity, but were delivered from it in the times of
Cyrus and Darius.

9. But the Samaritans, 2 being evil and envi-
ous, and alarmed at the noble touch of the Jews,
and of the Persian mischiefs, by reliance on their riches, and
by their pretence that they were allied to the Per-
sians, on account that thence they came; and
whosoever it was that they were surrounded
by, he also prayed to the Lord, and against them,
that if any one attempted to hinder the
building of the temple, God would strike him
dead, and thereby restrain his wickedness."

2 How Xerxes, the Son of Darius, was well dis-
posed to the Jews: as also concerning Estra and Nehemiah.

1. Upon the death of Darius, Xerxes his son
was king, who, as he inherited his fa-
ther's kingdom, so did he inherit his piety to-
wards God, and honor of him; for he did all
things suitable to his father relating to divine
worship, and he was exceedingly friendly to the Jews,
and he did not cast them out altogether; his
name was Joachim, was the high priest.
Moreover, there was now in Babylon a righte-
ous

* The history contained in this section is entirely want-
ing to all our other copies, both of Ezra and
Nehemiah.

CHA. V.
man, and one that enjoyed a great reputation among the multitude; he was the principal priest of the synagogues, and the name of God. He was very skilful in the law of Moses, and was well acquainted with king Xerxes. He had determined to go up to Jerusalem, and to take with him 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 know who he was. Accordingly, the king wrote the following epistle to those governors:—

"Xerxes, king of kings, to Ezra the priest, and residence, and king Xerxes. It is agreeable to that love which I bear to mankind, to permit those of the Jewish nation that are so disposed, as well as those of the priest 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 Judah; and whether they be agreeable to the law of God. Let them also take with them those presents which I and my friends have vowed, with all that silver and gold that is found in the country of the Babylonians, and the treasures dedicated at Babylon, and that was carried to Jerusalem, to God for sacrifices. Let it also be lawful for thee and thy brethren to make as many vessels of silver and gold as thou pleasest. Thou shalt also dedicate those holy vessels that belong to the temple; and thou shalt have more as thou hast a mind to make, and shalt take the expenses out of the king’s treasury. I have moreover written to the treasurers of Syria and Phoenicia, that they take care of those affairs that Ezra hath directed, so that the laws of God, is sent about. And that God may not be at all angry with me, or with my children, Igrant all that is necessary for sacrifices to God, according as the priests and Levites, who have charge of their settlement, and dissolved the laws of their country, by marrying strange wives, and had brought the family of the priests into confusion. These persons desired him to support the laws, lest God should punish them all, and reduce them to a calamitous condition again. Hereupon he rent his garment immediately out of grief, and pulled off the hair of his head and beard, and cast himself upon the ground, because of this crime committed by the principal men among the people, and considering that if he should enjoin them to cast out their wives, and the children they had by them, he should not be heard of to, because he was lying upon the ground. However, all the better for it came running to him, who also themselves wept and partook of the grief he was under for what had been done. So Ezra rose up from the ground, and stretched out his hands towards heaven, and said, that "He was ashamed to look towards it, because of the sins which the people had committed, while they had cast out of their memories what their fathers had undergone on account of their wickedness; and he knew that they had saved a seed and a remnant out of the calamity and captivity they had been in, and had restored them again to Jerusalem and to their own land, and had obliged the kings of Persia to have compassion on them, and had given them their sins they had now committed, which though they deserved death, yet it was agreeable to the mercy of God to remit even to these things."

2. When Ezra had received this epistle, he was very joyful, and began to worship God, and confessed that he had been the cause of the king’s great favor to him, and that for the same reason he gave all the thanks to God. So he read the epistle at Babylon to those Jews that were there, but he kept the epistle itself, and sent a copy of it to all those of his own nation that were in Med- dia, and to such of them as were in the country of the Medes. And when the people of Medea heard of this, they were glad that the king had towards God, and what kind- ness he had for Ezra, they were all greatly pleased; nay, many of them took their effects with them, and came to Babylon, as very desirous of going thither. And the body of the people of Israel remained in that country, whereof there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, while the number of those Jews that have punishment due to them, and are an immense multitude, is not as yet estimated by numbers. Now there came a great number of priests and Levites, and porters, and sacred singers, and sacred servants, to Ezra. So he desired that the king would give him an epistle to the governors of Syria, and the king, and be called urishia, and that this was of old esteemed the most precious of all metals.

3. Now these things were truly done under the conduct of Ezra, and he succeeded in them, because God bestowed him worthy of the success of his conduct, on account of his piety and righteousness. But some time afterward there came some persons to him, and brought an accusation against certain of the multitude, and of the Levites, who had married foreign wives, and that he should let God do the like to them, and should not be their settled, and dissolved the laws of their country, by marrying strange wives, and had brought the family of the priests into confusion. These persons desired him to support the laws, lest God should punish them all, and reduce them to a calamitous condition again. Hereupon he rent his garment immediately out of grief, and pulled off the hair of his head and beard, and cast himself upon the ground, because of this crime committed by the principal men among the people, and considering that if he should enjoin them to cast out their wives, and the children they had by them, he should not be heard of to, because he was lying upon the ground. However, all the better for it came running to him, who also themselves wept and partook of the grief he was under for what had been done. So Ezra rose up from the ground, and stretched out his hands towards heaven, and said, that "He was ashamed to look towards it, because of the sins which the people had committed, while they had cast out of their memories what their fathers had undergone on account of their wickedness; and he knew that they had saved a seed and a remnant out of the calamity and captivity they had been in, and had restored them again to Jerusalem and to their own land, and had obliged the kings of Persia to have compassion on them, and had given them their sins they had now committed, which though they deserved death, yet it was agreeable to the mercy of God to remit even to these things."

4. After Ezra had said this, he left off praying; and when all those that came to him with their wives and children were under lamentation, one whose name was Jechonias, a principal man in Jerusalem, came to him and said, that he had sinned in marrying strange wives, and he was called urishia, and that this was of old esteemed the most precious of all metals.
they were instructed to be righteous men for the present, and for the future; but as for their past offences, they were displeased at, were dispersed at, and proceeded to shed tears on their account, as considering with themselves, that if they had kept the law, they had endured none of those misfortunes which befell the Jews. Eadras saw them in that disposition, he bade them go home and be not weep, for that it was a festival, and that they ought not to weep thereon, for that it was not lawful so to do. He exhorted them to study to do good, and to do what was suitable to a feast, and what was agreeable to a day of joy, but to let their repentance and sorrow for their former sins be a security and a guard to them, that they fall no more into the like offence. Of the great exhortation they began to feast, and when they had so done for eight days, in their tabernacles, they departed to their own homes, singing hymns to God, and returning thanks to Eadras, for his reformation of what corruptions had been introduced into their settlement. So it came to pass, that after he had obtained this reputation among the people, he died an old man, and was buried in Jerusalem, in the temple area, at the same time it happened also, that Jehoiachin the high priest died; and his son Eliaib succeeded in the high priesthood.

6. Now there was one of those Jews that had been driven away from Jerusalem, and fetched over to king Xerxes; his name was Nehemiah. As this man was walking before Susa, the metropolis of the Persians, he heard some strangers that were entering the city after a long journey, speaking to one another in their native tongue; so he went to them, and asked them whence they came? And when their answer was, that they came from Judah, he began to inquire of them again in what city of Jerusalem was, and when they replied, that they were in a bad state, for that their walls were thrown down to the ground, and that the neighboring nations did a great deal of mischief to the Jews, while, in the meantime, they overran the country, and pillaged it, and in the night did them mischief, insomuch that not a few were led away captive out of the country, and out of Jerusalem itself, and that the roads were in the utmost confusion, and that the king of Persia, and the king of Syria, made war upon them, and upon all the nations; and of these men. So when Eadras 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 also 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 the Jews that the laws of Moses might be read to them. Accordingly, he stood in the midst of the multitude and read them; and this he did from morning to noon. Now, by bearing the laws read to them

8. This procedure of Eadras, and of the best part of the Jewish nation, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, of reducing the Jewish marriages, once for all, under the laws of Moses, without any regard to the greatness of those who had broken it, and without regard to that natural affection or compassion for their husbands and their children by them, which made it so hard for Eadras to correct it, deserves great-ly to be observed and imitated in all attempts for reforming such conduct having ever been the bane of true religion, both among Jews and Christians, while political views, or human passions, or the inordinate concern of the state instead of the divine laws, and so the blessing of God is forfeited, and the church still suffered to continue corrupt from one generation to another. See chap. viii. sect. 8. | This Jewish feast of tabernacles was imitated in several heathen solemnities, as Spelman here observes and proves. He also further observes presently that great renown was given to the memorable events of their forefathers, as Nehemiah had before, sect. 6.

9. This rule of Eadras, not to fast on a festival day, is quoted in the Apocryphal Constitution, b. 19. as obtaining among Christians also.
walls of Jerusalem, the city where are the sep-
uphaches of my fathers, are they cast down to the
ground, and that its gates are consumed by fire;
but do thou grant me the favor to go and build
its walls, and to finish the building of the temple." Accordingly, the king gave him a signal, that he
freely granted him what he asked; and told him
that he should carry an epistle to the governors,
that they might pay him due honor, and afford
him whatsoever assistance he wanted, and as he
planned. Leave off thy sorrow then, (said the
king) and go and build the temple of the Lord thy
God, and his city Jerusalem, and go to the king's
day office hereafter. So Nehemiah worshipped God;
and gave the king thanks for his promise, and
renewed his oath to the king's promise, and
began to go about the work. Accordingly, the king
called for him the next day, and gave him an epistle
to be carried to Aesues, the governor of Syria, and Phenicia, and
Samaria; wherein he sent to him to pay due
to Nehemiah, and to supply him with what he
wanted for his building.  
7. Now when he was come to Babylon and had
sacked with him many of his countrymen, who
voluntarily followed him, he came to Jerusalem in
the beginning of the reign of Xerxes: and when he had shown the epistles to
God, he gave them to Aesues, and to the other
governors. He also called together all the people
to Jerusalem, and stood in the midst of the temple
plain, and told them the glory of God, and of the
ing of the temple. You know, O Jews, that God hath kept our
fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in mind continually, and for the sake of their righteous
ness hath left us the people of you; indeed he hath preserved us in safety and in the
taking 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 of our neighboring na-
tions, and their enmity, and their ill-treatment of us,
that you may understand that we are in earnest about
building, they will come upon us, and constrive
many ways of obstructing our works, that you will,
in the first place; put your trust in God, as in
him that will assist us against their hatred, and to
intermit building neither might nor day, but to
use all diligence, and to hasten on the work: now we have this especial opportunity for it." When he had said this, he gave order that the rulers
should be called, and the heartened household of God, and of the people, should be called
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, with his servants, would assist them, he
delivered the workmen's stipulation to them; he
was engaged for the work; that is the name they are
called by from the day that they came up from
Babylon, which is taken from the tribe of Judah,
which came first to these places, and thence both they and the country gained this
apposition.
8. But now when the Ammonites, and Moab-
ites, and Samaritans, and all that inhabited Coele-
ychrea, heard that the building went on space, they took it jealously, and proceeded to
lay snares for them, and to hinder their inten-
tions. They also slew many of the Jews, and
sought how they might destroy Nehemiah him-
self, and the house of God, among the Greeks called Jews. They also put the Jews in fear, and disturbed
them, and spread abroad rumors, as if many
nations were ready to make an expedition
against them, by which means they were ba-
rassed, and had almost left off the building; but none of those things could deter Nehemiah from
being diligent about the work; he only set a
number of men about him as a guard to his
body, and so unwaresly persevered therein, and
was insensible of any trouble, out of his de-
sire to perfect this work. And thus did he at-
tenstively and with great force take care of
his own safety, and also of the safety of the
work. Accordingly, the reason 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 trump-
eters 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 armor, and their enemies might
did not fall upon them naked. He also went about
the building, and the city by the temple, and
encouraged, 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 neces-
sity. And this trouble he underwent for two
or thirty years; and forty months for the
building of the wall, which 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
multitude offered sacrifice to God in the build-
ing 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 inclination at it: but when Ne-
emiah saw that the city was this people, he
exorted the priests and the Levites, that they
would leave the country, remove themselves to
the city, and there continue; and he built them
houses at his own expenses; and he commanded
that part of the people which were, end made
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 willing
that it should be continued, met the heartened
household of God, and of the people, and
by which means the city of Jerusalem came to
be fuller of people than it was before. So then
Nehemiah had done many other excellent things,
and things worthy of commendation, in a glor-
ious and most excellent manner, and of this
age, and of the age to come. For he
was a man of a good and righteous disposition, and very ambitious to make his own
name happy; and he hath left the walls of Je-
rusalem an eternal monument for himself. Now this was done in the days of Xerxes.

Chap. VI.

Concerning Esther, and Mordecai, 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 transferred to his son Cyrus, where
the number of years since the death of Xerxes
came to be one hundred and sixty; and he
monaches in building; and that they were finished in the
29th of Xerxes, sect. 7, 8. It may also be remarked
further, that Josephus hardly ever mentions more
than one infallible astronomical character, but
never more than one, nor at all times; and in case of the
death of Herod the Great, Antiq. b. xvii. ch. vi. sect. 4.
Now on these two chronologers in a great me-
more dependence is put in the most important facts re-
ting to Christianity, viz. the explication of Daniel's 70
weeks, and the duration of the Saviour's ministry,
and the time of his death, in correspondence to these
70 weeks. See the Supplement to the Lit. Accomp. of Prop. p. 72
the whole nation of the Jews, with their wives and children were in danger of perishing: the occasion being that we should be in it a long time, for it is proper, in the first place, to explain somewhat relating to this king, and how he came to marry a Jewish wife, who was herself of the royal family also, and who is related, for which reason, when Artazaeres had taken the kingdom, and had set governors over the hundred and twenty and seven provinces, from India even unto Ethiopia, in the third year of his reign, he made a great feast for his friends, and for the nations of Persia, and for their governors, such a one as was proper for a king to make, when he had a mind to make a public demonstration of his riches, and this for a hundred and fourteen days, after which he made a feast for other nations, and for their ambassadors at Shushan, 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 linen and purple spread over them, that it might afford room for many ten thousands to sit down. The cups with which the waiters ministered, were set down, and adorned with precious stones, for pleasure and for sight. He also gave order to the servants that they should not force them to drink, by bringing them wine continually, as is the practice of the Persians, but to permit them to stop for pleasure, and to enjoy himself according to his own inclination. Moreover, he sent messengers through the country, and gave order that they should have a remission of their labors, and should keep a festival many days. One month of this kingdom, as is the manner did Vashiti, 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 others in beauty, to the one that feasted with him, and he sent for one to command her to come to his feast. But she, out of regard to the laws of the Persians, which forbid the wives to be seen by strangers, did not go out of the king's house, though she sent her servant, the eunuch to her, she did nevertheless stay away, and refused to come, till the king was so much irritated, that he broke up the entertainment, and rose up, and called for those seven that had the interpretation of dreams. He desired to see them, and accused his wife, and said, that he had been affronted by her, because that when she was frequently called by him to his feast, she did not obey him once. He therefore gave order that they should inform him of the feast, or by the queen against her. So one of them, whose name was Memucan, said, 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 despised by them; for that none of their wives would have any reverence for their husbands, if they had such an example of thee, who resist over all." Accordingly, he exhorted him to punish her who had been guilty of so great an affront to him, after a severe manner; and when he had said this to him, the king, who had been deceived about the queen. So the resolution was, to put Vashiti away, and to give her dignity to another woman.

2. But the king having been fond of her, did not altogether consent to this for a long time. It was after this, by the law that he could not admit of a reconciliation, so he was under trouble, not as having it in his power to do what he desired to do. But when his friends saw him so uneasy, they advised him to cast the memory of his wife, such a one as he was 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 an other, and the kindness he had to Vashiti would be withdrawn from her, and he placed on her that was with him. Accordingly, he was persuaded to this, and he sent for certain persons to choose out of the virgins that were in his kingdom those that were esteemed the most comely. So when a great number of these virgins were gathered together, there was one whom he fixed on in the midst of them, both dead, and she was brought up with her uncle Mordecai, for that was her uncle's name. This uncle was of the tribe of Benjamin, and was one of the principal persons among the Jews. Now it proved that the man's 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 conducted to one of the eunuchs to the case of her: and she was exquisitely provided with sweet odors, in great plenty, and with costly ointments, such as her body required to be anointed with: and this was used for six months by the virgins, who were in number four hundred. And when the eunach thought the virgins had been sufficiently purified, in the forementioned time, and were now fit to go to the king's bed, he sent one to be with her, who was sent and sent to the king's wife, and called for her, and called for her. "And when Esther had come to him, he was pleased with her, and fell in love with the damsels, and married her, and made her his lawful wife, and had her to wife. And King Ahasuerus gave the feast, in the middle of the seventh year of his reign, which was called Adar. He also sent angeri, as they were called, or messengers, unto every nation and gave orders that they should keep a feast for his marriage, while he himself treated the Persians of the king, or to confirm any one fact of his whatever, with the same evidence which is here given for the principal fact in the sacred book, or even so much as to prove the existence of such a person, of whom so great things are related, but upon granting this book at Esther, or sixth of Eorads (= it is placed in some of the manuscripts by the vulgar) to be a most true and certain history," &c.

*Since some sceptical persons are willing to discard this book of Esther as no true history; and even our learned and judicious Dr. Wall, in his late posthumous critical notes upon all the other Hebrew books of the Old Testament, gives us none upon the Castorics or upon Estenar, and seems thereby to give up this book, as with all the others in the same collection, as incapable; I shall venture to say, that almost all the objections against this book of Esther are gone at once, if, as we certainly believe, it is to be held a De Dperson and not a history, we place this history under Artazaeres Longinamos, as do both the Septuagint interpreters and Josephus. The learned Dr. Lee, in his posthumous dissertation on the second book of Eorads, page 25, also says, that the truth of this history is demonstrated by the feast of Purim, kept up from that time to this very day: and this suggests a parallel rention in favor of the captivity people, thereby constantly commemorated, standeth even upon a firmer basis than that there ever was such a revelation of the office of the Jews, on the other hand, is their being under this great deliverance of the whole nation, whose reign there is no such abiding monument at this day to be found any where. Nor will they, I dare say, or rather may we say, for any other reason out of the sacred histories, and it a very easy matter to reconcile the different accounts which were given by historians of the affairs.
sians and the Medes, and the principal men of the nations, for a whole month, on account of this his marriage. Accordingly, Esther came to his chamber in his house, and poured out the wine into his face; and thus was Esther married, without making known to the king what nation she was derived from. Her uncle also removed from Babylon to Shushan, and dwelt there, being even also of the same kind, the royal family of the Medes. And thus did he, for he loved her as though she had been his own daughter.

3. Now the king had made a law, that none of his servants or the inhabitants of his kingdom should approach him, unless he were summoned by the king himself; and men with axes in their hands stood round about his throne, in order to punish such as approached to him without being called. However, the king sat with a golden sceptre in his hand, when he held out when he had a mind to save any one of those that approached to him without being called, and he who touched it was free from danger. But of this matter I have discovered sufficiently.

4. Some time after this, two eunuchs, Haman, than and Tareah, plotted against the king; and Barnabas, the servant of one of the eunuchs, being by birth a Jew, was acquainted with their conspiracy, and discovered it to the queen’s uncle; and Mordecai informed the king about it, as he had been the conspirators known to the king. This troubled the king, but he discovered the truth, and hung the eunuchs upon a cross, while at that time he sent forth unto the children, and to the people, the decree that he had been the occasion of his preservation. He only bade the scribes to set down his name in the records, and bade him stay in the palace, as an intimate friend of the king.

5. Now therefore the king, and Haman, the son of Amestath, by birth an Amalekite, that used to go in to the king; and the foreigners and Persians worshipped him, as Artaxerxes had commanded that such honor should be paid to him; but Mordecai, when he had a mind to do a thing to the advantage of his 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 within himself, that is a people whom we have never worshipped; he rather determined to abolish the whole nation, for he was naturally an enemy to the Jews, because the nation of the Amalekites, of which he was one, had done the Jews much mischief, accordingly 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, unsociable, 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 them, thou must be their surety, and protect 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 angry by reason of the threats which the Jews paid him, Haman promised to give him out of his own estate forty thousand talents whencesoever he pleased; and he said, he would pay this money very willingly that the kingdom might be freed from such a misfortune.

6. When Haman had made this petition, the king both granted it, and sent forth, 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: “Artaxerxes the great king, to the rulers and governors of the whole dominion of my empire, to the princes of Persia and Media, and to the governors of the provinces from India to Ethiopia, sendeth this writing: Whereas I have governed many nations, and obtained the dominion of the habitable earth, and have been called, according to my desire, and have not been obliged 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 therefore given them to joy those blessings for all time to come. And whereas I have been kindly informed by Haman, who, on account of his prudence and justice, is the first in my esteem, and in dignity, and on account to myself, 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 they hatch mischief, and by their arts are a great trouble to the conspirators known to the king. This troubled the king, but he discovered the truth, and hung the eunuchs upon a cross, while at that time he sent forth unto the children, and to the people, the decree that he had been the occasion of his preservation. He only bade the scribes to set down his name in the records, and bade him stay in the palace, as an intimate friend of the king.

7. Now then the king and Haman spent their time in feasting together, with good cheer and wine, but the city was in disorder.

8. Now when Mordecai was informed of what was done, he rent his clothes, and put on sackcloth, and sprinkled ashes upon his head, and went about the city, crying out, that “a nation that had been saved from the plagues of the king’s and the whole 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 within himself, that is a people whom we have never worshipped; he rather determined to abolish the whole nation, for he was naturally an enemy to the Jews, because the nation of the Amalekites, of which he was one, had done the Jews much mischief, accordingly 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, unsociable, 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 them, thou must be their surety, and protect 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 angry by reason of the threats which the Jews paid him, Haman promised to give him out of his own estate forty thousand talents whencesoever 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 Darius [I.e. by him who first withdrew the Medes from their settled abode], and that after him it was continued by Xerxes, and also by Artaxerxes, and all his successors. Thus, also, says Spanheim, stood guards, with their axes, about the throne of Darius, or Xerxes, the Medes being known by their axes, and being called, according to their custom, Aria Persic, because they were of Persian extraction. This custom had been such great sinners as have been universally devoted to destruction by God himself, Exod. xlix. 12, 13; Lev. xxvi. 32, 33, whether they be connected or concealed, cannot now, I doubt, be certainly determined.

† Whether this adoration required of Mordecai to
the promise of money whereby Haman bought the destruction of their nation. He also gave him a copy of what was pronounced against Shushan, to be carried to Esther; and charged her to petition the king about this matter, and not to think it a dishonorable thing in her to put on a humble habit, for the safety of her nation, whereas she might depurate the ruin of the Jews, who were in danger of it; for that Haman, whose dignity was only inferior to that of the king, had accused the Jews, and had irritated the king against them. When she was informed of this, she sent for Mordecai, and, loosing him at 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 withdraw it, so as not to be out 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 told him also 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 source, 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, and to apply to the king, and to go fast and abstain from all sorts of food on her account, and [to let him know that] she with her maidens would do the same; and then she promised that she would go to the king, though it were against the command of the king, 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 burst into tears with the rest of the Jews, and let his blood flow, and looked his nation, particularly at this time, when it was going to be destroyed; but that, as he had often before provided for them, and forgave them 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 gloriously be slain, and that he was himself the occasion of the wrath of Haman, because (said he) I have seen that this solemn day of the king's authority to pay that honor to him which I used to pay to thee, O Lord; for upon that his anger hath he contrived this present mischief against those that have not transgressed thy laws. The same supplications did he offer up; and expected 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 his face and by his words, she might excite, for the arresting 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, through the queen also, for she was close by, and was sapped with her, together with the king, so was he also invited again for the next day; yet, said he, am I not pleased to see Mordecai the Jew in the court. Hereupon his wife Zeresh advised him to appoint the banquet in which he had fifty cubits high, and that in the morning he should ask it of the king, that Mordecai might be hanged thereon. So he commenced her advice, and gave order to his servants to prepare the galley, and to spread the king's table, and to appoint 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 he had determined the way the king's heart was, and the king was not willing to lose the time of his lying awake, but to spend it in something that
might be of advantage to his kingdom, he commanded the scribe to bring him the chronicles of the former kings, and the records of his own acts; and when he had brought them and was reading them, one was found to have received a country on account of his excellent management on a certain occasion, and the name of the country was set down; another was found to have made a present made him on account of his fidelity: then the scribe came to Bigthan and Teresh, the eunuchs that had made a conspiracy against the king, and the queen, and the king had them put to death. Then he said in his heart, 

"Now while these men were thus talking one to another, Esther's eunuchs hastened Es- thar away to come to supper; but one of the eunuchs, named Sabuchadas, saw the gallowsthat was fixed in Haman's house, and inquired of one of his servants, for what purpose they had prepared it? So he knew that it was for the queen's 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 she would have done, and assured her that she should have whatsoever she had a mind to. She then lamented the danger her people were in; and said, that "She and her nation were given up to be destroyed, and that she, on the account of the king, could not be suffered to go out of the court, lest 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 as the king inquired of her who was the author of this misery to them? she then openly accu- cused Haman, and convicted him, that he had been the wicked instrument of this, and had formed this plot against them; and that it was hereupon in disorder, and w.' gone hastily out of the banquet into the gardens. Haman be- gan to intercede with Esther, and to o. rch her to forgive him as to what he had commenced for he perceived that he was in a very bad case. And as he had fallen upon the queen's bed, and was making application to her, the king came in, and being still more provoked at what he saw, "O thou wretch, (said he) thou villist 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 accused Haman, and said, "He found a report at his house, that 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 no other manner than that which had been devised by him against Morde- caic: so he gave order immediately that he should be hung upon that gallows, and be put to death after that manner, that is to say, and proclaim accordingly; for thou art (said he) my intimate friend, and hast given me good ad- vice; be thou then the minister of what thou hast advised me to do. Then he took his reward from es, for it was his life." When the king 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 garment off, and put the purple garment on: but Mordecai, not knowing the truth of the matter, but thinking that it was done in mock his said, "O thou wretch, the villain of all mankind, dost thou laugh at our calamities?" But when he was satisfied that the king bestowed this ho- nor upon him, for the deliverance he had pro- cessed, for which he had conspired against him, he put on that purple garment which the king always wore, and put the chain about his neck, and got on horseback, and went round the city, while Haman went be- fore, and cried, "The king and queen command that the king will bestow on every one whom he loves, and esteems worthy of honor." And when they had gone round the city, Mordecai went in to the king, but Haman went home, out of the city, and cried, "The king and queen command that the king will bestow on every one whom he loves, and esteems worthy of honor." He said, that "He would never be able to be re- warded of Mordecai, for that God was with him."
be commanded the king's scribes to be sent for, and to write to the nations on the Jews' behalf, and to his governors and commanders, that were over his hundred twenty and seven provinces, from the river Indus even to the great river Euphrates. Now 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 benefits bestowed on them, are because of the great honor 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: As if they would take away their 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 more inferior to them, and suppose they shall be 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 acted 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 their lives, and this by lying accusations and false reports. This is a foule of things to be disdained 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 such accusations, how soever the persuasions 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 favors and unto some, when his bounty hath been in the case of Haman, the son of Ammedatha, by birth an Ammalekite, and alien from the blood of the Persians, who, when he was hospitably entertained by us, and partook of that kindness which was all men, so that he was great a degree as to be called my father, and to be all along worshipped, and to have honor paid him all in the second rank after the royal honor due to ourselves, he could not bear his good fortune, nor give to the magnific and his prosperity with sound reason; nay, he made a conspiracy against me and my life, who gave him his authority, by endeavoring to take away Mordecai, my noble cousin, who had saved my life, and by 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 it to others: But since I perceived that these Jews, that were by this pernicious fellow devoted to destruction, were not wicked men, but conducted their lives after the best manner, and were men dedicated to the worship of that God who hath preserved the kingdome to me and to my ancestors, I do not only free them from the punishment which the former epistle, which was sent by Haman, ordered to be inflicted on them, to which if you were willing, you shall do that which I have said that they have all honor paid to them. Accordingly, I have hanged up the man that condemned such things against them, with his family, before the gates of Shushan, that punishment be not sent upon him by God, who seeth all things. And I give you in charge, that you prevent all such attempts, and that you send this 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 whereat their miserable estate did belong, they may defend their person, and that they may not be destroyed by 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 those that are at our command. And as to the case 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 commanded in the law, shall be desolate with famine and sword. However, let this epistle be published through all the country that is under our obedience, and let all the Jews by all means be ready against the day before mentioned, that they may avenge themselves upon their enemies."

13. Accordingly the horsemen who carried the epistles, proceeded on the ways which they were to go with speed: but as for Mordecai, as soon as he was sent to Shushan, he put on a 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 honor with the king, they thought his government over all the kingdom of Persia would be with 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 king's edict, of iniquitous, that many even of other nations circumcised their forefathers for fear of the Jews, that they might procure safety to themselves thereby; for on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which according to the Macedonians, Dystrus, those that carried the king's epistle gave them notice, that the same day wherein their danger was to have been, on that very day should they destroy their enemies. But now the rulers of the provinces, and the tyrants, and the kings, and the scribes, had the Jews in esteem; for the fear they were in of Mordecai forced them to act with discretion. Not that they were out of the world, but only that according to 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 in all the other places he had heard of it, in the provinces, he asked her, whether she would have any thing farther done against them? for that it should be done accordingly: upon which she desired that the Jews might be permitted to treat their remaining enemies in the same manner the next day; as also that they might hang the ten sons of Haman upon the gallows. So the king permitted the Jews so to do, as desirous not to contradict: Esther. So they were again called for, but their account was on the fourteenth day of the month Dystrus, and slew about three hundred of their enemies, but touched suspected a deeper design in Haman than openly appeared, viz. that knowing the Jews would be satisfied, and that he could not transfer the crown to his own family, who was an Agaga, Esth. 8, 10, 16; and the posterity of Agag, the old king of the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xv. 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17; Esth. 6, 10; and all Haman, having enjoined this death to him, were of his mind to see signed to his name the decree for the Jews' slaughter, instead of the king's; and so might have rendered it by his own erroneous interpretation: for when he said, "The king's unwritten letter," there is an unwritten letter mentioned in the other edicts, which was a false edict, issued by the king against the Jews, and was sent to the provinces, that they might slay the Jews. This was detected in the 20th of the Jews' enemies which were soon destroyed by the Jews, on the permission of the king, which must be true, for that letter was written, from the hand of the king, to the king's officers in the provinces, to destroy the Jews, Estod. xiii, 15, 14, and that thereby was fulfilled Balaam's prophecy, "Amelek was the first of the nations, but he latter and shall be, that priest for ever." Numb. xxii. 30.
nothing of what riches they had. Now there was slain by the Jews that were in the country, and in the other cities, seventy-five thousand of their enemies, and those were slain on the thirteenth day of the month, and the next day they kept as a festival. In like manner the Jews that were in the temple gathered, and feasted on the fourteenth day and that which followed it; whereas it is, that even now all the Jews that are in the habitable earth have these days festival, and set portions to one another. Mordacai 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 feast might be the memory of all people; for it was so that it might never be buried in oblivion, for since they were about to be destroyed on these days by Haman, they would do a right thing, upon escaping the danger in them, and on them inflicting punishments on their enemies, to observe those days, and give thanks to God on them: for which cause the Jews still keep the aforementioned days, and call them days of Phurim (or Purim). * And Mordecai became a great and illustrious man, and was made assistant to the king, and assisted him in the government of the people. He also lived with the queen; so that the affairs of the Jews were by their means better than they could ever have hoped for. And thus was the state of the Jews under the reign of Artaxerxes. 

CHAFT VII.

How John slew his Brother Jesus in the Temple; and how Bagoses offered many Injuries to the Jews, and what Sanballat did.

§ 1. When Elisabeth 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 Bagoses, the general of another Artaxerxes's army, polluted the temple, and cast it open to the Jews that out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels. Now Jesus was the brother of John, and was a friend of Bagoses, who had promised to procure him the high priesthood. In confidence of whose support, Jesus quarrelled with John in the temple, and so provoked his brother, that in his anger his brother slew him. Now it was a horrible thing for the Jews to be the authors of so great a crime; and so much the more horrible, that there never was so cruel and impious 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 Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes's army, knew that John, the high priest of the Jews, had slain his own brother Jesus in the temple, he came upon the Jews immediately, and began in anger to say to them, "Have you had the impudence to perpetrate a murder in your temple?" And as he was aiming to go into the temple, they forbade him so to do; but he said to them, "Am I not greater than he that was slain in the temple of your fathers?" Now these words, he went into the temple. Accordingly, Bagoses made use of this pretense, and punished the Jews seven years for the murder of Jesus.

§ 2. Now when John had departed this life, his son Judas succeeded in the high priesthood. He had a brother, whose name was Manasseh. Now there was one Sanballat, who was sent by Darius, the king of Persia, to Jerusalem. He was a Cuthian by birth; of which stock were the Samaurians 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 Colcestris; so that he willingly gave his daughter, whose name was Nicaea, in marriage to Manasseh, as thinking this alliance by marriage would be a pledge and security that the nation of the Jews should continue their good-will to him.

CHAFT VIII.

Concerning Sanballat and Manasseh, and the Temple which they built on Mount Gerizim; and how Alexander made his Entry into the City Jerusalem; and what Benhifa he bestowed on the Jews.

§ 1. About this time it was that Philip, king of Macedon, was treacherously assaulted and slain at Egea by Pausanias, the son of Cerasus, who was derived from the family of Crete, 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 Lydia, and subdued Ionia and overran Caria, and fell upon the places of Pamphylia, as he has been related elsewhere.

2. But the elders of Jerusalem being very uneasy that the brother of Judas 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 a step to such as should be desirous of transgressing about the marriage of [strange] wives, and that this would be the beginning of contamination with foreigners, although the offence of some about marriages, and their having married wives that were not of their own country, had been an occasion of their former captivity, and of the miseries they then underwent; so they commanded Manasseh to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar, the high priest himself joining with the people in their indignation against his brother, and driving him away from the temple.

* Concerning this other Artaxerxes, called Memneres, and the Persians attacked by the Jews and Romans under him, occasioned by the murder of the high priest's brother in the holy house itself, see Andoet the Rec. at large, p. 586. This Josephus wholly omits the rest of the kings of Persia after Artaxerxes Memnon, till he came to their last king Da-

1. 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 Sepa-

2. 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 Sepa-

3. 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 Sepa-

4. 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 Sepa-

5. 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 Sepa-

6. 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 Sepa-

7. 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 Sepa-

8. 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 Sepa-

9. 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 Sepa-
the altar. Whereupon Manasseh came to his father-in-law, Sanballat, and told him, that "all though he loved his daughter Nicolas, yet was he not willing to be deprived of his sacred duty on 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 honor of his priesthood, but to procure to him the power and dignity of a high priest, and would make him governor of all the places he himself now reigned, if he would join himself to him. He also told him further, that he would build him a temple like that at Jerusalem, upon mount Gerizim, which is the highest of all the mountains that are round about Samaria, and he promised him that he would do this with the approbation of Darius the king. Manasseh was elevated with these promises, and said to Sanballat, upon a supposal that he should gain a high priesthood, as bestowed on him by Darius, for it happened that Sanballat was then in years. But there was now a great disturbance among the people of Jerusalem, because many of those priests and Levites were estranged in sects match; for they all revolved with the Samaritans, and Sanballat afforded them money, and divided among them land for tillage, and habitations also, and all this in order every way to gratify his son-in-law.

3. About this time it was that Darius heard how Alexander had made himself supreme over the Hellenes, and had beaten his lieutenants in the battle of Granicum, and was proceeding farther: whereupon he gathered together an army of horse and foot, and determined that he would meet the Macedonians before them, and conquer all Asia beyond. So he passed over the river Ephrates, and came over Taurus, the Cilician mountain; and at Amsos of Cilicia he waited for the enemy, as ready there to give battle. Upon which Sanballat was glad that Darius was come down; and told Manasseh that he would suddenly perform his promises to him, and this as soon as ever Darius should come back, after he had beaten his enemies; for he was not only, but all those that were in Asia also, were persuaded that the Macedonians would not so much as come to battle with the Persians, on account of their multitude. But the event proved otherwise than they expected, for the Macedonians, when they perceived that their army was beaten, and lost a great part of his army. His mother also, and his wife and children, were taken captives, and he fled into Persia. So Alexander entered Syria, and took Damascus; and when he had obtained Sido, he took Tyre, when he sent an epistle to the Jewish high priest, "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 friendship of the Macedonians, and that he should never repent of doing it." But the high priest answered the messengers, that "he had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him; and he said, that he would not transgress this while Darius was in the land of the living." Upon hearing this answer Alexander was very angry; and though he determined not to leave Tyre, which was just ready to fall into the hands of Alexander, as he had taken it, he threatened that he would make an expedition against the Jewish high priest, and through him teach all men to whom they must keep their oaths. He also, when he had, with a good deal of pains during the siege, taken Tyre, and after killing the king and his city, he came to the city of Gaza, and besieged both the city and him who was governor of the garrison, whose name was Subemises.

5. And when he understood that he was not far from the city, he went out in procession, with the priests and the Levites, that the procession was venerable, and the manner of it different from that of other nations. It reached to a place called Sapha, which name, translated into Greek, signifies a prospect, for you have three towns of this name on the road, and on the precipice of the temple; and when the Phoenicians and the Chaldeans that followed him, thought they should have liberty to plunder the city, and torment the high priest to death, which the king's displeasure fairly promised them, the very reverse of it happened; for Alexander, when he saw the multitude at a distance, in white garments, while the priests stood clothed with fine linen, and the high priest was put in purple and scarlet clothing, with his mitre on his head, having the golden plate whereon the name of God was engraved, he approached by himself, and adored that Name, and first saluted the high priest. The Jews also did all to honor him, and his horsemen compassed him about: whereupon the king of Syria, and the rest, were surprised at what Alexander had done, and supposed him disordered in his mind. However, Parmenio alone went up to him, and held "How it cannot be that when all others adored him, he should adore the high priest of the Jews?" To whom he replied, I did not adore him, but that God who hath beneath the heavens, he saw this very person in a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios in Macedonia, who, when I was considering with myself how I might obtain the dominion of Asia, exhorted me to
BOOK XI.—CHAP. VIII.

make no delay, but boldly to pass over the sea
thither, for that he would conduct my army, and
would give me the dominion over the Persians;
whence it is, that having seen no other in that
habitat, and now seeing this person in it, and re-
membering that vision, and the exhortation
which I had in my dream, I believe that he would take
this army under the divine conduct, and shall
therewith conquer Darius, and destroy the power
of the Persians, and that all things will succeed
according to what is in my own mind." And
when he had said this to Parmenio, and had given
the high priest his right hand, the priests ran
along by him, and he came into the city. And
when he went up into the temple, he offered sa-
crifice to God, according to the high priest's di-
rection; and magnificently treated both the high
priest and the priests. And when the book of
Daniel was shown him, wherein Daniel declared
that one of the Greeks should destroy the em-
pire of the Persians, he supposed that himself
was the person intended: and as he was then
glad, he dismissed the multitude for the present,
but the next day he called them to him, and bade
them ask what favors they pleased of him;
whereupon he heard it, and said that they
might enjoy the laws of their forefathers, and
might pay no tribute on the seventh year. He
granted all they desired. And when they en-
trusted him with a certain part in Babylonia and Media to enjoy their own laws also,
he willingly promised to do hereafter what they
desired. And when he said to the multitude, that
if any of them would list themselves in his army,
on this condition, that they should continue un-
der the laws of their forefathers, and live ac-
con-forming 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 mat-
ters at Jerusalem, he led his army into the neigh-
boring cities; and when all the inhabitants, to
whom he came, received him with great kind-
ness, the Samaritans, who had then Shechem
for their metropolis, (a city situate at mount Ger-
izim, and inhabited by apostates of the Jewish
nation,) seeing that Alexander had so greatly
honored the Jews, determined to profess them
selves Jews, for such is the disposition of the
Samaritans, as we have already elsewhere de-
clared, that when the Jews are in adversity they
deny that they are of kin to them, and then they
confess the truth; but when they perceive that
some good fortune hath befallen them, they
immediately pretend to have companionship with
them, saying, that they belong to them, and de-
vote their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph,
Ephraim, and Manasseh. Accordingly, they
made their address to the king with splendor, and
showed great alacrity in meeting him at a little
distance from Jerusalem. And when Alexander
had commanded them, the Shechemites ap-
proached to him, taking with them the troops
that Samballat had sent him, and they desired
that he would come to their city, and do honor
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
Sidoanians, 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 return and am thoroughly informed by
you of this matter, I will do it as seems me
proper." And in this manner he took leave of the
Shechemites, but ordered that the troops of
Samballat should follow him into Egypt, because
there he designed to give them lands, which he
did a little after in his progress, when he ordered
them to guard that country.

7. Now when Alexander was dead, the govern-
ment was parted among his successors, but the
temple upon mount Gerizim remained. And if
any one were by the act of the Jews for having
eaten things common, or of having bro-
ken the Sabbath, or of any other crime of the
like nature, he was at a fine, and when he had
said that he was accused unjustly. About
this time it was that Judas the high priest died;
and Onias his son took the high priesthood.
This was the state of the affairs of the people of
Jerusalem at this time.

BOOK XII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF A HUNDRED AND SEVENTY YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEUS.

CHAP. I.

How Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, took Jerusalem and Judas by Deceit and Treachery, and carried away many of the Jews thence, and planted them in Egypt.

§ 1. Now when Alexander, king of Macedon, had put an end to the dominion of the Persians, and had settled the affairs in Judea after the forementioned manner, he ended his life, and an army near left him so many, Antigonos
obtained Asia; Seleucus; Babylon; and of the
other nations which were there, Lysimachus gov-
erned the Hellenes, and Cassander possessed Macedonia; and Athens, the Scipio, was set upon Egypt. And while these prices 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, that in 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 re-
verse of that denomination of Saviour which he
then had. He also seized upon Jerusalem, and

for that end made use of deceit and treachery;
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 be-
because on that day they were at rest and quiet-
ness; and when he had gained it, he ruled over it in a cruel manner. Nay, Agatharchides of
Cnidus, who habitation in the city strong and great, named Je-


rusalem. 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 unas-
stoable superstition." This is what Agathar-
chides relates of our nation. But when Ptolemy
had taken a great many captives, both from the
mountainous parts of Judea, and from the places
about Jerusalem and Samarit, 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 embassy to them, after he had beaten Darius in battle, as 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 faith, and the action of those who committed 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 by the liberality of Ptolemy. However, the law of Moses, the most holy law, in relation to the Samaritans, on account of their resolution to preserve that conduct of life which was delivered to them by their forefathers, and they thereupon contended one with another; while those of Jerusalem said, that their temple was holy, and resolved to send their sacrifices thither; but the Samaritans were resolved, that they should be sent to mount Gerizim.

CHAP. II.

How Ptolemy Philadelphus procured the Laws of the Jews to be translated into the Greek Tongue; and set many Captives free; and dedicated many Gifts to God.

1. When Alexander had reigned twelve years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty years, Ptolemy Philadelphus, the son of Physcon, of Egypt, and held it forty years within one. He procured 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 thousand. The occasion was this: Demetrius Phalaris, who was library-keeper to the king, was now endeavoring, if it were possible, to gather together all the books that were in the habitable earth, and buying whatsoever was valuable, or became accessible 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 heard about the same that there were many books of laws among the Jews worthy of inquiring after, and worthy of the king's library, but which being written in 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, and he had said, that nothing hindered why they might not get these 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 Aristus, who was among the king's most intimate friends, and on account of his modesty very acceptable to him. This Aristus, therefore, in due time, 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 making that petition. So he discovered, in the presence of the king, the multitude of those who guarded, Sossibus of Tarrentum, and Andreas; and persuaded them to assist him in what he was going to intercede with the king for. Accordingly, Aristus embraced the same opinion with those that have been before mentioned; and went to the king, and made the following speech to him: "It is not fit for us, O king, to overlook things hastily, or to deceive ourselves, but to lay the matter before us, for since we have hardly determined not only to get the laws of the Jews transcribed, but interpreted also, for thy satisfaction, by what means we can do this, while so many of the Jews are now slaves in thy kingdom? Do thou then weigh what is possible to thy majesty, what is possible 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 migration to this country; acquit them of all the charges for both these people, and we also, worship the same God, the framers of all things. We call him and that truly, by the name of Zeus, [or Life, or Jupiter], because he breathes life into all men. We wander through all the countries of our own country, and this to the hoose of God, because these men pay a peculiar excellency that worship to him. And know this further, that though I be not of kin to them by birth, nor have I been invested with any authority to give these favors to be done them, since all men are the workmanship of God; and I am sensible that he is well pleased with those that do good. I do, therefore, put up this petition to thee, to do good to the Jews.

3. When Aristus was saying thus, the king looked upon him with a cheerful and joyful countenance, and said, "How many ten thousands of these Jews are there, that can be made free?" To which Andronicus replied, as he stood by, and said, "A few more than ten times ten thousand." The king made answer "And is this a small gift that thou askest, Aristus?" But Sossibus, and the rest that, were present, 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] twenty drachmae for every one of the slaves." And he promised to

† Of the serenities of oaths among the Jews in the Old Testament, see Scripture Poltica, p. 54, 65.

† 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 Philadelphus: as also the translation of the Pentateuch by seventy two Jews, sent by the emperor Claudius under the direction of Joannes Alexarchus, as given us an account of by Aristines, and thence by Philo and Josephus, with a vindication of them from the libels against them, in the appendix to Lit. Accomp. of Proph. at large, p. 117—152.

‡ Although this number one hundred and twenty drachmae [of Alexandria, or sixty Jewish shekels] be here three times repeated, and that in all Josephus's copies, Greek and Latin, yet since all the copies of Aristines, whence Josephus took his relation, have the number in the original present, we have still preserved it in this drachme, or ten Jewish shekels; and since the sum of the talents, to be set down presently, which is little above four hundred and sixty, for somewhat more than
BOOK XII.  CHAP. II.

publish a magnificent decree, about what they requested, which should confirm what Aristaeus had proposed, and especially what God willed should be done; wherefore, he said, he would not only set the free who had been left 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 when they said that their redemption money would not suffice to do it to their hand, he further granted it. A copy of which decree I have determined to preserve, that the magnanimity of this king may be made known. Its contents were as follows: And he said, soldiers, under our father, and who, when their countrymen Syrias and Phoenicia, and the last Judea, took the Jewish captives, and made them slaves, and brought them into our cities, and into this country, and their sons, and their descents, into slavery, and to this 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 drachmas for every slave. And it is the only revenue that had been money with their pay, and the rest out of the king's treasury: for I suppose that they were made captives without our father's consent, and against equity; and that their country was harassed by them, and by removing them into Egypt, the soldiers have made a great profit by them. Out of regard therefore to justice, and out of pity to those that have been transformed to slavery, I enjoin those that have such Jews among their servants to set them at liberty, upon the receipt of the before-mentioned sum; and that no one use any deceit about them, but obey what is here commanded. And we will of our, and their names, within three days after the publication of this edict, to such as are appointed to execute the same, and to produce the slaves before them also, for I think it will be for the advantage of my affairs, and of the commonwealth, for the slaves to obey the commands 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, it at first contained the rest that is here inserted. And it was not of the same persons that had formerly been brought, and those brought afterward, which had not been distinctly mentioned; so he added these clauses out of his humanity, and to prevent great grief to many. He gave order that the payments which was to be made in a hurry, should be divided among the king's ministers, and among the officers of his treasury. When this was over, what the king had decreed was published by his son, even 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 drachmai 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 aforesaid sum for every slave.

4. Now when this had been done after so magnificent a manner, many Jews went from their king's inclinations, he gave order to Demetrius to give him in writing his sentiments concerning the transcribing of the Jewish books, for no part of the administration was left only to the kings, but all things are managed with great circumspec-
tion. On which account I have subjoined a copy of these epistles, and set down the multitude of the vessels sent as gifts [to Jerusalem,] and the construction of every one, 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 excellency of the vessels themselves. Now the copy of the epistle he sent to this purpose: "Demetrius to the great king: When thou, O king, gavest me a charge concerning the collection of books that were wanting to fill thy library, and concerning the care that should be taken of the works of the old men, 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 language, 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 the care of the wise men in them. Now it is necessary that thou shouldst have accurate copies of them. And indeed this legislation is full of hidden wisdom, and entirely blameless, as being the legislation of God: for which cause it is, they pleased. He says, that the poets and historians make no mention of it, nor of those men that lead their lives according to it, since it is a holy law, and ought not to be published by profane mouths. If then it please thee, O king, give such a copy of the books of the Jews, to send six of the elders out of every tribe, and those such as are most skilful in the laws, that by their means we may learn the clearness and agreement of those books, and may obtain an accurate interpretation of them, and so may have such a collection of these, as may be suitable to thy desire."

5. When this epistle was sent to the king, he commanded that a hundred talents in money should be sent to the temple for sacrifices, and for other uses. Now I will give a description of these vessels, in the manner of their construc-
tion, but not till after I have set forth a copy of the epistle which was written to Eleazar the high priest, who had obtained that dignity on the occasion following: When Onias the high priest was deposing his son, and had no 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 of my kinsmen who are in power, among the Persians, when they were in power, carried captives. These were honored by my father; some of them he placed in the army, and gave them greater pay than ordinary; to others of them, when they came from him, he had committed his garrisons, and the guarding of them, that they might be a terror to the Egyptians. And when I had taken the government, I treated all men with humanity, and especially would rather redeem them at a cheaper rate than at a dearer rate, there is great reason to prefer here Aristaeus's reform before that of his father's."

6. We have a very great encomium of this Simon the Just, the son of Onias I. in the fifth chapter of Eusebius's Chronicle. Page 205.
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 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 encouraging and acceptable gift 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 book of Daniel, which I translated out of Hebrew into Greek, and to be deposited in my library. Thou wilt therefore do well to choose out and send to me men of a good character, who are now elders in age, and in number, cut of every tribe. These, by their age, must be skillful 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 great and magnificent. And I have sent to thee, Alexander, the captain of my guard, and Aristobulus, 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 sacrifice and to the other services, to the very sum of one 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."

8. When this epistle of the king was brought to me, and I was desirous of conveying it with all the respect possible: "Bless the high priest, to king Ptolemy, sendeth greeting: If thou and thy queen Arsinoe, and thy children, be well, we are desirous of hearing thy epistle, we greatly rejoiced at thy intentions; and when the multitude were gathered together, we read it to them, and thereby made them sensible of the piety thou hast towards God. We also adjourned the multitude, the gold, and three hundred talents 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 and others, and we have honored to friends of thine, have 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 for thy welfare; but when we are ready 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 thanked thee for the kindness, 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, which we have translated into thy version, and to return it to those that bring it in safety. Farewell."

7. This was the reply which the high priest made. But it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of the seventy [two] elders who translated 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 sacred books which were sent to 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 used to seek after the workmen, and view their works, and suffered nothing of carelessness or negligence to be any damage to their operations. And I will relate how rich they were also 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 it. 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 have the appearance and the magnitude of the table which 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 the case, 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 there hung up in their chamber, which raised it to too great largeness;" 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 that he desired that the table should be made of the same size, and not for want of gold, he resolved that he would not exceed the former table in largeness; but would make it exceed it in the variety and elegance of its materials. And the table was to be formed of the choicest 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 art, and would place them so as to be to the workmen, as he commanded that such sculptures should now be made, and that those which were delineated, should be most accurately formed by a constant regard to their delineation.

8. But thus the table was to be formed, he had undertaken to make the table, they framed it in length two cubits [and half,] in breadth one cubit, and in height one cubit and a half; and the entire structure of the work was of gold. They withal made two doors for the table, one for the wavework woven about it, and with an engraving which imitated a cord, and was admirably turned on its three parts; for as they were of a triangular figure, every angle had the same appearance; and the doors were turned about them, the very same form of them was turned about without any variation.

Now that part of the crownwork that was enclosed by the doors, and the sides of the table, and the whole of the cards, 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 extent above the rest, were acute: and none of the angles, which we before told you were three, appeared less than another, when the table was turned about. Now into the cordwork thus turned, he had made two precious stones, to be set in parallel to one the other, enclosed in golden buttons, which hadouches in them; but the parts which were on the side of the crown, and were exposed to the sight, were adorned with a row of stones, a perfect circle of gold, and on these excellent sort of precious stones, which imitated rods laid close, and encompassed the table round about. But under these oval figures, thus engraved, he had a fine workmanship, and in it, where the nature of all sorts of fruit was represented, insomuch that the bunches of grapes

*When we have here and presently mention made of Philadelphia's queen and sister Arsinoe, we are to remember, with Sapesheim, that Arsinoe was both his sister and his wife, according to the old custom of Pera. sin, and of Egypt at this very time: may, of the Assyrians long afterward. See Antiq. b. xx. ch. II sect. 1, whence we have, upon the columns of Philadelphia, this known inscription, the divine brother and sister.
hung up. And when they had made the stones to represent all the kinds of fruit before mentioned, and that, such in its proper color, they made them fast with gold round the whole table. The like disposition of the oval figures, and of the engraved rods, was framed under the crown, that the table might on each side show the same appearance of variety and elegance of its ornamentation, so that neither the position of the workmanship nor of the crown might be different, although the table were turned on the other side, but that the prospect of the same articulation could be seen throughout, for there was made a plate of gold of four fingers broad, through the entire breadth of the table, into which they inserted the feet, and then fastened them down by buttons and before- holes, at the place where in its proper color, that is, so on what side soever of the table one should stand, it might exhibit the very same view of the exquisite workmanship, and of the vast extent of gold of all the colors from self they engraved a medallion, inserting into it very valuable stones in the middle, like stars of various colors: the carbuncle and the emerald, each of which sent out agreeable rays of light to the moon. And these were also as much as was possible, and as were carried, as being most precious in their kind. Hard by this medallion a texture of set work ran round it, the middle of which appeared like a rhombus, in which they inserted figures, which, by the great resemblance of the appearance they made, gave wonderful delight to those that saw them. The chapters of the feet imitated the fine budgings of lilies, while their leaves were beset with gold. And so that the chives were seen standing upright within them. Their bases were made of a carbuncle; and the place at the bottom, which rested itself, had a joinery of rich gold fingers in breadth. Now they had engraved upon it with a very fine tool, and with a great deal of pains, a branch of ivy, and tendrils of the vine, sending forth clusters of grapes, that you would guess and upon it nourished them from real tendrils, 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 effect of artificers. In the entire workmanship of the table appear to be threefold, while the joints of the several parts were so united together as to be invisible, and the places where they joined could not be distinguished. When the king stood adorning the stones of those membranes, and the exactness of the junctions; which could not be perceived, (so exactly were they connected one with another;) and this he did for a considerable time. He then said that he returned them thanks for coming to him, and still greater thanks to him that sent them; and, above all, to that God whose laws they appeared to be. Then did the elders, and those that were present with them, cry out with one voice, and wished all happiness to the king. Upon which he fell into tears by the violence of the pleasure he had, it being natural to men to afford the same indications in great joy, that they do under sorrow. And he delivered his hand, and took from the hands of those that were appointed to receive them, he saluted the men; and said, that it was but just to discourse, in the first place, of the errand they were sent about, and then to address himself to them, to enquire what they meant. And he said, that he would make this day on which they came to him remarkable and eminent every year through the whole course of his life; for their coming to him, and the victory which he gained over Antigonus by sea, proved his salvation to all the Jews. He
lodgings 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 parts, and showed them where they should meet, which was in a house that was built near the shore, and was a quiet place, and fit for their discoursing together about their work. Accordingly he had brought with him entreaties, and great pains, and this they continued to do till the ninth hour of the day; after which time they relaxed, and took care of their body, while their food was provided for them in great plenty; but the men who brought them a great deal of what was provided for the king himself. But in the morning they came to the court and saluted Ptolemy, and then went away to their former place, where, when they had washed the vessels, and purified themselves, they betook themselves to the interpretation of the law. Now when the law was transcribed, and the labor of interpretation was over, which came to its conclusion towards the two years, they ordered all the Jews together to the place where the laws were translated, and where the interpreters were, and read them over. The multitude did also approve of the law, and read it with a loud voice. They withal commended Demetrius 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 same law, Moreover, they desired that all the ancients of the elders, and the principal men of their commonwealth, made it their request, that since the interpretation was happily finished, it might continue in the state it now was, and might be written. And when the counsel was prevailed on, they enjoined, that if any one observed either any thing superfluous, or any thing omitted, that he would take a view of it again, and have it laid before them. And 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 was so extremely approved of; and he was of great advantage; and he was chiefly delighted 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 him on this subject. "How it came to pass," says he, "that when this legislation was so wonderful, so one, either of the poets or of the historians, had made mention of it." Demetrius made answer, that "no one durst be so bold as to touch upon the description of these laws, because they were both the perfect and the divine, and venerable, and because some that had attempted it were afflicted by God." He also told him, that "Theopompos was desirous of writing somewhat about them, but that he had not the courage to undertake it above thirty days' time; and upon some intermission of his distemper, he appened God [by prayer] as suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause."

\[\text{\footnotesize *This is the most ancient example I have met with, of a grace, or short prayer, or thanksgiving, before meat; which was said by a Jew, the priest, as now said by Eleazar, a Jewish priest, who was one of those seventy-two interpreters. The next example I have met with is that of the Essence, Of the War, b. ii. ch. vii. sect. 5, both before and after it; those of our Saviour before b. Mark vii. 8; John vi. 11, 23, and St. Luke, iv. 6. A form of grace or prayer for Christians, at the end of the fifth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, which seems to have been intended for both times, both before and after meat.}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize \{This purification of the interpreters, by washing in the sea, before they prayed to God, every morning, and before they set about translating, may be compared with the like practice of Peter the apostle, in the recognitions of Clement, b. iv. ch. iii. and b. ch. xxxvi., and with the same practice of the Jews, which were sometimes built near the sea or rivers also. Of which matter, see Antiq. b. xiv. chap. x. sect. 23, and Acts xvi. 13, 16.\}}\]
Nay, 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: yet when he left off that attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover, he informed him of Theodectes, the tragic poet, concerning whom it was reported, that when in a certain 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 the occasion of his distemper, and appeasing God, by prayer, he was freed from that affliction. 15. But he did not believe the books of Demetrius, as we have said already, as adored them, and gave order that great care should be taken of them, that they might remain interpretable. He, if any of them that the interpreters would come often to him out of Judæa, and that both an account of the respects that he would pay them, and an account of the presents he would make them: for he said, "it was now not 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 justly require, and what his generosity was able to give them. So he then sent them away. And it is reported that they made the best of the best sort, and two talents of gold, and a cup of the value of one talent, and the furniture of the room wherein they were seated. And they gave the things they presented to them. But by them he sent to Seleucus, ten beds, with feet of silver, and the furniture to those belonging, and a cup of the value of thirty talents; and besides these, ten garments, and purple, and the use of the finest woven lines; as also vessels and dishes, and vessels for pouring, and two golden cisterns to be dedicated to God. He also desired him, by an epistle, that he would give them also the presents that the Jews had made of their money of the sacrifice of the sacrifices of the sin-sinners of coming to him, because he highly valued a conversation with men of such learning; and should be very willing to lay out his wealth upon such men. And this was what came to the Jews, and to their glory and honor, from Ptolemy Philopator.

CHAPTER III.

How the Kings of Asia honored the Nation of the Jews, and made them Citizens of those Cities which they built.

1. The Jews also obtained honors from the kings of Asia, and were admitted into the cities of 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 have in this, that whereas the Jews do not make use of oil prepared by foreigners, they receive the money of the natives, and give the money of the foreigners belonging to their exercises as the value of that oil; which money, when the people of Antioch had deprived them of, in the last war, Macianus, who was sent up to the king, returned it to them. And when the people of Alexandria and of Antioch did after that, *

* The use of oil was much greater, and the donatives of it much more valuable in Judæa and the neighboring countries than in other places. It was also in the days of Josephus thought unlawful for Jews to make use of any oil that was prepared by heathens, perhaps, of a very good nature. According to the judgment of the Jews for their wickedness, chose them for his people, and first established Christianity in that empire. Of which see here, xiii. 25; see also Antiq. b. xiv. ch. 2, sect. 26, 27; b. xiv. c. 22, sect. 2. 32
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 Cohaemys, which Scopas had gotten into his possession, and Samaria with them, the Jews of their own accord went over to him, and received him into the city [Jerusalem], and made a law to provision to all his army, and to his elephants, and readily assisted him when he besieged the garrison which was in the citadel of Jerusalem. Wherefore Antiochus thought it but just to require of him all the men of his army, so he wrote to the generals of his armies, and to his friends, and gave testimony to the good behavior of the Jews towards him, and informed them that he had resolved to bestow on them for that their behavior. 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 chapter of his book of history: "Now Scopas, the general of Ptolemy's army, went in haste to the superior parts of the country, and in the winter time overthrew the nation of the Jews. He also saith, in his history, that Scopas was conquered by Antiochus, Antiochus received Batanea and Samaria, and Abila and Gadara; and that, a while afterward, there came in to him those Jews that inhabited near that temple which was destroyed, when Jerusalem was taken. And though I have more to say, and particularly concerning the presence of God about that temple, yet do I put off that history till another opportunity, which it now is, in our present discourse. But we will return to the series of the history, when we have first produced the epistles of king Antiochus; 'King Antiochus to Ptolemy, sendeth greeting: since the Jews, upon our first entrance on the city, have demonstrated their friendship towards us; and when we came to their city [Jerusalem], received us in a splendid manner, and came to meet us with their senate, and gave abundance of provisions to our soldiers, and to the elephants, and jointly speak us in ejecting the garrison of the Egyptians that were in the citadel, we have thought fit to reward them, and to retrieve the condition of their city, which hath been greatly depopulated by such accidents as have happened upon them. We will bring those that have been scattered abroad back to the city. And, in the first place, we have determined, on account of their piety towards God, to bestow on those that for their sacrifice of animal and vegetable sacrifices that are fit for sacrifices, for wine, and oil, and frankincense, the value of twenty thousand pieces of silver, and six sacred arbats of fine flour, with one thousand four hundred and sixty medimnalia of wheat, and three hundred and seventy-five medimnalia of salt. And these payments I would have fully paid them, as I have sent orders to you. I would also have the work about the temple finished, and the cloisters, and if there be any thing else that ought to be done. And for the materials of wood, let it be brought them out of Judea itself, and out of the other countries, and out of Libanus, tax free: and the same I would have observed as to those other materials which we shall be necessary in order to render the temple more glorious. And let all of that nation live according to the laws of their own country; and let the senate and the priests, and all the public offices of the temple, the sacred singers, be discharged from poll-money and the crown tax, and other taxes also. And that the city may the sooner recover its inhabitants, I grant a discharge from taxes for three years to the inhabitants, and in case they shall come to it, until the month Hyperberetes. We also discharge them for the future from a third part of their taxes, that the losses they have sustained may be repaired. And all those citizens that have been carried away, and are occasion slaves, we grant them and their children their freedom; and give order that their substance be restored to them." 4. And these were the contents of this epistle. He also published a decree, through all his kingdom, in honor of the temple, which contained what followed: "It shall be lawful for any foreigner to come within the limits of the temple round about; which thing is forbidden also to the Jews, unless to those who, according to their own custom, have purified themselves. Nor let any flesh be eaten in Jerusalem; and let all such be sent into the city, whether they be wild or tame; nor that of leopards, or foxes, or hares, and, in general, that of any animal which is forbidden for the Jews, 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 atones. (The rest is omitted, but the sense is, that transeuntes and any of these orders, let him pay to the priests three thousand drachmes of silver. Moreover, this Antiochus bare testimony to our piety and fidelity, in an epistle of his, written when he was at Jerusalem, and in which he expressed himself thus: "Kings, if it were possible for me to be present in the presence of Zeuxis, his Father, sendeth greeting: If you are in health it is well. I also am in health. Having been informed that a sedition is arisen in Lybia against Phrygia, I send thee great greetings: if thou art well, be pleased to write to me. And in case we should meet, let us be satisfied with friendship. (And here the epistle is broken off, but the sense is, that he would be satisfied with friendship with the Jews, and in case of their coming together, let them be satisfied with friendship.)" 1 After this, Antiochus made a friendship and a league with Ptolemy; and gave him his daughter Cleopatra to wife, and yielded up to him Cohaemys, and Samaria, and Judea, and Phoenicia, by way of dowry. And upon the di-
vision of the taxes between the two kings, all the principal men formed the taxes of their several countries, and, collecting the sum that was owing to each [i.e., Egypt], brought both to Joseph. Now at this time the Samaritans were in a flourishing condition, and much distressed the Jews, cutting off parts of their land, and carrying away their prisoners. This happened when Onias was high priest; for after Eleazar’s death, his uncle Manasses took the priesthood, and, after he had ended his life, Onias received that dignity. He was the son of Simon, who was called the Just, and brother of Eleazar, as said before. This Onias was one of a little soul, and a great lover of money; and for that reason, because he did not pay the tax of twenty talents of silver, which his forefathers paid to these kings, one of their own estates, he provoked King Ptolemy Euergetes to anger, who was the father of Philopator. Euergetes sent an ambassador to Jerusalem, and complained that Onias did not pay his taxes, and threatened, that if he did not receive them, he would seize their land, and send soldiers to live upon it. When the Jews heard this message of the king, they were confounded; but so sordidly covetous was Onias, that he grew in that point of virtue, which he esteemed above all other, and in the name of Ptolemy Euergetes, did not bring any sum to the people of Jerusalem, but of great reputation among the people of Jerusalem, for gravity, prudence, and justice. His father’s name was Tobias; and his mother was above the middle age, and was the mother of the coming of the ambassador; for he was then sojourning at a village named Pphiol, where he was born. Hereupon he came to the city Jerusalem, and reproved Onias for not taking care of his own estate, but bringing the nation into danger, by not paying this money. For which preservation of them, he told him he had received the authority over them, and had been made high priest; but that if he did not continue his good government, he would cause him to go to the king, and petition him to remit either the whole, or a part of the sum demanded. Onias’s answer was, that he did not care for his authority, and that he was ready, if the thing were practicable, to lay down his high priesthood; and that he would not go to the king, though at all about such matters. Joseph was asked him, if he would not give him leave to go ambassador on behalf of the nation? He replied, that he would give him leave. Upon which Joseph caused a multitude together to a congregation, and exhort him not to be disturbed or affrighted because of his uncle Onias’s carelessness, but desired them to be at rest, and not terrify themselves with fear about it; for he promised them that he would be their ambassador to the king, and persuade him that they had done him no wrong. And when the multitude heard this, they returned thanks to Joseph. So he went down from the hall, in a hospitable manner. He also presented him with rich gifts, and feasted him magnificently for many days, and then sent him to the king before him, and told him that his uncle had so longed for him: he was more willing to go, 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 be well received by Ptolemy, for he was highly 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 temper of Onias, and informed him of the goodness of the disposition of Joseph, and that he was coming to him, in expectation of having done him any harm, for that he was their patron. In short, he was so very large in his communications upon the young man, that he disposed both the king and his wife Cleopatra to have a kindness for him before he came. So Joseph went to his friends at Samaria, and borrowed money of them, and got ready what was necessary for his journey, garments, and cups, and beasts forburial, and went to Alexandria. Now it happened, that at this time all the principal men and rulers went up out of the cities of Syria and Phoenicia, to bid for their taxes; for every king gave his king and 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 the king Ptolemy was at Memphis, he went to meet him, and the king went to meet him, and as he saw his chariot, and his horses, and his rich attire, and his name, he presently knew him to be the king, and came to him; and as Joseph sat there, he began to complain of the management of Onias. To which he answered, Forgive him, on account of his age, for thou canst not certainly be unacquainted with this, that all men and nations have minds exactly alike; but thou shalt have from us, who are young men, every thing thou desirest, and shalt have no cause to complain. With this good humor and pleasantness of the king, the young man the more began already, as though he had long experience of him, to have a still greater affection for him, insomuch that he bade him take his diet in the king’s palace, and be a guest at his own table every day. But when the king went 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 go, he was at all about such matters. Joseph asked him, if he would not give him leave to go ambassador on behalf of the nation? He replied, that he would give him leave. Upon which Joseph caused a multitude together to a congregation, and exhort him not to be disturbed or affrighted because of his uncle Onias’s carelessness, but desired them to be at rest, and not terrify themselves with fear about it; for he promised them that he would be their ambassador to the king, and persuade him that they had done him no wrong. And when the multitude heard this, they returned thanks to Joseph. So he went down from the hall, in a hospitable manner. He also presented him with rich gifts, and feasted him magnificently for many days, and then sent him to the king before him, and told him that his uncle had so longed for him: he was more willing to go, 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 be well received by Ptolemy, for he was highly pleased with his frank and liberal temper, and with the gravity of his deportment.

2 The name of this place, Pphiol, is the very same as that of the old name of the king in the days of Abraham, Gen. xxvii. 29, and might possibly
from the cities into Egypt, who were utterly disappointed; and they returned every one to their own country with shame.

3. But Joseph took with him two thousand four hundred soldiers from the king, for he desired he might have some assistance, in order to force such as were refractory in the cities to pay. And borrowing of the king’s friends at Alexandria five hundred talents, he made haste back in to join the king, and in the Askelon, and the people of Askelon, they refused to pay any thing; and afforded him also: upon which he seized upon about twenty of the principal men, and slew them, and gave them to his soldiers, and sent it all 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 he rewarded him; and the Syrians heard of this, they were astonished; and having before them a man in the DNA of the king, and feared his power, and therefore granted him the requested amount of money. Scythopolis attempted to affront him, and would not pay him those taxes which they formerly used to pay, without disputing about them, he slew the principal men of that city, and sent their heads to the king, and the king, being greatly moved thereat, gathered all his 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 policy to maintain and support his court, his courtiers, and his household, and his wealth, and his powerful soldiers, and therefore purchased their good-will to himself.

6. This good fortune he enjoyed for twenty years; and was become the father of seven sons, by one wife, with one daughter, whose name was Hyrcanus, by his brother Soly- mius’s daughter, whom he married on the following occasion. He once came to Alexandria with his brother, who had along with him a daughter and a son, whose name was Hyrcanus, when he was young and handsome, and his brother desired to take her to 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 they feasted, he took her by the hand, and entered upon her, 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 opportunity of fulfilling his desires. Upon which his brother, who was enterprised in the proposal of serving him, and adored his own daughter, and brought her to him by night, and put her into his bed. And Joseph, being disorderely with drink, knew not who she was, and so lay with his brother’s daughter; and this did he many times, and loved her exceedingly, and said to his brother, that he loved this actress so well, that he should run the hazard of his life [for he must part with him], and probably to king Ptolemy. 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 own, if he did not tell the king that they should have her to him, and assured him that he chose rather to have his own daughter abused than to overlook him, and see him come to [public] disgrace. So Joseph commended him to the king, his brother’s daughter, and his brother’s love, and married his daughter, and by her begot a son, whose name was Hyrcanus, as we said before. And when this his youngest son showed, at thirteen years old, a mind that was bent to study, and was greatly en- vied by his brethren, as being of a genius much above them, and such a one as they might well

evry, 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 the luxury and unwillingness to take pains, returned to him foolish and unlearned. After them he sent out the youngest, Hyrcanus, and gave him three hundred yoke of oxen, and bade him go two hundred furlongs from the land there, and yet kept back privately the yokes of the oxen that coupled them together. When Hyrcanus came to the place, and found he had no yokes for his oxen, he contended with the man, who advised him to send home to his father, to bring them some yokes; but he, thinking that he ought not to lose his time, while they should be sent to bring him the yokes, he invented a kind of stratagem, and went one age elder than his own; for he slew ten yoke of the oxen, and distributed their flesh among the laborers, and cut their hides into several pieces, and made him yokes, and yoked the oxen to- gether with them; and thus he arrived at Antipatris, accompanied by the servants of his father’s house, and with a great part of the army.

7. But when he was told that Ptolemy had a very great brother and 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 re- spect to Alexandria, when he was himself ordered from going by old age, but he made trial of his sons, whether any of them would be willing to go to the king. And when the elder sons excused themselves from going, and said, they would not, their father, having much solicitation, and advised him to send his 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 agree- able to him; and he answered that he would go, and his saying that he would not want much money for his journey, because he would live moderately, and that ten thousand drachmas would be sufficient, he was pleased thereby. After a little while, his father advised his son to send his presents to the king from thence, but to give him a letter to his steward at Alexandria, that he might furnish him with the most excellent and most precious. So he, thinking that the expense of ten talents would be enough for presents to be made to 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 Alexandria. And when the day appointed for the festival was come, and the king was to receive the presents, he wrote to Arion to pay them. So when the son had asked his father for a letter to this steward, and had received it, he made haste to Alexandria. And when he was gone, his brethren went to all the citizens of Alexandria, and asked them in what he did, 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 wealth by industry and frugality, and that he did not wish to imitate the example of his father: he assured him withal, that he
would give him but ten talents, and that for a present to the king also. The son was irritated at the idea of the stepmother's knowledge of his father's will, and the wrong that the child had done. And Ptolemy sent for Hyrcanus, 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, that he 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 this: that "there was a law of his that "prohibited a child that was born to taste of the sacrifice before he had been at the temple and sacrificed to God. According to which way of reasoning he did not himself come to him in expectation of the present he was to make to him, as one who had been his father's heir, and that he had not obtained the privilege 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 escape the danger of plunged in the river, there was no way to avoid it; so that he in this way it was that that Hyrcanus' brethren had written to destroy him. Now Ptolemy admired at the young man's magnanimity, and commanded him to ask what gift he pleased. But he desired nothing else to be done for him but to send him a letter to write to his father and brethren about him. So when the king had paid him very great respect, and had given him very large gifts, and had written to his father and brethren, and sent him away. But when his brethren heard that Hyrcanus had received such favors from the king, and was returning home with great honor, they went out to meet him, and to destroy him, and that he was dead; for he was angry at him for the 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 Hyrcanus' brethren came to fight him, he slew many others of those that were with them; as also two of his brethren themselves, but the rest of them escaped to Jerusalem, and Hyrcanus came to the city, where nobody would receive him, he was afraid for himself, and retired beyond the river Jordan, and there abode, but obliging the barbarians to pay their taxes, sent his letter to Caius Sextius, called Soter, reigning over Asia, being the son of Antiochus the Great. And [now] Hyrcanus' father Joseph died. He was a good man, and of great magnanimity, and brought the Jews out of a state of poverty and meanness, to one that was more splendid. He retained the farm of the taxes of Syria, and Phoenicia, and Samaria, twenty-two years. His uncle also, Onias, died [about this time], and left the high priesthood to his son. And when he was dead, Onias his son succeeded him in that dignity. To him it was that Areus, king of the Lacedemonians, sent an embassage, with an epistle; the copy whereof follows: "Areus, king of the Lacedemonians, to Onias, sendeth greeting: We have met with a certain writing, whereby we have discovered that both the Jews and the Lacedemonians are of one stock, and are derived from the kindred of Abraham. We are, therefore, persua- sive, that Elizer of Damascus, the servant of Abra- ham, Gen. xiv. 1, 2, and xiv. was of old by some taken for his son. So that if the Lacedemonians were sprung from him, they must be of the posterity of Abraham, as well as the Jews, who were sprung from Isaac. And pertains the Elizer of Da- mascus is that very Elizer, the servant of Abraham, as advised by Justin, makes the founder of the Jewish nation itself, though he afterward blunders, and makes Amon, Adon, Abraham, and Isaac, kings
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. Demoteus, who wrote this letter, will bring your answer back to us. This letter is foursquare; and the seal is an eagle, with a dragon in its claws." 11. And these were the contents of the epistle which was sent from the king of the Macedonians, to the death of Soter, the people grew sedition, 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 Hyrcanus in this war; and this was Simeon 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 perpetuated war with the Arabs, and slew many of them, and took away 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 engraven on it. He also drew round it a great and deep canal of water. He also made caves of many furlongs in length, by hollowing a rock that was over against him: and then he made large rooms in it, some for feeding, and some for covering. He lived in building. He 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 mouth of the caves so narrow, that no more than one could enter at a time. A wise 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 rule no more. He also built them because he feared being caught by them. Moreover, he built courts of greater magnitude than ordinary, which he adorned with vastly large gardens. And when he had brought the place to this state, he named it Tyre. This place is between Jerusalem and Jericho, 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 the Great, took the kingdom about Memphius 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 youngest Physcon. As for Hyrcanus, he was overwhelmed by the multitude of his enemies, and he thought he had a great army, and feared lest he should be caught by him, and brought to punishment for what he had done to the Arabsians, 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 made an Expedition against Jerusalem, took the City and pillaged the Temple, and distressed of Judea, and successors to this Damascus. It may not be improper to observe further, that Mosse Chorezmian in his history of the Aramccians, informs us, that the nation of the Partians was also derived from Abraham by Keturah and her children.

1 We have here had but a few of those many citations where Josephus says, that he had elsewhere formerly treated of many things, of which yet his present work does not give any. Our commentators have hitherto been able to give no tolerable account of these citations, which are rare, too numerous, and that usually in the absence of a Greek and Latin text is supposed to be supposed later interpolations, which is almost all that has hitherto been and upon this occasion. What I have to say here is more true with regard to those references before, and very many in and after the history of Antiochus Epiphanes; and that Josephus's first work, the Hebrew or Chaldean, as well as the Greek history of the Jewish War, long since lost, began with the

of the Jews: as also how many of the Jews for the Laws of their Country; and how the Samaritans followed the Customs of the Greeks, and named their Temple at Mount Gerizim, the Temple of Jupiter Hellenius.

1. ABOUT this time, upon the death of Onias the high priest, they gave the high priesthood to Jesus his brother; for that son which Onias left [or Onias IV.] was yet but an infant, and, in its circumstances, could not sit on the throne. But 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 the high priest, who was also more the true priest, and had these three sons, to each of which the priesthood came, as we have already informed the reader. This Jesus changed his name to Jason; but Onias was called Simeon. Now as this Jesus, the high priest, Jesus, raised a sedition against Menelaus, who was ordained after him, the multitude were divided between them both. And the sons of Tobias took the part of Menelaus, but the greater part of the multitude were for Jesus. Jason thus 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 mouth of the caves so narrow, that no more than one could enter at a time. A wise 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 rule no more. He also built them because he feared 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 Jerusalem and Jericho, 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 the Great, took the kingdom about Memphius 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 youngest Physcon. As for Hyrcanus, he was overwhelmed by the multitude of his enemies, and he thought he had a great army, and feared lest he should be caught by him, and brought to punishment for what he had done to the Arabsians, he ended his life, by slaying himself with his own hand; while Antiochus seized upon all his substance.

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1 We have here had but a few of those many citations where Josephus says, that he had elsewhere formerly treated of many things, of which yet his present work does not give any. Our commentators have hitherto been able to give no tolerable account of these citations, which are rare, too numerous, and that usually in the absence of a Greek and Latin text is supposed to be supposed later interpolations, which is almost all that has hitherto been and upon this occasion. What I have to say here is more true with regard to those references before, and very many in and after the history of Antiochus Epiphanes; and that Josephus's first work, the Hebrew or Chaldean, as well as the Greek history of the Jewish War, long since lost, began with the
of the Seleucid, he took the city without fighting, those of his own party opening the gates to him. But the Jews, who were on their arms, slew 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 fifth and the fifth year on the twenty-fifth day of that month, which is by us called Casleu, and by the Macedonians Apelles, in the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad, that the king came up to Jerusalem. This was accidental to the moment: for his presence was for the preservation of the city by treachery; at which time he spared not so much as those that admitted him into it, on account of the riches that lay in the temple; but, led by his covetous inclination, for there were then the seven golden altars, and many precious stones set in the temple, and many ornaments that had been dedicated to it, of very great value, and in order to plunder its wealth, he ventured to break the league he had made. So he left the temple bare, and took away the golden candlesticks, and the golden 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 purple, and gold and silver, and best treasures, and left nothing at all remaining; and 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 Levitical law. And even the whole city, some of the inhabitants he slew, and some he carried captive, together with their wives and children, so that the multitude of those captives that were taken alive amounted to about ten thousand; and besides burned down the finest buildings; and when he had overthrown the city walls, he built a citadel in the lower part of the city, for the place was high, and overlooked the temple, on which account he fortified it with high walls, and put a garrison of Macedonians. However, is that citadel dwelt the impious and wicked part of the Jews multitude, from whom it proved that the citizens suffered many and sore calamities. And when the king had built an idol altar upon God's altar, he slew swine upon it, and so offered a sacrifice, neither according to the law, nor the Jewish religious worship in that country. He also commanded his soldiers and the king's messengers to eat the flesh that was offered upon their own altar, and to adore those whom he took to be gods, and made them build temples, and raise idol altars in every city and village, and offer swine upon them every day. He also commanded his soldiers to seize and confiscate the houses, 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 were complaisant with the king's commands, either voluntarily or out of fear of the penalty that was denounced: but the best men, and those of the noblest souls, did not regard him, but did pay a greater respect to the customs of their country, than concern as to the punishment which he threatened to the disobedient; on which account they every day underwent great miseries, and bitter torments, for their houses were blighted with roots, and their persons were torn to pieces, and were crucified, while they were still alive, and breathed: they also cast corpses there seems to be fewer variations than in any other sacred Hebrew book of the Old Testament which has been transmitted to us (except the Jeremiah), which is very natural, because it was written so much nearer to the times of Josephus than the rest were.

*This Citadell, of which we have such frequent mention in the following history, both in the Maccabees and Josephus, was not a castle, but raised upon a hill, lower than Mount Zion, though upon its skirts, and higher than Mount Moriah, but between them both; which hill the enemies of the Jews now get pos-

strangled those women and their sons whom they had circumcised, as the king had appointed, hanging their heads by their necks as they were upon the crosses. And if there were any sacred book of the law found, it was destroyed, and those with whom they were found, miserably perished 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. They began to assert, as they had already shown. And they now said, that they were a colony of Medes and Persians: and indeed they were a colony of theirs. So they sent ambassadors to Antiochus, and an epistle; whereof these contents are these: 'O Antiochus, King the god Epiphanes, a memorial from the Sidonians, who live at Shechem. Our forefathers, upon certain frequent plagues, and as following a certain ancient superstition, had a custom of observing that day which by the Jews is called the Sabbath. And when they had erected a temple at the mountain called Gerizim, though without a name, they offered upon it the proper sacrifices.

Now, upon the last of the seven last years, the Jews, those that manage their affairs, supposing 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, our benefactor and saviour, to give order to Apollonias, the governor of this part of the country, and to Nicanor, the procurator of thy affairs, to give us no disturbance, nor to lay any charge upon us, which the Jews are accused for, since we are aliens from their nation, and from their customs; but let our temple, which is present hath no name at all, be named The temple of Jupiter Hellenis. If this were once done, we should be more respected, and should be more 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 from the king returned, and they are now arrayed 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, as is agreeable to the customs of the Greeks, they may be named The temple of Jupiter Hellenis.' He also sent the like epistle to Apollonias, the governor of that part of the country, in the forty-sixth year, and the eighteenth day of the month Hecatombeon.
ANTIQIUITIES OF THE JEWS.

Thus rule continues among us to this day, that if there be a necessity, we may fight on Sabbath-days. So Mattathias got a great army about him, and overthrew their idol altars, and slew those that broke the laws, even all that he could get an army to fight for him. But he despaired among the nations round about them for fear of him. He also commanded, that those boys which were not yet circumcised should be circumcised now; and he drove those away that would not be circumcised, to his army. Mattathias also called upon the king, and besought him to save his nation, and to be mindful of the desires of him who begat you, and brought you up, and to preserve the customs of your country, and to recover your ancient form of government, which is in danger of being overthrown, and not to be carried away with those that, either by their own inclination, or of necessity, betray it, but to become such as he, and more, that he may not suffer from any injury, and necessity, and so to dispose your souls, as to be ready, when it shall be necessary, to die for your laws, as sensible of this by just reasoning, that if God see that you are so disposed, he will give you a victory over your enemies; and if you have preserved your virtue, and will restore to you again what you have lost, and will restore to you that freedom in which you shall live quietly, and enjoy your own customs. Your bodies are mortal, and therefore perishible, but they have an immortal soul, by the remembrance of what actions they have done. And I would have you so in love with this immortality, that you may pursue it with more ardor; for God beholds the greatest difficulties, you may not scruple, for such things, to lose your lives. I exhort you, especially, to agree with one another; and in what excellency any one of you exceeds another, to yield to him so far, and by that means to reap the advantage of every one's own virtues. Do you then esteem Simon as your father because he is a man of extraordinary prudence, and be governed by him in what counsels he shall give you for conducting your army and your nation, because of his courage and strength, for he will avenge your nation, and will bring vengeance on your enemies. Admit among you the righteous and religious, and augment their persons.

4. When Mattathias had thus discovered to his sons, and had prayed to God to be their assistant, and to recover to the people their former constitution, he died a little afterward, and was buried at Modin; all the people making great lamentation for him. Whereupon his son Judas took upon him the administration of public affairs, in the hundred forty and sixth year; and thus by the ready assistance of his brethren, and of others, Judas cast their enemies out of the country, and put those of their own country to death who had transgressed their laws, and purified the land of all the pollutions that were in it.

CHAP. VII.

How Judas overthrew the Forces of Apollonius and Seron, and killed the Generals of their Armies themselves; and how, when a little while afterward Lyias and Gorgias were beaten, he went up to Jerusalem, and purified the Temple.

§ 1. When Apollonius, the general of the Syrian army, had taken them, he took many, and even Rabbanes visibly pretend, see Authent. Recov. f. 205, 206. Only we may note, by the way, that the original name of these Marcheles, and their posterity, was Arrmjonis; which was derived from Arrmones the great-grandfather of Mattathias, as Josephus here informs us.
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 Apollonius, his general, whom he wounded, and so that which he happened to wear, he seized upon, and kept for himself; but he wounded more than he slew, and took a great deal of prey, from the enemies' camp, and went his way. But when Judas returned to Colossyria, he heard that many had joined themselves to Judas, and that he had about him an army sufficient for fighting, and for making war, he determined to make an expedition against his enemies, to the end that he might punish those that transgressed the king's injunctions. He then got together an army, as large as he was able, and joined it to the runagates and wicked men of his demesne. He then came as far as Bethhophoon, a village of Judas, and there pitched his camp; upon which Judas met him; and when he intended to give him battle, he saw that his soldiers were backward to fight, because they feared the king's army. But he exhorted 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 God, and of itself agreeable to all men; and the instances in their forefathers, who, by their righteousness, and exerting themselves on behalf of their own laws and their own children, had frequently conquered many ten thousands; for in their own persons, among the rest, they all ran away with speed, and the thing that was the 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 lies to the south of them.

2. When king Antiochus heard of these things, he was very angry at what had happened; so he got together all his own army, with many mercenaries, whom he had hired from the islands, and took with him, and prepared to break into Judas about the beginning of the spring. But when, upon meeting his soldiers, he perceived that his treasures were deficient, and there was a want of money in them, for all the wealth and spoil that was taken there had been among the nations, he having been so magnanimous and so liberal that what he had was not sufficient for him, he therefore divided it among his army in good time, and the taxes of that country. Herewith he left on whose name was Lysias, who was in great repute with him, governor of the kingdom, as far as the bounds of Egypt, and of the lower Asia, and reaching from the river Euphrates, and committed to him a certain part of his forces, and of his elephants, and charged him to bring up his son Antiochus with all possible care, until he came back; and that he should conquer Judas, and make his name prevail, and destroy 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 into Phrygia, and went up to the superior provinces.

3. Upon this Lysias chose Ptolemies, the son of Dorymenes, and Nicanor, and Gorgias, very potent men under God, and that they had forty thousand foot soldiers, and seven thousand horsemen, and sent them against Judas, who came as far as the city Emmass, and pitched their camp in the plain country. The king having come, and seen the camp of Judas, and the country round about, as also many of the runagates. And besides these came some merchants to buy those that should be carried captive (having bonds with them to bind those that should be made prisoners,) with that silver and gold which these had taken. 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 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 you the victory over your enemies. So they joined 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 gained possessions, that they might not fight in a cowardly manner, out of an inordinate love of life, in order to enjoy those blessings. When he had thus disposed his soldiers, he exhorted 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 now you fight manfully, you may recover your liberty, which, as it is a thing that is agreeable to all men, is to us much more desirable, by its affording us the liberty of worshipping God. Since, therefore, you are in such circumstances at present, that you must either recover that liberty, and so regain a happy and blessed state, or lose that which is 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 beaten; but if you fight manfully, 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 have the everlasting glory.

4. And this was the speech, 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 had for that purpose captains of the runagates Jews as spies; Matathias perceived it, and resolved to fall upon those enemies that were in their camp, now their forces were divided. When they had therefore supposed that Judas had retired to his camp, he marched all night to those enemies that were at Emmass; 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 Emmass, with only three thousand men, and those ill armed, by reason of their poverty, and when he saw the enemy so few, and not fully fortified in their camp, he encouraged the Jews, and told them, 'that they ought to fight, though it were with their naked bodies, for that God had sometimes of old given such men strength, and that God was to number, and were armed also, out of regard to their courage.' So he commanded the trumpeters to sound for the battle: and by thus falling upon the enemies in the night, and by surprising them, and thereby astonishing and disturbing their minds, he slew many of those that resisted him, and went upon pursuing the rest as far as Gadara, and the plains of Idumea, and Ashadol, and Jamnia; and of their camp, the spoil, and the land. Yet did Judas exhort his soldiers not to be too desirous of the spoils, for that still they
must have a contest and a battle with Gorgias, and the forces that were with him; but that when they had once overcome them, then they might securely plunder the camp, because they were the only enemies remaining, and they expected no others. And just as he was speaking to his soldiers, Gorgias's men looked down into that army which they left in their camp, and saw that it was overwhelmed, and the camp burned; for a man came from them hour by hour, even when they were a great way off, what 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 not going to fight them, they were so afraid, and put to flight; but then Judas, as though he had already beaten Gorgias's soldiers without fighting, returned and seized on the spoils. He took a great quantity of gold and silver, and purple, and blue, and then returned home with joy, and singing hymns to God for their great success; for this victory greatly contributed to the recovery of their liberty.

The enemy took this, which had given the defeat of the army which he had sent, and the next year he got together sixty thousand chosen men. He also took five thousand horsemen, and fell upon Judas; and he went up to the hill-country, and besieged a village in the country of Judas, and pitched his camp there, where Judas met him with 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 slew about five thousand of them, and thereby became terrible to the rest of them. Nay, indeed, Lysias observing the great spirit of the Jews, how they were prepared to die rather than lose their liberty, and being afraid of their 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 for the army, and the service, and prepared to fall upon Judas with a greater army.

6. When, therefore, the generals of Antiochus's armies had been beaten so often, Judas assembled the people together, and told them, that "after the victory which had been given to them, they ought to go up to Jerusalem, and purify the temple, and offer the appointed sacrifices." But as soon as he, with the whole multitude, was come up to the temple, and found the temple defiled, and its gates broken down, and plants growing in the temple of their own accord, on account of its desertion, he and those who were with him began to lament, and were quite confounded at the sight of the temple; so he chide out some of his soldiers, and gave them order to fight against those guards that were in the citadel, until he should have purified the temple. When, therefore, he had carefully purged it, and had brought in new vessels, the candlestick, the table of show-bread, and the altar [of incense], which were made of gold, he hung up the vails at the gates, and added doors to them. He also took down the altar [of burnt-offering] and built a new one that he erected together, and set up such as were hewn with iron tools. So on the five-and-twentieth day of the month Caslu, which the Macedonians call Apelles, they lighted the lamps that were in the candlestick, and offered incense upon the altar [of incense], and laid the loaves upon the table [of show-bread] and offered burnt-offerings upon the new altar [of burnt-offering]. Now it so fell out, that these lights and this altar, which on the very same day on which their divine worship had fallen off, and was reduced to a profane and common use, after three years' time, for so it was that the temple was made desolate by Antiochus, and so continued for this time; This dedication happened to be the temple in the hundred forty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Apelles, and on the hundred fifty and third Olympiad: but it was dedicated anew, on the same day, the twenty-fifth of the month Apelles, on the hundred and forty-eighth year, and on the hundred and third Olympiad. And this dedication came to pass according to the prophecy of Daniel, which was given four hundred and eight years before; for he declared that the Macedonians would dissolve that worship [for some time.] And after he had been dissolved, they came to pass according to the prophecy of Daniel, which was given four hundred and eight years before; for he declared that the Macedonians would dissolve that worship [for some time.] And after he had dissolved it, 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 an image for their posterity, that they should keep a festival on account 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 regard the reason was, because this liberty beyond our hopes appeared to us: and that thence was the name given to this festival. Judas also rebuilt the walls round about the city; and reared towers of great height against the incurrable multitude of the enemy. He also fortified the city Bethsura, that it might serve as a citadel against any distresses that might come from our enemies.

CHAP. VIII.

How Judas subdued the Nations round about, and how Simon bent the People of Tyre and Ptolemais; and how Judas overcame Timotheus, and forced him to fly away, and did many other things, after Joseph and Aearias had been beaten.

1. WHEN these things were over, the nations round about the Jews were very uneasy at the revival of their power, and rose up together, and destroyed many of them, as gaining advantage over them by laying snares for them, and making secret conspiracies against them. Judas made peremptory excursions against these men, and endeavored to restrain them from those incursions, and to prevent the mischief they did to the Jews. So he fell upon the Ibumeans, the people of the Jebusites, which was at Aderata, and the great many of them, and took their spoils. He also shut up the sons of Bean, that laid wait for the Jews, and he sat down about them, and besieged them, and burnt their towers, and destroyed the men and women in them. After this he went thence in haste against the Ammonites, who had a great and a numerous army; of which Timotheus was the commander. And when he had subdued them, he seized on the city Jazer, and took their wives and their children captive, and burnt the city, and then returned into Judas. But when the neighboring nations understood that he was returned, they got together in great numbers in the land of Gilead, and Judea, and made war on them at their borders, who then fled to the garrison of Dathema; and sent to Judas to inform him that Timotheus was endeavoring to take the place which is called Beth-heremon. And as those Judeans, who were reading, there came other messengers out of Galilee, who informed him that the inhabitants of Ptolemais, and of Tyre and Sidon, and strangers of Galilee, were gotten together. And so, on the one hand what was fit to be done, with relation to the necessity both these cases required, gave order, that Simon his brother should take three thousand chosen men, and go to the assistance of the Jews in Galilee, and Judas, on the other hand, that he marched into the land of Gilead, with eight thousand soldiers. And he left Joseph, the son
of Zacharias, and Azarias, to be over the rest of the forces; and charged them to keep Judea very carefully, and to fight no battles with any persons, howsoever near their return. Accordingly, Simon went into Galilee, and fought the enemy, and put them to flight, and pursued them to the very gates of Ptolemæus, and slew about three thousand of them; and took the spoils of those that fell, and all the cattle and other things that were made captives, with their baggage; and then returned home.

3. Now as for Judas Macabeus, and his brothers, they fled over into their own land, the land of Jordan; and when they had gone three days' journey, they lit upon the Nabateans, who came to meet them peaceably, and who told them how the affairs of those in the land of Galilee stood; and that the king was satisfied that the city should not be taken, and driven into garrison, and into the cities of Galilee; and exhorited him to make haste to go against the foreigners, and to endeavor to save his own countrymen out of their hands. To this exhortation Judas hearkened, and hurried into the wilderness; and in the first place fell upon the inhabitants of Bozer, and took the city, and beat the inhabitants, and destroyed all the males, and all that were able to fight, and burnt the city. Now, as Simon and Judas, single men, went about, and met each other, and had joy of each other's return. Accordingly, they went into the city, and dragged out the dead bodies. They then went and examined the dead bodies, and when they found that the enemy were making an assault upon the walls, and that some of them brought ladders, on which they might get upon the walls, and that others brought engines to batter the walls, they put out their trumpet, and he encouraged his soldiers cheerfully to undergo dangers for the sake of their brethren and kindred: he also parted his army into three bodies, and fell upon the backs of their enemies: and was wounded in the head; and it was observed by Macabeus, that it was upon him, 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 brought them back, and turned them into their own army. He then turned aside to a city of the foreigners called Malle, and took it, and slew all the males, and burnt the city itself. He then removed from thence, and went to a city called Bozer, and surrounded it, and took it; and many other cities of the land of Gilead.

4. But not long after this, Timotheus prepared a great army, and took many others as auxiliaries, and induced some of the Arabians, by the promise of rewards to be distributed among them, and the like, and came with his army beyond the brook, over against the city of Raphon. And he encouraged his soldiers, if it came to a battle with the Jews, to fight courageously, and to hinder their passing over the brook: for he said to them beforehand, that "If they come over, we shall be beaten." And when Judas heard that Timotheus prepared himself to fight, he took all his own army, and went in haste against Timotheus his name and invaded the city, and over the brook, and fell upon him, and killed many of 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 Carmim, and hoped thereby to preserve themselves; but Judas took

*The reason why Bethanah was called Scythopolis is well known from herodotus, b. i. p. 103, and syn-. cathe, p. 134, that the Scythians, when they overran Asia, in the days of Josiah, settled on this city, and kept it as long as they continued in Asia, from which time it received the name of Scythopolis, or the city of the Scythians.

† The most providential preservation of all the refuge-guards of the Jews in this expedition, which is according to the will of God, is observable often among God's people, the Jews; and somewhat very like it is in the changes of the city, and slew them, and burnt the temple, and so used several ways of destroying his enemies.

5. When he had done this, he gathered the Jews together, with their children, and led them by the road, 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 Ephro, that lay upon the road (and it happened so by the will of God, that he went by that road, 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 the Jews to send upon their way through the city; for they had stopped up the gates with stones, cutting off their passage through it. And when the inhabitants of Ephro would not agree to this proposal, he encouraged those that were with him, and en- couraged them to go on, for the time being, 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 all this multitude. So they came by the Jordan, and arrived at the great plain, over against which is situated the city of Bethanah, which is called by the Greeks Scythopolis. And going away hastily from thence, they came into the town of Gilead, and there took the city, and indulging such tokens of mirth as are usual in triumphs upon victory. They also offered thank-offerings, both for their good success, and for victory, and for the preservation of their army, for not one of the Jews was slain in these battles.

6. But as to Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, whom Judas had left generals [of the rest of the forces] at the same time when Simon was in Galilee, fighting against the Ptolemæans; Joseph 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 whereby they took the army that was commanded by Joseph and Jonathan. There Gerges, the general of the forces of Jamnia, met them; and upon joining battle with him, they lost two thousand of their army; and fled away, and were pursued to the very borders of their own land. And they submitted by their disobedience to what injunctions Judas had given them, "Not to fight with any one before his return." For besides the rest of Judas' magnificences, which he has written of in the commencements of his book, he has also written of 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 brothers did not believe the misfortune of Joseph, 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 Maris. They came also to Asnadoth, 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 Antigonus the governor fought against Judas, and besieged him in the temple, and afterward made peace with him, and departed. Of Alcimus and Onias.

§ 1. About this time it was that king Antiochus, as he was going over the upper countries, heard the four monarchies, which were also providential to the Jews, at the years 153, 123, and 96; and here is another great instance of Providence, that when, even at the very time that Simon and Judas and Jonathan were so miraculously preserved, and blessed, in the just defense of their country, and of the other generals of the Jews, who went to fight for honor, in a vainglorious way, and without any commission from God, or the family he had raised up to deliver them, they were miserably disappointed and defeated.
that there was a very rich city in Persia, called Elymais; and therein a very rich temple of Dias-
na: And that was full of all the most valuable of antiques, being dedicated to it; and also weapons and breastplates, which, upon inquiry, he found had been left there by Alexander, the son of Philip, king of Maced-

289 onia. And as Antiochus, by these mithras, went in haste to Elymais, he besieged it, and

beseiged it. But as those that in it were not terrified at his assault, nor at his siege, but opposed him very courageously, he was beaten off. So they drove him away from this city and went out and pursued after him; insomuch that he fled away as far as Babylon, and lost a great many of his army. And when he was grieving for this disappointment, some persons told him of the rest of his commanders whom he had left behind him to fight against Judas, 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-

increased upon him, so he at length perceived he should die in a little time; so he called his friends to him, and told them, that his temper was such, and severely upon him; and confesed withal, that this calamity was sent upon him for the miseries he had brought upon the Jewish nation, while he plundered their temple, and contemned their God, and that if he died, he gave up the gho-

Whence one may wonder at Polybius of Megalo-
polis, who, though otherwise a good man, yet

sooth, that “Antiochus died because he had a pur-

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a; for the purposing to do a thing, but not actually doing it, is not worthy of punishment. But if Polybius could think that Antiochus thus lost his life on that account, it is much more probable that this king died on account of his sacrilegious plundering of the temple of Diana in Persis, and madly following this trait to his death, and not merely as a punishment, as the

will not contend about this matter with those who

may think, that the cause assigned by this Polybius of Megapolis 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 garment, and his ring, and the keys of his kingdom, and delivered 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 forty and ninth year: but it was Lysias the general, that now came to the assistance, 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 out upon the sudden, and destroyed such as were going up to the temple in order to offer their sac-

rifices, for this citadel adjoined to and over-

looked the temple. When these misfortunes had often happened to them, Judas resolved to destroy that garrison; whereupon he got all the people together, and vigorously besieged those that were in the citadel. This was in the hun-
dred and fiftieth year of the dominion of the Se-
fencideus. So he made engines of war, and erect-
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* Since St. Paul, a pharisce, confesses, that he had not known companions, or desires, to be sinful, had not sold his birthright for a bundle of everlasting treasures. (Rom. vii. 7, the case seems to have been much the same with our Josephus, who was one of the same sect, and did not sense one jot of the greatness of any sins that proceeded no farther than the intention. However, since Josephus speaks here properly of the runagates who were in the place, that went out by night into the country, and got together some other cities, that they might be said to be sinners to Antiochus the king, and desired of him, that “He would not suffer them to be neglected, under the great hardships that lay upon them from those of their own nation, and that because their suffer-

in the ruin of his face, as a child, he was angry, and sent for his captains, and his friends, and said, that they should get an army of mercenaries toget-

hers, 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-

increased upon him, so he at length perceived he should die in a little time; so he called his friends to him, and told them, that his temper was such, and severely upon him; and confesed withal, that this calamity was sent upon him for the miseries he had brought upon the Jewish nation, while he plundered their temple, and contemned their God, and that if he died, he gave up the gho-

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the inhabitants of Bethana were terrified at his approach; and seeing that the ground was so 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 standing them up, and making 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 what engines soever the king set against them, they withal retained the sake 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 it was the sabbath year, which, by our laws, we were obliged to let it lie uncultivated. And withal so many of the besieged ran away for want of necessaries, that but a few only were left in the temple.

6. And these happened to be the circumstances of such as were besieged in the temple. But then, because Lyais, the general of the army, and Antiochus, the king, were informed that Philip was coming upon them out of Persia, and was making war upon them, sent a public letter 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 this be known to the soldiers, nor to the officers of the same army, nor to his own, that they might 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 was to be long; that the prince was strong; that they were already in want of provisions; that many affairs of the kingdom wanted regulation; and that it was much better to make a league with the besieged, and to become friends, and to be sworn, and by friends and the party to observe the laws of their fathers, while they broke out into this war only because they were deprived of them, and so to depart home. When Lyais had discovered thus to them, both the soldiers and the officers were pleased with this resolution.

7. Accordingly, the king sent to Judas, and to those that were besieged with them, and promised to give them peace, and to permit them to make league with their own and good men, and to be associated with all Mesopotamia, and gave him an army, and committed Alcimus the high priest, who accused the whole nation, and particularly Judas and his brethren; and said, that they had slain all his friends, and that he had no place 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 desired that he would send some one of his own friends, and know from him what mischief Judas's party had done.”

2. At this Demetrius was very angry, and sent Bacchides, a friend of Antiochus Epiaphis, to the Jews, armed with all Mesopotamia, and committed Alcimus the high priest to his care, and gave him charge to slay Judas, and those that were with him. So they came, and went out of Antioch with his army; and when he was come into Judas, 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 acquainted in what Bacchides caused to be proclaim’d, and sung 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 the one of the other parties should come to any harm, they intrusted themselves with them; but Bacchides troubled himself not about the oaths he had taken, and slew three or four of their party. And when he was gone 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 Jerusalem, and was at the village called Bethzatha, he sent out and presented many of the deserters, whom Judas here followed, instead of that character, says of him, that he was a great man in the kingdom, and faithful to his king; which was very probable Josephus’s meaning also.
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 against him, he desisted, and returned to Antioch, to king Demetrius.

3. But Alcimus was desirous to have the dominion more firmly assured to him; and understanding, that if he could bring it about that the men of his friends, he could govern with greater security, he spake kind words to them all, and discourse to each of them after an agreeable and pleasant manner, by which means he quickly had a great body of men and an army about him. But more than all, he came over a great many of the wicked, and the deserters. With these, whom he used as his servants and soldiers, he went all over the country, and slew all that he could find of Judas's party. But when Judas saw that Alcimus was already become great, and had destroyed many of the good and holy men of the country; he also went all over the country, and destroyed those that were of the other persuasion. But that he could not, nor being able to oppose Judas, nor was equal to him in strength, he resolved to apply himself to king Demetrius for his assistance; so he came to Antioch, and irritated him against Judas, and accused him of having done great many miseries by his means, and that he would do more mischief unless he were prevented, and brought to punishment, which must be done by sending a powerful force against him.

4. So saying a thing pernicious to his own affairs to overlook Judas, now he was becoming so great, sent against him Nicoran, the most kind and most faithful of all his friends; for he was he who fled away with him from the land of Adar and gave him as many forces as he thought sufficient for him to conquer Judas withal, and bade him not to spare the nation at all. When Nicoran was come to Jerusalem, he did not at first desire to fight Judas immediately, but judged it better to get him into his power by treachery; so he sent him a message of peace, and said, "There was no manner of necessity for them to fight and hazard themselves. But that he would give him, not that he would do him so harm, for that he only came with some friends, in order to let him know what king Demetrius's intentions were, and what opinion he had of their nation." When Nicoran had said this, and had gone away, Judas and his brother, they complied with him, and suspicioning no deceit, they gave him assurances of friendship, and received Nicoran and his army; but while he was among Judas, and they were talking together, he gave a certain signal to his own soldiers, upon which they were to seize upon Judas; but he perceived the treachery, and ran back to his own soldiers, and fled away with them. So upon this discovery of his purpose, and of the snare laid for Judas, Nicoran determined to make open war with him, and gathered his army together, and prepared to fight him; and upon joining battle with him at a certain village called Capharnum, Judas, and his forces, threw him into that city which was at Jerusalem.

5. And when Nicoran came down from the citadel unto the temple, some of the priests and elders met him, and saluted him; and showed him that the house of God for the king: upon which he blasphemed, and threatened them, that unless the people would deliver up Judas to him, upon his return he would pull down their temple. And when he had said this to the people, he departed, and returned to Antioch, to king Demetrius: but the priests fell into tears out of grief at what he had said, and besought God to deliver them from their enemies. But now for Nicoran, when he was gone out of Jerusalem, he brought the soldiers with him, and pitched his camp near by, another army out of Syria having joined him: and Judas pitched his camp at Adusa, another village, which was thirty furlongs distant from Bethhoron, having no more soldiers than Nicoran. But when Nicoran had encouraged them not to be dismayed at the multitude of their enemies, nor to regard how many they were against whom they were going to fight, but to consider who they themselves were, and for how long they had hazarded themselves, and to attack the enemy courageously, he led them out to fight, and joining battle with Nicoran, which proved to be a severe one. But the victory did not fall to many of them; and at last Nicoran himself, as he was fighting gloriously, fell. Upon whose fall the army did not stay, but when they had lost their general, they were put to flight, and threw down their arms; when Judas made them prisoners, gave notice by the sound of the trumpets to the neighboring villages, that he had conquered the enemy; which, when the inhabitants heard, they put on their armor hastily, and met their enemies, as they were going 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 Ulazar. And the Romans, who were called Demstrus; and the Jews thereon celebrate this victory every year, and esteem it as a festival day. After which the Jewish nation were, for 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 resolving to pull down the wall of the sanctuary, which had been there of old time, and 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, undergoing torments for many days, he at length expired. 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 in war Galatia, and Iberia, and Carthagia, and Libya; and that, besides these, they had subdued Greece, and their kings, Perseus, and Philip, and Antiochus the Great also, he resolved to enter into a league of friendship with them. He therefore sent to Rome some of his friends, Euphimus, 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 at all times assist them. And so 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 Judæa of the family of the high priests, and made by a vote heating in Jerusalem the words following, which imply that he who was beaten flee to the citadel, which for certain belonged to the city of David, or to Mount Zion, and was in the possession of Nicoran's garrison, and not of Judas: as also it is contrary to the express words of Josephus's original author, that the number of those that were slain by Nicoran was about 5000 men, and fled to the city of David.

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BOOK XII.—CHAP. XI.

It was also laid up in the capitol, and engraven in brass. The decree itself was this: "The decree of the senate concerning a league of assistance and friendship with the nation of the Jews. It shall not be lawful for any that are subject to the Romans to make war with the nation of the Jews, nor to assist those that do so, either by sending them corn, or ships, or money; and if any attack be made upon the Jews, the Romans shall assist them, as far as they are able: and again, if any assault be made upon the Romans, the Jews shall assist them. And if the Jews have a mind to add to, or to take anything from this league of assistance, that shall be done with the common consent of the Romans. And whatsoever the Romans shall do, the Jews shall be at peace; and they shall have the right of perfect force." This decree was written by Eupolemus, the son of John, and by Jason, the son of Eleazar, when Judas was high priest of the nation, and Simon, his brother, was general of the army. And this was the first time that the Romans made with the Jews, and was managed after this manner.

CHAP. XI.

That Baccchides 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 Nicana, and of the destruction of the army that was with him, he sent Baccchides again with an army into Judea, who marched out of Antioch, and came into Judea, and pitched his camp at Arbela, a city of Galilee, and having besieged and taken it, and killed all the inhabitants, (for many of the people fled into such places,) he removed, 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 Simeon, he issued out against him: they were twenty thousand footmen, and two thousand horsemen. Now Judas had no more soldiers than one thousand.† When these saw the multitude of Baccchides's 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 Baccchides's army, though he had but eight hundred men with him; so he exhorted these men to undergo the danger courageously, and encouraged them to attack the enemy. And when they said that they were a body too small to fight so great an army, and advised that they should retire now, and save themselves, and that when he had gathered his own men together, then he should fall upon the enemy afterward, his answer was this: "Let not the sun ever see such a thing that I should show my back to the enemy; and although this be the time that will bring me to my end; and I must die in this battle, I will rather stand to it courageously, and bear whatsoever comes upon me, than by now running away, bring reproach upon my former great actions, or tarnish their glory." This was the speech he made to the multitude that were with him; and with him were thereby he encouraged them to attack the enemy.

2. But Baccchides drew his army out of their camp, and put them in array for the battle. He set the horsemen on both the wings, and the light soldiers on the archers before the whole army, but he was himself on the right wing. And when he had thus put his army in order of battle, and was going to join battle with the enemy, the enemy said to him, "Trumphant and join battle, and let it be a signal of battle, and the army to make a shout and to fall on the enemy. And when Judas had done the same, he joined battle with them; and as both sides fought valiantly, and the battle continued till sunset, Judas saw that Baccchides 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 a little before them, in the middle, and forced them to run away, and pursued them as far as to a mountain called Azar; but when those of the left wing saw that the right wing was put to flight, they encompassed Judas; and pursued him, and came behind him, and took him into the middle of their army; so being not able to fly, but encompassed round about with enemies, he stood still, and he and those that were with him fought; and when he had slain a great many of those that came against him, he at last was himself wounded, and fell, and gave up the ghost, and died in a way like to his former famous actions. When Judas was dead, those that were with him despaired, and thus fell; and as their commander, but when they saw themselves deprived of such a general, they fled. But Simon and Jonathan, Judas's brethren, received his dead body by a treaty from the enemy, and carried it to the village of Melch, where their father had been buried, and there buried him; while the multitude lamented him many days, and performed the usual solemn rites of a funeral to him. And this was the end that Judas came to. He had been a man of valor and a great warrior, and mindful of the commands of his father Maccabæus; 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 memorial, by gaining freedom for his nation, and delivering them from slavery under the Macedonians. And when he had retained the high priesthood three years, he died.

† This subscription is wanting. I Macab. viii. 17, 20, and must be the words of Josephus, who, by mistake, thought, as we have just now seen, that Judas was at this time high priest, and accordingly then reckoned his brother Jonathan to be the general of the army, which yet he seems not to have been till after the death of Judas.

BOOK XIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTY-TWO YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF JUDAS MCCABEUS 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 Baccchides.

1. By what means the nation of the Jews recovered their freedom when they had been brought into slavery by the Macedonians, and what struggles, and how many great battles Judas the general of their army ran through, till he was slain as he was fighting for them, hath been related in the foregoing book; but after he was dead, all the wicked, and those who transgressed the laws of their forefathers, sprang up again in Judea, 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 means
saries, 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, and went to the Macedonians. And now Bacchides gathered those Jews together who bad apostatized from the accustomed way of living of their forefathers, and chose to live like their neighbors, and committed the care of the country to them; who also caught the friends of Judas, and those of his party, and delivered them up to Bacchides, who, when he had, in the first place, tortured and tormented them at his pleasure, put them to death in 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 ga, he had 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 country, he went and entered now at a be- rior to his brother, he was appointed to be the general of the Jewish army.

2. When Bacchides heard this, and was afraid that Jonathan might be very troublesome to the kings and their brethren, as Joseph had been before him, he sought how he might slay him by treachery: but this intention of his was not un- known to Jonathan, nor to his brother Simon; but those two were apprised of it, they took all their companions, and went to that wilderness which was nearest to the city; and when they were come to a lake called Asprar, they abode there. But when Bacchides was come to them, they were in a low state, and in that place, he hastened to fall upon them with all his forces, and pitching his camp beyond Jordan, he recruited his army: but when Jonathan knew that Bacchides 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 Bacchides should be over, for they were the Jews' friends. And the sons of Ambri laid an ambuscade to the right hand from the Nabateans, 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 Bacchides knew that Jonathan had pitched his camp among the lakes of Jordan, he observed when their Sabbath-day came, and then assaulted him, as supposing that he would not fight because of the law [for resting on that day:] but he exhorted his companions [to fight:] and told them that their lives were at stake, since they were encompassed by the river, and by their enemies, and had no way to escape, for that their enemies pressed upon them before, and the river was behind them. So after he had prayed to God to give him the victory, he joined on the enemy, and overthrew them all and he threw many; and as he saw Bacchides coming up boldly to him, he stretched out his right hand to smite him, but the other foreseeing and avoid- ing the stroke, Jonathan with his companions leaped into the river, and swam over it, and by that means escaped beyond Jordan, while the enemy did not pass over that river: but Bacchi- des returned presently to the citadel at Jerusa- lem, having lost about two thousand of his army. He also fortified the town of Jerusalem, and built walls, and demolished Jericho, and Emasse, and Bethhoron, and Bethel, and Timna, and Pha- rathe, and Tekoa, and Gazeras, and built towers in every one of these cities, and encompassed them with strong towers, and put garrisons into them, that they might issue out of them, and do mischief to the Jews. He also fortified the citadel at Jerusa- lem with more than all the rest. Moreover he took the persons 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 to his brother Simon, and told them that the son of Joab, whom Bacchides had married, was bringing the bride from the city Gabatha who was the daughter of one of the illustrious men among the Arabians, and that the damsel was to be conducted with pomp and splendor, and with much richness, so Jonathan and Simon, being assured this appeared to be the finest time for them to avenge the death of their brother, and that they had forces sufficient for receiving satisfaction of them, both Joab and Bacchides, and they fell upon them, and cut them all off, and took their ornaments, and all the prey that then followed them, and so re- turned, and received this satisfaction for their brother Joab, and for the son of Judas, and for those sons themselves, as their friends, and wives, and children, that followed them, perish- ing, being in number about four hundred.

5. However, Jonathan and Jonathan returned to the kingdoms of the river, and those borders. But Bacchides, 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 together, till Jonathan, who had observed they saw that Jonathan and those that were with him lived in the country very quietly, by reason of the peace, they sent to king Demetrius, and ex- cited him to send Bacchides to seize upon Jon- than, though they said was 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 Bachi- des, who, when he was come into Judea, wrote to Jonathan, and to his brother Simon, that they should seize upon Jonathan, and bring him to him; and when, upon all their endeavors, they were not able to seize upon Jonathan, for he was sensible of the snares they laid for him, and now his army was increased Bacchi- des was angry at these deserters, as having imposed upon him and upon the king, and slew five of their leaders. Whereupon Jonathan, with his brother, and those that were with him, retired to Bethagla, a village that lay in the wil- derness, out of his fear of Bacchides. He also built towers on it, and encompassed it with walls, and took care that it should be safely guarded. Upon the hearing of which, Bacchides 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 show himself at the gate of his citadel, nor in the siege, but courageously opposed him: and while he left his brother Simon in the city, to fight with Bacchides, he went privately out himself into the country, and got a great body of men to his aid, and presently took possession Bacchides's 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 perceived that the enemies were not slain by him, so he quickly came up to them, and brought them into the place which the Macedonians used, and made a great slaughter of them. And when Bacchides saw
himself encompassed with enemies, and some of them before and some behind him, he fell into despair and trouble of mind, as confounded at the unexpected ill success of this siege. However, he vented his displeasure at these misfortunes upon those deserters who were deserting, as having delivered him. So he had a mind to finish this siege after a decent manner, if it were possible for him so to do, and then to return home.

But he not only understood these his intentions, he sent ambassadors to him, about a league of friendship and mutual assistance, and that they might restore those that they had taken captive on both sides. So Barchides thought this a good chance to have one home, and make a league of friendship with Jonathan, when they saw that they would not any more make war one against another. Accordingly, he restored the captives, and took his own men with him, and returned to the king to Antioch; and after this his departure, he never came into Judea again. Then did Jonathan take the opportunity of this quiet state of things, and went and lived in the city of Jerusalem, and from thence he continued to be High Priest, and to promise him greater Advantages on the other Side. Concerning the Death of Demetrius.

1. Now in the hundred and sixtieth year, it fell out that Alexander, the son of Antiochus the king, went to Ptolemais, or Ptolemais, the soldiers within having betrayed it to him, for they were at enmity with Demetrius, on account of his insolence 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 withal slothful and negligent about the public affairs, whereby the hatred of his subjects was the more kindled against him, as we have elsewhere already related. When, therefore, Demetrius heard that Alexander was in Ptolemais, he took his whole army and led it against him: he also sent ambassadors to Jonathan, about a league of mutual assistance; for he resolved to be beforehand with Alexander, lest the other should treat with him first, and gain assistance from him: and this he did out of the fear he had, lest Jonathan should remember how ill Demetrius had been to him, and therefore would join with him in this war against him. He therefore gave orders that Jonathan should be allowed to raise an army, and should get armor made, and should receive back those hostages of the Jewish people whom the accusers had taken, and to return to the city of Jerusalem. When this good fortune had befallen Jonathan, by the concession of Demetrius, he came to Jerusalem, and read the king's letter in the audience of the people, and of those that kept the citadel. When these were read, those meek men and deserters, who were in

*This Alexander Bals, who certainly pretended to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and was owned by both the Jews and Romans, and many others, and yet by several historians deemed to be a counterfeiter and impostor, is believed to have been the real son of that Antiochus, and by him always spoken of accordingly. And truly, since the spurious character of the adoration, who, instead of after four years since the death of his brother Judas, would have us read and therefore after eight years since the death of his brother Judas. This is the date of the Maccabees, and with Josephus's own exact chronology at the end of the twentieth book of Antiquities, which the present text cannot be made to do.
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 vines, I relinquish my 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 that adjoin Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, and Perea, which I required from 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 taxes, unto its utmost bounds: and I so far recede from my title to Calixtus, that you may possess 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 me, and also that freeborn men, who have been slave captives and slaves in my kingdom.

I also give order that the beasts of the Jews be not pressed for our service. And let their Sabbaths, and all their festivals, and three days before shall be free from your imposition. In the same manner I set free the Jews that are inhabitants in my kingdom, and order that no injury be done to them. I also give leave to such of them as are willing to list themselves in my army, that they may do it, and those as far as thirty thousand; which Jewish soldiers, whosoever they go, shall have the same pay that my own army hath; and some of them I will place in my garrisons, and some as guards about mine owne palaces, and in the places that rule in the natio court. 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 are added to Judea; and it shall be in the power of the high priest to take with him, that 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 above-mentioned, one hundred and fifty drachm [drachmai] and what money is to spare, I will that it shall be your own. I also release to you those ten thousand drachm which the kings received from the temple, because they appear in the ninth book that ministered that temple. And whosoever shall fly to the temple at Jerusalem, or to the places thereto belonging, or who owe the king money, or are there on any other account, let them be set free, and let their goods be restituted to them. I also appoint you 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 force of mercenaries, and soldiers, and of those that desisted to him out of Syria, and made an expedition against Demetrius. And when it was come to a battle, the left wing of Demetrius put those who 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 courageously, 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 bog, where it was hard to get out, 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 back, and encompassed Demetrius round, and they all drew their swords, and being now on foot, fought bravely, but at length he received so many wounds, that he was not able to bear up any longer, but fell, and this is the end that Demetrius came to when he had reigned eleven years, as we have elsewhere related.

CHAP III

The Friendship that was between Onias and Ptolemy Philometer; and how Onias built a Temple 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 who was the king's ambassador, lived now at Alexandria, as we have said already. When this Onias saw that Judea was oppressed by the Macedonians and their kings, out of a desire to purchase to himself a memorial of his ancestors, who were high priests, and of Ptolemy 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 out of their own stock. The chief reason of this, as it appears, was an expedition that he made upon the prophet Isaiah, who lived above six hundred years before, and foretold that there certainly was to be a temple built to Almighty God in Egypt by a man that was a Jew. Onias wrote to Ptolemy Philometer, and 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 the work of our country and our land, I came to 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 were in many parts reproved. And I now, by the following epistle to Ptolemy and Cleopatra: 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 in a castle that hath its name from the god with whom they worship, in several sorts, and replenished with sacred animals: I desire therefore that you will grant me leave to purify 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 still have a place whither they may come and meet together in mutual harmony, which it doth with another, and be subservient to thy advantages; for the prophet Isaiah forsaids, that there should be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God; and many other good things did he prophesy relating to that place."

2. And this was what Onias wrote to king Ptolemy Philometer, and directed forebids the building of this temple of Onias in Egypt, and was a sufficient warrant for the Jews for building it, and for worshipping the true God, the God of Israel, therein. See Antient. Rec. vol. i. p. 243 and 244. It seems to have occasioned an effect of the sacrifices and prayers here offered him than of those at Jerusalem, see the note on chap. x. sect. 7. And truly the marks of Jewish corruption, or intermixture in this text, in order to discourage their people from approving of the worship of God here, are very strong, and highly deserving consideration and correction. The foregoing verse in Isaiah runs thus in our common copies: In that day shall all cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, (the Hebrew
sants, he was honored by them both. Alexander compelled him also to put on his own garment, and to take a purple garment, and made him sit with him in his throne; and commanded his captains that they should go forth with him into the midst 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 had thus done, those that were prepared to accuse Jonathan, and who bore him ill-will, when they saw the honor that was done him by proclamation, and that by the king's order, ran away, and were afraid lest some mischief should befall them. Nay, king 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 Irete, with a great number of mercenary soldiers, which Lathenes, 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 Philippi, and came to Antioch, that he might put matters in a safe posture there, before Demetries should come. He also left Apollonius Daus governor of Celosyria, 4 who coming to Jamnia with a great army, 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 yet made him subject to the king. Do not think therefore to destroy us, and all that are among the mountains, and pretend to have forces with thee; but if thou hast any dependence on thy strength, come down into the plain, and let our armies meet together; when the event of the battle will demonstrate which of us is the most courageous. However, take notice, that the most valiant men of every city are in my army, and that these are the very men who have always been your predecessors; but let us have the battle in such a place of the country where we may fight with weapons, and not with stones, and where there may be no place whither those that are beaten may fly."

6. 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 on the outside of the city, because they had a garrison in the city put there by Apollonius; but when Jonathan was preparing to besiege them, they were afraid he would take the place, 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 having his hopes of victory principally in them. He then laved his avowed design, 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 laid a thousand horsemen in ambush in a very strong place, and in the sight of his enemies by their eneminess as behind them; when which Jonathan perceived, he was under no pretension, but ordering his army to stand in a square battle array, he gave them a charge to fall on the enemy on both sides, and set them to force the field at 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 the rest of the enemy; but for himself he charged those that were with him to cover themselves with their armor, and receive the darts of the horsemen, who did as they were commanded; so that the enemy's horsemen, while they were interlarding themselves, did 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 and conjoined together, the closeness of which was such as the force of the darts that they flew about without any effect. But when the enemy grew remiss in throwing their darts from morning till late at night, Simon perceived their slowness, and fell upon the body of men before him; and because his soldiers showed great alacrity, he put the enemy to flight, and when the horsemen saw that the footmen ran away, neither did they stay themselves, but they pursued them, by his order till the evening, and their hopes from the footmen being quite gone; they hastily ran away, and in great confusion also, till they were separated one from another, and scattered over all the plain. Upon which Jonathan pursued them as far as Ashdod, and 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 took the city on the first onset, and burned it, and then they could not stand from the temple of Dagon itself, but burnt it also, and destroyed those that had fled to it. Now the entire multitude of the enemies that fell to Jonathan and his followers was eight thousand. When Jonathan had overcome so great an army, he removed from Ashdod, and came to Askelon; and when he had pitched his camp without the city, the people of Askelon came out and met him, bringing him hospitable presents, and honoring him; so he accepted of their kind intentions, and returned thence to Jerusalem with a great deal of prey, 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, his friend and ally, against his directions. Accordingly, he sent to Jonathan, and gave testimony to his worth, and gave him honoraries, as a golden button, which it is the custom to give the king's kinmen; and allowed him Ekron, and its toparchy, for his war service.

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 Dagon, which was burnt, and accused Jonathan that they were burned, and sent ambassadors to 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 four hundred talents of gold from him, which he received in their kinds, with all the marks of honor. And when he had conducted him as far as the river, called Eleutherus, he returned again to Jerusalem.

4 Of the several Apollonii about these ages, see Dean Hyde's in the year 1406. This Apollonius Daus was, by this time, at a distance from some of the previous; for we have been made governor of Celosyria and Phoenicia by Seleucus Philopater, and was himself a confidant of his son Demetrius the father, and restored to his father's govern-
6. But as Ptolemy was at Ptolemais, he was very near to a most unexpected destruction, for to a treacherous design was laid for his life by Alexander, the means of Ammonius, who was his friend, and the base treachery was very plain. Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and required of him that he should bring Ammonius to condign punishment, informing him what snares he had been led into, and that he was now in a danger which might be accordingly punished for it. But when Alexander did not comply with his demands, he perceived that it was he himself who laid the design, and was very angry at him. Alexander had a great many quality of the people of Antioch, for they had suffered very much by his means; yet did Ammonius at length undergo the punishment his insolent crimes had deserved, for he was killed in an opprobrious manner, like a woman, while he endeavored to conceal himself in a feminine habit, as we have elsewhere related.

7. Hereupon Ptolemy blamed himself for having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, and for the league he had made with him, to assist Demetrius; so he dissolved his relation to him, and took his daughter away from him, and immediately sent to Demetrius, and offered the hand of his daughter in marriage to him, and agreed with him to give him his daughter in marriage, and to restore him to the principality of his fathers. Demetrius was well pleased with this embassage, and accepted of the marriage of his daughter. But Ptolemy had still one more hard task to do, and that was, to persuade the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius, because they were greatly displeased at him on account of his having joined the army of Alexander in the battle of Ipsus, and carried with him gold and silver, and garments, and a great number of presents of friendship, and came to Demetrius, and presented him with them, and thereby pacified the king's anger. So he was honored by the king, and made himself esteemed, and by the people of Antioch together an assembly, and persuaded them to receive Demetrius, and assured them that he would not be mindful of what they did to his father, in case he should now be obliged by them to receive Demetrius. And when Alexander at this time, sent him a letter confirming all those grants, whose contents were as follows: "King Demetrius to Jonathan his brother, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: We have sent you a white cloak of that which we have sent you, and Lasthenes our kinsman, that you may know its contents. King Demetrius to Lasthenes our father, sendeth greeting: I have determined to return thanks, and to show favor to the nation of the Jews, who hath observed the rules of justice in our concerners. Accordingly, I remit to them the three prefectures, Apheraea, and Lydda, and Ramath, which have been added to Judæa out of Samaria and Galilee, and Samaria, and what the kings, my predecessors, received from those that offered sacrifices in Jerusalem, and what are due from the fruits of the earth, and of the trees, and what else belongs to us; with the salt pits and the pools of their holy temple depend. Nor shall they be compelled to pay any of these taxes from this time to all futurity. 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 depend. These were the contents of this writing. And now when Demetrius saw that there was peace everywhere, and that there was no danger, nor
punts, he was honored 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 his captains that they should go with him into the middle of the city, and proclaim, that it was not lawful for any to speak against him, or to give him any disturbance. And when the captains had thus done, those that were prepared to accuse Jonathan, and who bore him ill-will, when they saw him was made by him by privateclamation, and that by the king's order, ran away, and were afraid lest some mischief should befall them. Nay, king Alexander was so very kind to Jonathan, that he set him down as the principal of the fourteen, and made him the head of the soldiers.

3. But then, upon the hundred and sixty-fifth year, Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, came from Tyre, with a great number of mercenary soldiers, which Larthenes, 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 Phenicia, and came to Antioch, that he might pursue the people that Demetrius should come. He also left Apollonius Daus, governor of Coelosyria, to coming to Jamnia with a great army, sent to Jonathan the high priest, and told him, that "It was not right that he should 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 yet made him subject to the king. Do not thou therefore deceive thyself, and sit still among the mountains, and permit to have forces with thee: but if thou hast any dependence on thy strength, come down into the plain, and let our armies be compared together, and the event of the battle will demonstrate which of us is the mightier." However, the most valiant men of every city are in my army, and that these are the very men 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 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 on the outside of the city, because the people of Joppa had shut their gates against him, and they got into the city by the way of a great way, by Apollonius; but when Jonathan was preparing to besiege them, they were afraid he would take them by force, and so they opened the gates to him. But Jonathan perceived that Joppa was taken by Jonathan, took three thousand horsemen and eight thousand footmen, and cause to Ashdod, and removing thence, he made his journey silently and slowly, and going up to Joppa, he made as if he was retiring from the place, and so drew Jonathan into the plain, as valuing himself highly upon his horsemen, and having his hopes of victory principally in them. However, Jonathan sallied out, and pursued Apollonius, but as he perceived that his enemy was in the plain, he came back and gave him battle: but Apollonius had laid a thousand horsemen in ambush in a valley, that they might not be seen by their enemies; which when Jonathan perceived, he was under no surmation, but ordering his army to stand in a square battle array, he gave them a charge to fall on the enemy by him, but afterward revolted from him to Alexander, but not to Demetrius the son, as he supposed. As Ptolemy, and Roms used to reward such as had deserved well of them, by presenting to them a golden button; see ch. v. sect. 4.
though they had desisted Demetrius, they had not resolved to join themselves to Antiochus. This provoked Jonathan to besiege them, and to harass their country, for as he sat a part of his army around about Gaza itself, as with the rest he overran their land, and spoilt it and burnt what was in it. When the inhabitants of Gaza saw themselves in this state of affliction, and that no assistance came to them from Demetrius, they went unto Jason, and said that they had nothing to do but what should profit them was still at a great distance, and it was uncertain whether it would come at all or not, they thought it would be prudent carr on to, whether he longer continuing with him, and to cultivate friendship with the other: so they sent to Jonathan, and professed they would be his friends, and afford him assistance; for such is the temper of men, that before they had the trial of great afflictions, they do not understand what is for their advantage; but when they find themselves under such afflictions, they then change their minds; and what it had been better for them to have done before they had been garrisoned against them, but not till after they have suffered such damages.

However, he made a league of friendship with them, and took from them hostages for their performance of it, and sent these hostages to Jerusalem, and made himself master over all the country as far as Damascus.

6. But when he heard that the generals of Demetrius's forces were come to the city of Kades, with a numerous army, (the people of the Tyrians and Sidonians,) for they supposed they should hereby draw him out of Syria, in order to preserve Galilee, and that he would not overlook the Galileans, who were his own countrymen, and not to depopulate the land, he went to meet them, having left Simon in Judea, who raised as great an army as he was able out of the country, and then sat down before Bethsura and besieged it, that being the strongest place in all Judea, and not to be taken by force, they put the sword to the sword; so they sent to Simon, and desired the security of his oath, that they should come to no harm from him, and that they would leave the place, and go away to Demetrius. Accordingly, Jason forefeared what he had done, and ejected them out of the city, and he put therein a garrison of his own.

7. But Jonathan removed out of Galilee, and from there he was before encamped, and came into the plain that is called Asor, without knowing that the enemy was there. When therefore Demetrius's men knew a day beforehand, that Jonathan was coming against them, they laid an ambush in the mountain, where to assault him on the sudden, while they themselves met him with an army in the plain, which army, when Jonathan saw ready to engage him, he also got ready, and said to Demetrius, it was not what he was able; but those that were laid in ambush by Demetrius's generals being behind them, the Jews were afraid lest they should be caught in the midst between two bodies, and perish, so they kept away, and left Jonathan; but a few there were, in number about fifty, who staid with him, and with them Mattithias the son of Absalom, and Judas the son of Chapmany, to whom the commission was given, to keep the army. These marched boldly, and like men desolate, against the enemy, and so pursued them that by their courage they dismayed 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, and this did they as far as Kades, where the camp of the enemy lay.

8. Jonathan having thus gotten a glorious victory, and slain those that were under Demetrius, he returned to Jerusalem. So when he saw that all his affairs prospered according to his mind, by the providence of God, he sent ambassadors to the Romans, being desirous of renewing that friendship with their former emperor. He also, like the Romans, he enquired about the empire. He also the ambassadors, that as they came back, they should go to the Spartans, and put them in mind of their friendship and kindness. So when Jason was come 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 done, as at first to begin the friendship with the Jews; and gave them letters to carry to all the kings of Asia and Europe, and to the governors of the cities, that they might safely conduct them to their own country. Accordingly, as they paid the tribute, and delivered the epistle which they had 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 Israel, to the Rome, and the people of the Lacedæmonians, 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, the Lacedæmonians, send in former times an epistle was brought to Oinias, who was then our high priest, from Areus, who at that time was your king, by Demoteses, concerning the kindness that was between us and you, a copy of which is now submitted to you. We received the epistle, and were well pleased with Demoteses and Areus, although we did not need such a demonstration, because we were well satisfied about it from the sacred writings, yet did not we think it fit, to begin the friendship with you, lest we should seem too early in taking to ourselves the glory which is now given us by you. It is a long time since this relation of ours to you has been renewed; and yet, we, upon holy and religious sacrifice to our gods, and especially to God, pray to him for your preservation and victory. As to ourselves, although we have had many wars that have compassed us around, by our valour to reach the tumult of the enemy, we did 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 Numenius, the son of Antiochus, and Antipater the son of Jason, who are both honorable 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 and send something to what you stand in need of from us, since we are in all things disposed to act according to your desires." So the Lacedæmonians received the ambassadors kindly, and made a decree for friendship and mutual traffic with them, and sent a copy to all that was in the senate.  

9. At this time there were three sects among the Jews, who had different opinions concerning human actions; one was called the sect of the Pharisees, another the sect of the Sadducees, and the other the sect of the Essenes. Now for was Josephus. But if this were the Jews' meaning, that they were satisfied out of their Bible, that the Jews and Lacedæmonians were of him, that part of their Bible in now lost, for we find no such assurance in our present copies.
the Pharisees, they say that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate, and that 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 affirm, that fate governs all things, and that nothing is otherwise than what is by fate determined. 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, but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power, that we are ourselves the cause of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly. However, I have given a more exact account of these opinions in the second book of the Jewish War.

10. But now the generals of Demetrius, being willing to recover the defeat they had had, gathered a larger army together than they had before, and came against Jonathan; but as soon as they perceived that he did not suddenly meet them, they went to the country of Hasmone, for he resolved to give them no opportunity of coming into Judea, so he pitched his camp at fifty furlongs distant from the enemy, and sent out spies to know where they were and what manner they were encamped. When his spies had given him full information, and had seized upon some of them by night, who told him the enemy would soon attack him, he, thus apprised of the evil, prepared for his defense, and placed watchmen beyond his camp, and kept all his forces armed all night; and he gave them a charge to be of good courage, and to have their minds prepared to fight in the night time, if they should be attacked, lest the enemy's designs should seem concealed from them. But when Demetrius's commanders were informed that Jonathan knew what they intended, their confidence was disturbed, and they disheartened him to find that the enemy had discovered their intentions, nor did they expect to overcome them any other way, now they had failed in the snare they had laid for them; for should they now escape, 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 saw the smoke of their camp, and after the morning of their camp, and found it deserted, and understood they were fled, he pursued them, yet he could not overtake them, for they had already passed over the river Eleutherus, and were out of his reach. And such was Jonathan's prudence, he went into Arabia, and fought against the Nabateans, and drove away a great deal of their prey, and took [many] captives, and came to Damascus, and there did all what he had taken. About the same time it was, that Simon his brother went over all Judaea and Palestine, as far as Askelon, and fortified the strong holds; and when he had made them very strong, both in the cities 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.

CHAP. VI.
How Jonathan was slain by Tyrearchy; and how they 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 beenfallen Demetrius, he was no longer firm to Antiochus, but contrived by subtlety to kill him, and then take possession of his kingdom; but the friends of John, as he was resolved to fight to this his design, for Jonathan was a friend to Antiochus, for which cause he resolved first to take Jonathan out of the way, and then to set about his design relating to Antiochus: but he judged it best to take him off by deceit and treachery, came from Antioch to Bethanath, which by the Greeks is called Scythopolis, at which place Jonathan met him with forty thousand, and the garrisons went out to fight him; but when he perceived that Jonathan was ready to fight, he attempted to gain him by subtile subtlety: however, our Josephus, who in his heart was a 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 for certain agreeable to his own opinion, who both fully allowed the free- dom and sovereignty of the world, and yet did not ascribe all to fate or Divine Providence, as was consistent with the freedom of human actions. However, their per- suasion concerning fate, or about the rule of all things, made it commonly thought they were willing to exceed their sins by sacrificing to fate, as the following instances, sect. 1, ch. vi. Per- haps under the same general name some difference of opinion in this point might be propagated, as is very common in all parts especially in points of metaphy-
presented and kind treatment, and gave order to his captains to obey him, and by these means was disposed to give assurance of his good-will, and to take away all suspicions out of his mind, that he was a Jew, as make him understand, and more trustworthy. 2. Yet did not Jonathan suspect any thing at all by this his management but believed that Titypho gave him this advice out of kindness, and that he was wise and sincere in his advice. Accordingly, he declined his advice, and professed the courage and fidelity of his army, and he himself, with the courage of three thousand of them with him, left two thousand in Galilee, and he himself, with one thousand, came with Titypho to Ptolemais; but then, when the multitude of the people that he had been commanded by Titypho to do, he took Jonathan alive, and slew all that were with him. He also sent soldiers against the two thousand that were left in Galilee, in order to destroy them; but Jonathan, who was so happy as to find the city taken, and the inhabitants destroyed, went away out of the city. Now, when Titypho saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, they gave them no disturbance, but returned back to Titypho.

3. But when the people of Jerusalem heard that Jonathan was taken, and that the soldiers who were with him were destroyed, they deplored his sad fate, and there was earnest inquiry made about him by every body, and a great and just fear fell upon them, and made them sad, lest now the army and the conduct of Jonathan, the nationes 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 therefore, as with them, should force them into the utmost dangers. And indeed what they suspected really befell them, for when the nations heard of the death of Jonathan, they began to make war with the Jews, and now the multitude of the army of Titypho himself got an army together, and had an intimation to go up to Judea, and make war against its inhabitants. 4. But when Simon saw that the people of Jerusalem were terrified at the circumstances they were in, he desired to make a speech to them, and thereby to render them more resolute in opposing Titypho when he should come against them. He then called the people together into the temple, and therehe began thus to encourage them: "If my countrymen, you are not ignorant that our fathers, myself, and my brethren, have ventured to hazard our lives, and that willingly, for the recovery of your liberty; since I have, therefore, such plenty of men with me, I will now take you, and we all have determined with ourselves to die for our laws and our divine worship, there shall no terror be so great as to bırish this resolution from these, to introduce the fear of death in our mind, and of life, and a contempt of glory. Do you therefore follow me with alacrity whithersoever I shall lead you, as not destitute of such a captain as is willing to suffer, and to do the greatest things for you; for neither him I better than my brethren that I should be sparing of my own life, nor so far worse than they as to avoid and refuse what they thought the most honorable of all things; I mean, to undergo death for your laws, and for that worship of God which is peculiar to you; I will therefore give such proper demonstrations as will show that I am their own brother; as I am so bold as to expect that I shall avenge their blood upon our enemies, and deliver you all, with your wives and your children, from the hands of the enemy instead against you, and, with God's assistance, to preserve your temple from destruction by them, for I see that those nations have you in contempt, as being without a governor, and that they are desirous that the whole multitude of the people cried out all at once, that Simon should be their leader, and that instead of Judees and Jonathan his brethren, he should be the governor, and that they promised that they would readily obey him in whatsoever he should command them. So he got together immediately all his own soldiers that were fit for war, and made haste in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem, and he himself stayed to secure Jerusalem. 5. But Titypho removed from Ptolemais with a great army, and came into Judea, and brought Jonathan with him in bonds. Simon also met him with him, and saw the city, and the curious stones, which he had seen upon a hill, and beneath it lies the plains of Judea. And when Titypho knew that Simon was by the Jews made their governor, he sent to him, and would have imposed upon him by deceit and treachery; and would have delivered him; but Jonathan released, that he would send him a hundred talents of silver, and two of Jonathan's sons as hostages, that when he shall be released, he may not make Judees revolt from the king, for that which he was kept on bonds as account of the money he had borrowed of the king, and now owed it to him. But Simon was aware of the craft of Titypho, and although he knew that if he gave him the money nor sent Jonathan's sons, that the offers were an answere and treacheries, and yet that it was more eligible to pay the money and Jonathan's sons them to be liable to the imputation of not complying with Titypho's offers, and thereby refusing to save his brother. Accordingly, Simon sent the sons of Jonathan and the money, but when Titypho received them, he did not keep his promise nor set Jonathan free, but took his army, and went against all the country, and resolved to go afterward to Jerusalem by the way of Idumea, while Simon went by the sea, and a war arose between them, and all along pitched his own camp over against his.
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

Antioch. However, Simon sent some to the city Idasca to bring away his brother's bones, and buried them in their own city Modin; and all the people made great lamentation over him. Simon also erected a very lofty monument for his father and his brethren, of white and polished stone, and raised it to a great height, and so as to be seen a long way off, and made cloisters about it, and set up pillars, which were of one stone upon another; and he designed, even to the present day, to build over it, he built seven pyramids also for his parents and his brethren, one for each of them, which were made very surprising, both for their largeness and beauty, and which have been preserved to this day; for though we know that it was Simon who bestowed a much zeal also: the burial of Jonathan, and the building of these monuments for his relations. Now Jonathan died when he had been king of the Jews for twenty years, and he was also the governor of his nation. And these were the circumstances that concurred to his death.

7. But Simon, who was made high priest by the multitudes, 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 hundred and seventy years of the kingdom of the Jews, which was a great deliverance, 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 with another, in the public records, they acknowledged him as 'In the first year of Simon the benefactor and etharch of the Jews! for under him they were very happy, and overcame the enemies that were round about them, for Simon overthrew the city Lachis, and Joppa, and Jemia. He also took the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, and cast it down to the ground, that it might not be any more a place of refuge to their enemies when they took it, to do them mischief, as it used to do before. And which 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 the temple might be higher than it. And, in

"There is some great error in the copies here, when now the Apocrypha states the time ascended the high priest- hood of Jonathan. We know by Josephus's last Jewish chronology, Antiq. b. x. ch. 1, that there was an interregnum between the death of Simon and that of Artaxerxes, the last high priest, and the real high priesthood of Jonathan, to whom yet those seven years seem hardly enough to enable him to judge and to judge before, Antiq. b. xli. chap. x. sect. 6. Now since, besides these seven years interregnum in the pontificate, we are told, Antiq. b. xxi. ch. 2, that Jonathan's real high priesthood began on the 28th year before the Christian era, from its spring in the first book of Maccabees, and from its autumn in the second book of that same, and that Simon lived not out of Babylon till the next spring on the 211th year. See Prid. at the year 319. And it is truly observed by Dr. Hodge, on this place, that the Syrian and Assyrian are sometimes confounded in ancient authors, according to the words of Justin the apostleman of Tarsus Pompeius, who says, That the Assyrians were afterward called Syrians." B. i. ch. xii. See Of the war b. v. ch. xii. sect. 1, where the Phœnicians themselves, at all the very strict limit of Syria, in its utmost extent, are called Syrian, and all their contents are not here cumbered, though much the greater part be.

"If how Trypho killed the Antiochus, the epistle of Philo, loc. cit. 159, viz. that he corrupted the physicians or surgeons, who falsely pretending to the people that he was performing with the stone, as they cut him for their pleasure, had them to drink poisonous medicine, that this Antiochus the son of Alexander Bals was called the god, is evident from his coins, which Simon came to use, hear the inscription, King Antiochus the god, Ephiphanes the Victorious."

CHAP. VII.

How Simon confederated himself with Antiochus, and made peace with Trypho; and a little afterward against Cæneus, the General of Antiochus's Army; as also how Simon was made master of his son-in-law, Fialtian, and that by Treachery.

1. Now a little while after Demetrius had been carried into captivity, Trypho his governor destroyed Antiochus the son of Alexander, who was made king in Asia, and reigned four years, though he gave it out that he died under the hands of the surgeons. He then sent his friends and those that were most intimate with him to the soldiers; and promised them an immense sum of money if they would make him king. He intimated to them that Demetrius was made a captive by the Parthians; and that Demetrius's brother Antiochus, if he came to be king, would do them great wrongs, and would make them revolt from his brother. So the soldiers in expectation of the wealth they should get by bestowing the kingdom on Trypho, made him their ruler. However, when Trypho had gained never have omitted, had his copy contained so much. The same thing appears from his description of Antiochus with Antiochus Soter, the son of Demetrius Soter, and brother of the other Demetrius, who was now a captive at Babylon in the 102d year of the Persian empire, and the 160th year before the Christian era, he granted great privileges to the Jewish nation, and to Simon their high priest, and the temple, and to the Jews; and this is no way to be forgotten, for they have taken of his own accord, at out three years before.

In particular he gave him leave to coin money for his country, with his own stamp; and as concerning Jews, he gave them such authority, that they should be free from the vulgar Latin battle, holy and free. 1 March. xvi. 6, 7, which I take to be the true reading, as being the very records of the father's concession offered to Jonathan several years before, ch. x. 21, and Antiq. b. xlii. ch. ii. sect. 3. Now what makes this date, and these grants greatly remarkable, is the ease of the remainder states, and the undoubted marks of the truth of the history in these chapters, though it he in great measure omitted by Josephus. See Essay on the Old Testament, p. 157, 158. The reason why I rather suppose that his copy of the Maccabees was this chapter, than that his own copies are here im-

It must here be diligently noted, that Josephus's copy of the book of Maccabees, which he had so careful

ly followed, and faithfully abridged as far as the 50th years of the twelfth chapter, seems there to have ended. We know also, from the epistles of Philo and of Trypho, that this Antiochus was afterward killed, probably by some other more imperfect records. However, we must exactly ob

This Antiochus the son of Alexander Bals was called the god, is evident from his coins, which Simon came to use, hear the inscription, King Antiochus the God, Ephiphanes the Victorious.
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the management of affairs, he demonstrated his disposition to be wicked; for, as he was a private person, he cultivated a familiarity with the multitude, and pretended to great moderation, and so drew them on artfully to whatsoever he pleased; but when he had once taken the kingdom, he reigned in it as a tyrant.

It was the true Trypho, which behavior made his enemies superior to him, for the soldiery hated him, and revolted from him to Cleopatra the wife of Demetrius, who was then shut up in Seleucia with her children. But Antiochus, the brother of Demetrius, who was called Soter, was not admitted by any of the cities on account of Trypho, Cleopatra sent to him, and invited him to marry her, and to take the kingdom. The reasons why the made this invitation were these, that her friends persuaded her to it, and that she was afraid of herself, in case some of the people of Seleucia should deliver up the city to Trypho.

2. As Antiochus was now come to Seleucia, his forces increased every day, set out to fight Trypho; and having beaten him in the battle, he ejected him out of the Upper Syria into Phœnicia, and pursued him thither, and besieged him in Dor. He then took his measures to get himself released from his engagements, for those that besieged Dor, and thereby supplied them very plentifully, so that for a little while he was looked upon as one of his most intimate friends; but still Trypho fled from Seleucia, which was taken during the siege, and put to death, when he had reigned three years.

3. However, Antiochus forgot the kind assistance that Simon had afforded him in his necessity, and refused to admit him of his choice, and committed an army of soldiers to his friend Cendebas, and sent him at once to ravage Judea, and to seize Simon. When Simon heard of Antiochus's breaking his league with him, although he was now in years, yet, provoked with the unjust treatment he had met with from Antiochus, and taking a resolution braver than his age could bear, he went forth to encounter him; and in his general he was invested with the title of centurion. He also sent his sons before among the most hardy of his soldiers, and he himself marched on with his army another way, and laid many of his men in ambushes, in the narrow valleys between the mountains, which were for the most part inhabited in any one of his attempts, but was too hard for his enemies in every one of them. So he led the rest of his life in peace, and did also himself make a league with the Romans.

4. Now he was the ruler of the Jews in all eight years; but at a feast came to his end. It was caused by the treachery of his son-in-law, Ptolemy, who caught also his wife, and two of his sons, and kept them in bonds. He also sent to kill John, the third son; I mean that was Hycaranus; but the young man perceiving

They came, he avoided the danger he was in from them, and considered into it, "[And Sa- sah,]" as relying on the good-will of the multitude, because of the benefits they had received from his fathers, and because of the hatred the same multitude bare to Ptolemy; so that when Ptolemy was going to enter the city by another gate, they drove him away, as having already admitted Hycaranus.

CHAP. VIII.

Hycaranus receives the High Priesthood, and ejects Ptolemy out of the Country. Antiochus makes Hycaranus, and afterward makes a League with him.

1. So Ptolemy retired to one of the footraces that was above Jericho, which was called Dages; but Hycaranus 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 had made his attacks upon the place, in other points he was too hard for him, but was rendered weaker than he, by the consideration he had in the house of Maccabees, and as he was very fond for Ptolemy brought them upon the wall, and tormented them in the sight of all, and threatened that he would throw them down headlong, unless Hycaranus would leave off the siege. And as he thought that so far as he could make him, he understood the siege and taking of the place, so much favor did he show to those that were dearest to him by preventing their mischief, his seat about it was cooled. However, his mother spread out her hands, and besought him of him that he would not grow remiss on 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 then to avenge upon their enemies as they thought overcast, and as the more they 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 dealing to them. Now, when his mother said so, he resolved not 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 was therefore so disposed that the more he 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 was overcast, and he being for the most part the best and greatest of the brethren of Hycaranus, 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 Judah in the fourth year of his reign, and the first year of the principality of Hycaranus, in the hundred and sixty-second Olympiad. And when he had pitched his camp, he set up Hycaranus in the city, which he encompassed
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 rest the next day, and it was all accepted. One of these hostages was Hircanus's brother; but still he broke down the fortifications that encompassed the city; and upon these conditions Antiochus broke up the siege and departed.

So then, when he had taken the city, he made an expedition against the Parthians; of which Nicocles, of Damascus, is a witness for us, who in his history writes thus: "When Antiochus had erected a trophy at the river Lykippus, he himself went in person to the generals of the Parthians, he stayed there two days. It was at the desire of Hircanus the Jew, because it was such a festival derived to them from their forefathers, whereon the law of the Jews is, when Antiochus of Damascus 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: nor is it lawful for us to journey, or go to the Sabbath-day, or to take battle with armies." But when Antiochus of Damascus was at war with Armenia, the king of Parthia, he kept a great part of his army, and was himself slain; and his brother Demetrius succeeded in the kingdom of Syria by the permission of Armenia, who freed them from the power of their king. Antiochus then turned back to the war against the Jews; and this account is not ill-timed. For the nation of the Cutheans, who dwelt at the temple which Alexander permitted Sannaias, the general of his army, to build for the sake of Mammaseus, who was son-in-law to Judas, as we have formerly related, which temple was now desert; the two had been destroyed before it was built. Hircanus took also Dora and Marias, cities of Idumaea, and subdued all the Idumaeans, and permitted them to stay in that country if they would circumcise their children, 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 borders of their own cities to be sacrificed, is a known thing both in the poets and orators.

* Dr. Hudson tells us here, that this custom of gilding...
the use of circumcisions, and of the rest of the Jewish ways of living: at which time, therefore, this belief existed, that they were heathens no other than Jews.

2. But among the Greeks, 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 it, thus expressing it: the Romans in the following:

"Famine, the son of Marcus the priest, gathered the senate together on the eighth day before the ides of February, in the senate-house, when Lucius Menenius Agrippa, the son of Marcus, and Caicus Sampus, the son of Caicus, of the Falernian tribe, were present. The occasion was, that the ambassadors sent by the people of the Jews, Simon, the son of Dosthus, and Apollonis in scrip], and the son of Jason, who were good and virtuous men, had somewhat to propose about that league of friendship and mutual assistance which subsisted between them and the Romans, and about other points that the Romans desired that the Jews should be lawful for the king's troops to pass through their country, and the countries of those that are subject to them. And that what attains Antiochus had made during that war, without the consent of the king, and that they were made by the king's authority. And the Romans were afraid that they would send ambassadors, who should take care that restitution be made of what Antiochus took from them, and that they should make an estimate of the same. And that when they were laid waste in the land and that they would grant them letters of protection to the kings, and free people, in order to their quiet return home. It was, therefore, decreed, as to those points, that they should give them money out of the public treasury to bear their expenses. And the opinion of the Romans was, that mutual assistance with these good men, and that they were sent by a good and friendly people."

But that as to the letters desired, their answer was, that the senate would consult about that matter, when their own affairs would give them leisure, and that they would endeavor, for the time to come, that no like injury should be done them; and that their priest, Famine, should give them money out of the public treasury to bear their expenses. And thus the emissaries of the Romans, the Jewish ambassadors, and gave them money out of the public treasury, and gave the decree of the senate to those that were to conduct them, and take care that they should return home in safety.

3. And thus stood the affairs of Hycrancus the high priest. But as for king Demetrius, who had a mind to make war against Hycrancus, there was no opportunity nor room for it, while both the Syracusans and the soldiers were ill to him, because he was an ill man. But when they had sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, who was called Phuscos, that he would send them one of the family of Seleucus, as a man of the king's friends, and he had sent Alexander, who was called Zeblis with an army, and there had been a battle between them, Demetrius was beaten in the fight and fled to Clesipatra his wife, to Ptolemais, but his wife would not let him go, because he went thence to Tyre, and was there caught; and when he had suffered much from his enemies before his death, he was slain by them. So when Alexander took the kingdom, and made a league with Hycrancus, who yet, while he fought with Antiochus the son of Demetrius, who was called Gryppus, was also beaten in the fight and slain.

CHAP. X.

How, upon the Quarrel between Antiochus Gryppus and Antiochus Cyasion, about the Kingdom, Hycrancus took Samaria, and utterly desolated it; and how Hycrancus joined himself to the Sect of the Sadducees, and left that of the Pharisees.

§ 1. WHEN Antiochus had taken the kingdom, he was afraid to make war against Judea, because he heard of his brother's death in the same mother, who was also called Antiochus, who was raising an army against him out of Cyricum; so he staid in his own land, and resolved to prepare himself for the attack he expected from his brother, who was called Gryppus, and knew he had been brought up in that city. He was the son of Antiochus that was called Soter, who died in Persia. He was the brother of Demetrius, the father of Gryppus, for it had so happened, that one and the same woman bore to Antiochus two, who were brethren, as we have related elsewhere. But Antiochus Cyasion coming into Syria, continued many years at war with his brother. Now Hycrancus lived all this while in peace; for after the death of Antiochus, he re

"The account of the Idumaeans admitting circumcisions, and the entire Jewish law, from this time, or from this source, is generally given, but the history afterward. See Antiochus, b. xiv. ch. vii. sect. 1. b x. ch. vii. sect. 9: Of the War, b. ii. ch. iii. sect. 1. b. iv. ch. 14: and Antiochus, the son of Alexander, the opinion of the Idumaeans, sent by the Idumaeans, as it were and elsewhere, Antiochus, b. xiv. chap. vii. sect. 1. however Antiochus, the enigma of Herod, though he devoted the city of Ptolemais to the Jews, and for several generations, will allow him to be no more than a Jew of, b. xiv. ch. vi. sect. 2. But still take up of Antiochus, 120, the story, a grammarian, which fully confirms this account of the Idumeans in Josephus: "The Jews (says he) use much by nature, and from the beginning, whilst the Idumaeans were not Jews from the beginning, but Pho-

[1] In this decree of the Roman senate, it seems that these ambassadors were sent from the people of the Jews, as well as from their princes or high priest, John Hycrancus.

[2] Dean Prideaux quotes, in the year 129, that Justin, in agreements and differences as to the delivery of the 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 insulited Syria with great wars.”
shall speak at a proper time: but he made his attack against it, and besieged it with a great deal of pains, for it was a very strong and large city, and the Romans for the injuries they had done to the people of Marissa, a colony of the Jews, and confederate with them, and this in compliance to the kings of Syria. When he had therefore disposed of those, and built a double wall round the city, which was fourscore furlongs long, he set his sons Antigonus and Aristobulus over the siege, which brought the Samaritans to that great distress by famine, that they were forced to come to him, and to be cast away for Antiochus Cyzicus to help them, who came readily to their assistance, but was beaten by Aristobulus, and when he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by the two brethren, he got away. So they returned to Samaria, and shut them again within the wall, till they were forced to send for the same Antiochus a second time to help them, who procured about six thousand men from Ptolemy Lathyrus, who further sent them without his mother's consent, who had then in a manner turned him out of his government. With these Egyptians Antiochus did at first overrun and ravage the country of Hyrcanus after the manner of conquerors, for he durst not go in the face to fight with him, as not having an army sufficient for that purpose, but only from this supposal, that by thus harassing his land he should force Hyrcanus to raise the siege of Samaria. But the latter fell into his snare, and lost many of his soldiers therein, he went away to Tripoli, and committed the prosecution of the war against the Jews to Callimander and Epiphrates.

3. But as to Callimander, he attacked the ene-
my too rashly, and was put to flight and destroy-
ed immediately; and as to Epiphrates, he was such a lover of money, that he openly betrayed Scythopolis, and other places near it, to the Jews, but was not able to make man to raise the siege there. 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 rivulets to it to drown it, and led such hollows as might let the water run under it; nay, he took away the very marks that there had ever been such a city there. Now a very surprising thing is related of this high priest Hyrcanus, how he would discourse with his friends; for they say, that on the very same day on which his sons fought with Antiochus Cyzicus, he was alone in the temple, as high priest, offering incense, and heard a voice, that "his sons had just then overthrown 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 Judea were in prosperity, but also those of them that were at Alexandria, and in Egypt, and Cyprus, for a great part was at the same time with his other son Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, and appointed for her generals Chelcia, and Ananias, the sons of that Onias who built the temple in his prefecture of Heliopolis, like to that of Jeru-

The original of the Sadducees, as a considerable party among the Jews, being contained in this and the two following sections, take Dean Prideaux's note upon this their first public appearance, which I suppose to be the true Textus Receptus.* I went to Pompey the First, the title of the Sadducees, is by embracing their doctrine against the traditions of the scribes, added to the written law, which was contradictory with it, but not their doctrine against the resurrection and a future state, for this cannot be supposed of so good and righteous a man as Jesus Christ. It is said to be, the most probable, that at this time the Sadducees had gone no farther in their doctrines of time sect than to deny all their unwritten

instincts these men with barren fury; and did nothing without their advice, as Strabo of Cappadoce,

part, both those that came to Cyprus with us and those that were sent afterward thither, re

voluted to Ptolemy immediately; only those that

were called Oasa's party, being Jews, continued

faithful, because their great enemies Chelcia and

Ananias were in chief favor with the queen.*

These are the words of Strabo.

5. However, this prosperous state of affairs

moved the Jews to envy Hyrcanus, but they the

same year to invite their good friends the Pharisees, who were one of the sects of the

Jews, as we have informed you already. These

have so great a power over the multitude, that

when they say any thing against the king, or

attain to be true, they are presently be-

lieved. Now Hyrcanus was a disciple of them

and greatly beloved by them. And when he

once invited them to a feast, and entertained

them in a great honour, he began to say to them, that "They knew he was desirous to be a righteous man, and to do all things whereby he might please God, which was the profession of the Pharisees also.

Unfortunately, because he cast his eyes, when he was out of the place of power, attending on any point, and going out of the right way, they would call him back and correct him." On which occasion they attributed to his being en-

tirely virtuous, with which commendation he was not satisfied, because he had been a captive of Antiochus Epiphanes." This story was false, and Hyrcanus was provoked against him; and all the Pharisees had a very great indignation against him.

6. Now there was one Jonathan, a very great

friend of Hyrcanus, but of the sect of the Sad-
ducees, whose notions are quite contrary to those of the Pharisees. He told Hyrcanus, that "Ele-
nas, a man of great name, had gone to Rome,

ring to the common sentiments of all the Phar-

isees, and that this would be made manifest, if he would but ask them the question, what punish-

ment they thought this man deserved for that he had done. He did not know, said he, whether

was not laid on him with their approbation, if they were for punishing him as his crime de-
served." So the Pharisees made answer, that "He deserved stripes and bonds, but that it did not seem right to punish reproaches with death." And indeed the Pharisees, even upon other oc-
casions, are not apt to be severe in punishments. At this gentle sentence, Hyrcanus was very

satisfied, and he ordered Jonathan to be

him by their approbation. It was this Jonathan

who chiefly irritated him, and influenced him so

far, that he made him leave the party of the

Pharisees, and abolish the decrees they had im-

posed on the people, and punish those that observe i

traditions, which the Pharisees were so fond of; for Je-

sus mentions no other difference at this time be-

tween them; neither does he say that Hyrcanus went over to the Sadducees in any other particular than in the

of the Sadducees, that is, by embracing their doctrine against the traditions of the scribes, added to the written

law, which was contradictory with it, but not their doctrine against the resurrection and a future state, for

this cannot be supposed of so good and righteous a man as Jesus Christ. It is said to be, the most probable,

that at this time the Sadducees had gone no farther in

their doctrines of time sect than to deny all their unwritten
them. From this source arose that hatred which he and his sons met with from the multitude; but of these matters we shall speak hereafter. What I write now explains this, for not only have they delivered to the people a great many observations by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses; and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them, and ascribe their power to sorcery, but those who are able to persuade none but the rich, and have not the populace obsequious to them; but the Pharisees have the multitude on their side. But about these two sects, and that of the Essenes, I have related accurately in the second book of Jewish affairs.

7. But when Hyrcanus had put an end to this sedition, he after that lived happily, and administered the government in the best way he could, during ten years, and then died; leaving behind him five sons. He was esteemed by God worthy of the three greatest privileges, the government of his nation, the dignity of the high priesthood, and that of the kingdom, for he yielded them to his sons in fullness and to foretell this in particular, that as to his two eldest sons, he foretold that they would not long continue in this government of public affairs: whose unhappy catastrophe will be worth our narration, that we may chance learn how very much they were inferior to their father’s happiness.

CHAP. XI.

How Aristobulus, when he had taken the Government, first of all put a Diadem on his Head, and was afterward cruelly treated to his Father and his Brothers; and how, after he had slain Antigonus, he himself died.

§ 1. Now when their father Hyrcanus was dead, the eldest son, Aristobulus, intending to change the government into a kingdom, for so he resolved to do, first of all put a diadem on his head, four hundred and eighty and one years and three months after the people had been delivered from the Babylonish slavery, and were returned to their own country again. This Aristobulus loved exceedingly his family, and made himself equal to his as his equal, but the others he held in bonds. He also cast his mother into prison, because she disputed the government with him, for Hyrcanus had bequeathed it to all of them. He also proceeded to that degree of barbarity, as to slay his people in order to produce them, and make himself the successor of his father. He added to this the guilt of having made himself a fine suit of armor for war, and desired him to come to him in that armor, that he might see how fine it was. So Antigonus, suspecting no treachery, but depending on the good will of his brother, came to Aristobulus armed, as he used to be, with his entire armor, in order to show it to him; but when he was come to a place which was called Strato’s Tower, where the passage happened to be exceeding dark, the guards set upon him and slew him; and by that means nothing was easier than to slay enemies, and to make himself master of the kingdom, 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 abode 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, first king Aristobulus, whose reign being but a single year, seems hardly to have come to his knowledge. Nor indeed does Aristobulus, the son of Alexander, pretend that the name of king was before his father Alexander took it himself. Antig. b. xii. ch. iii. sect. 2. See also ch. xii. sect. 1, which favor Strabo also. And indeed, if we may judge from the words of the Egyptians Jews under high priests, and of the Persian Jews under kings, in the two next centuries, we may well suppose that divine oracles received from the wise men of Egypt, and to the worthlings at the temple of Onias were etier men than those at the temple of Jerusalem. Hence we may see that the Egyptian rules whereby men might forecast things to come, and that the Jews the Essenes taught those rules to his s’l’ors, but whether their pretended knowledge of astrologers or men of this sort, which yet in such Jews, who were utterly forbidden such arts, is noway probable, or to any Rabi Col, spoken of by the latter Rabine, or otherwise, I cannot tell. See Of The Wt. 60. b. ii. ch. viii. sect. 19. y 2
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 Meriam, a colony of the Jews, and confederate with them against the king 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 Antigonus and Aristobulus over the siege, and sent the Samaritans to that great distress by famine, that they were forced to eat what used not to be eaten, and to call for Antiochus Cyzicenus to help them, who came readily to their assistance, but was beaten by Antigonus, and when he was routed as far as Scythopolis by the two brethren, he got away. So they returned to Samaria, and shut them again within the wall, till they were forced to send for the same Antiochus a second time to help them, who procured about six thousand men from Ptolemy Lathyrus, which were sent them without his mother's consent, who had then in a manner turned him out of his government. With these Egyptians Antiochus did first overrun and take the country of Hyrcanus 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 for that purpose, but only from this successful beginning he afterwards, by his land being so vast, he should force Hyrcanus to raise the siege of Samaria; but because he fell into abuses, and lost many of his soldiers therein, he went away to Tripoli, and committed the prosecution of the war against the Jews to Callimander and Euphrates.

3. But as to Callimander, he attacked the enemy too rashly, and was put to flight and destroy- ed immediately; and as to Euphrates, he was such a lover of money, that he openly betrayed some other places to Hyrcanus; 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 vixelations 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 fought with Antiochus Cyzicenus, he was alone in the temple, in a trance, and in a high state of exaltation, 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 Judea were in a disorder, but also those who 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 Chelcias, and Ananias, the latter of whom built a temple in the prefecture of Heliopolis, like to that of Jerusalem, as we have elsewhere related. Cleopatra instructed these men with her authority, and did nothing without their advice, as Strabo of Capadocia attests, when he saith thus, “Now the greatest part, both those that came to Cyprus with us and those that were sent afterward thither, ran in a state of insolence and impunity to the king 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 Antigonus and Aristobulus over the siege, and sent the Samaritans to that great distress by famine, that they were forced to eat what used not to be eaten, and to call for Antiochus Cyzicenus to help them, who came readily to their assistance, but was beaten by Antigonus, and when he was routed as far as Scythopolis by the two brethren, he got away. So they returned to Samaria, and shut them again within the wall, till they were forced to send for the same Antiochus a second time to help them, who procured about six thousand men from Ptolemy Lathyrus, which were sent them without his mother's consent, who had then in a manner turned him out of his government. With these Egyptians Antiochus did first overrun and take the country of Hyrcanus 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 for that purpose, but only from this successful beginning he afterwards, by his land being so vast, he should force Hyrcanus to raise the siege of Samaria; but because he fell into abuses, and lost many of his soldiers therein, he went away to Tripoli, and committed the prosecution of the war against the Jews to Callimander and Euphrates to know the truth, if thou wilt be righteous in earnest, lay down the high priesthood, and content thyself with the civil government of the people.” And when he desired to know for what cause he had been taken as a captive, what punishment he had been subjected to, and what he had done for the destruction of the Jews, he was answered, “We have heard it from old men, that thy mother had been a captive under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.” This story was false, and Hyrcanus was provoked against him; and all the Pharisees had a very great indignation against him.

5. Now there was one Jonathan, a very great friend of Hyrcanus, but of the sect of the Sadducees, who was very ill disposed to the Pharisees, and was jealous of them. He told Hyrcanus, that “Eleazer had cast such a reproach upon him, according to the common sentiments of all the Pharisees, and that this would be made manifest, if he did not show them the contrivance of their pretended dis- plement they thought this man deserved for that he might depend upon it, that the reproach was not laid on him with their approbation, if they were for punishing him as his crime deserved.” So the Pharisees made answer, that “He deserved stripes and bonds, but that it did not seem right to punish reproaches with death.” And indeed the Pharisees, even upon other occasions, are not apt to be severe in punishments. At this time some groups of the Pharisees were angry, and thought that this man reproached him by their approbation. It was this Jonathan who chiefly irritated him, and influenced him so much, that on one occasion he made him the party of the Pharisees, and abolish the decrees they had imposed on the people, and punish those that observe the 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 party of the Pharisees, or in any other particular than the abolishing of all the traditioinal constitutions of the Pharisees, which our Saviour condemned as well as this. This slander, that arose from a Pharisee, has been procured by their successors the Rabbis to these latter days, and is found in their Talmud, and even in his chronology, S. Pr. p. 77, in Vorstius's version, relates that Hyrcanus's mother was taken captive in Mount Modith, see ch. xii sect 5.
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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; and the report of the news of the men who were then slain. Timagenes says, they were fifty thousand. As for the rest, they were part of them taken captives, and the other part ran away to their own country.

4. After this victory, Ptolemy overran all the country; and when night came on, he abode in certain villages of Judges, which when he found full of women and children, he commanded his soldiers to strangle them and cut them in pieces, and then to carry them in basket bottoms and to devour their limbs as sacrifices. This commandment was given, that such as fled from the battle, and came to them, might suppose their enemies were cannibals, and men's flesh, and might on that account be still more terrified at them upon such a sight. And both Strabo and Nicholaus [Of Damascus] affirm, that they used these people after this manner, as we have already related, Ptolemy taking Ptolemias by force, as we have declared elsewhere.

CHAP. XIII.

How Alexander, upon the League of mutual Defence which Ptolemy had agreed with him, made an Expedition against Caleysrus, and utterly overthrew the City of Gaza; and how he saw many ten thousands of Jews that rebelled against him: also concerning Antiochus Gyrus, Seleucus, Antiochus Cyriacus, and Antiochus Pius, and others.

§ 1. WHEN Cleopatra saw that her son was grown great, and that Judas was without disturbance, and had gotten the city of Gaza under his power, she resolved no longer to overlook what he did, when he was almost at her gate; and she concluded, that now he was so much stronger than before, he would attain unto 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 Chelcias and Amanis the Jews, generals of her whole army, while she sent the greatest part of her riches, her grandchildren, and her testament, to the people of Cos. Cleopatra also ordered her son Alexander to sail with a great fleet to Phoenicia; and when that country had the vessels of Ptolemais; and because the people of Ptolemais had not received her, she besieged the city; but Ptolemy went out of Syria, and made haste into Egypt, supposing that she should die desolate, and to take that opportunity, and to fail of his hope. At this time Chelcias, one of Cleopatra's generals, happened to die in Callyprus, 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 drove him out of that country; so when he was returned out of Egypt again, and abode during the winter at Gaza; in which time Cleopatra sent her generals, that they should in Ptolemais by siege, as well as by the sea; and when Alexander came to her, she gave her presents, and such sorts of respect as were but proper, since under the miseries he endured by Ptolemy, he had no other refuge but her. Now there were some of her friends who persuaded her to seize Alexander, and to over-run and take of such original records, they do always confirm his history.

‡ This city or island of Cos is not that remote island in the Aegynian sea, famous, for the birth of the great Hipponax; but a city in the same name, belonging to Egypt, mentioned both by Stephanus and Ptolemy, as Dr. Hudson informs us. Of which Cos, and the treasures there laid up by Cleopatra and the Jews, see Antiq. b. xiv. ch. vii. sect. 2.
slavery for them; but the senators, who were in all five hundred, fled to Apollis's temple, (for this attack happened to be made as they were sitting,) whom Alexander slew; and when he had utterly overturned their city, he returned to Jerusalem, having spent a year in this manner.

4. About this very time Antiochus, who was called Grypus, died. His death was caused by Heracleon's treachery, when he had lived forty-five years. He had subdued the kingdom of Seleucus, and when Seleucus succeeded him in his kingdom, and made war with Antiochus, his father a brother, who was called Antiochus Cyzicenus, and beat him, and took him prisoner, and slew him. But Antiochus, upon his departure from Judea, who was called Pissus, came to Amandus, and put the kinsman on his own head, and made war with Seleucus, and beat him, and drove him out of all Syria. But when he fled out of Syria, he came to Mopsuestia again, and lodged money in law of the Jews, but the people of Mopsuestia had indignation at what he did, and burnt down his palace, and slew him, together with his friends. But when Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, was king of Syria, he came to Jerusalem, and was exceedingly fierce upon him, and was overcome, and destroyed, he and his army. After him, his brother Philip put on the diadem, and reigned over some part of Syria; but when Antiochus, his brother Demetrius, who was called Euceras, from Cautius, and made him king of Damascus. Both these brothers did Antiochus vehemently oppose, but presently died; for when he was coming to the war against the Parthians, and he was fighting courageously, he fell, while Demetrius and Philip governed Syria, as hath been elsewhere related. But they also revolted, 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 partition wall of wood round the altar and the temple, and so made a place 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 of Picia and Cilicia, for as to the Syrreans, he was at war with them, and so made none of them. He also overcame the Armenians, such as the Moabites and Gileadites, and made them bring tribute. Moreover, he demolished Amathus, while Theodorus durst not fight with him; so as to stand up and fight, even in the land of the Hebrews, and fell into an ambush in places that were rugged and difficult to be travelled over, he was thrown down into a deep valley by the soldiers of Theodorus, king of the Arabians, and hardly escaped with his life. From thence he fled to Jerusalem, where, besides his

5. Antiochus Grypus was confirmed by Appian, Syrac. p. 130, here cited by Spanheim.

6. This account of the death of Antiochus Grypus is confirmed by Appian, Syrac. p. 130, here cited by Spanheim.

7. Porphyry says, that this Antiochus Grypus reigned but 20 years, as Dr. Hudson serves.

8. Theophilus in both Greek and Latin, and have here so greatly fewing a reading, Antiochus and Antonia, or Antiochus Pius, for Antiochus Piscus, that a majority of the recent and correct the text from the other historians, wio all agree that this king's name was nothing more than Antiochus Pius.

9. Porphyry, Antonius and Philipus, are called twice by Porphyry; the fourth brother was king of Damascus; both which are the observations of Spanheim.

10. This Leodias was a city of Gilead beyond Jordan.

11. This was the son of Zeno, and was in possession of Amathus, as we learn from sect. 3, here going.
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 they desired that they would desist from their ill-will to him, they hated him so much the more, on account of what had already happened; and when he had asked them whether they would now come to terms, they all cried out, "that he ought to kill himself." They also sent to Demetrius Eucersus, and desired him to make a league of mutual defence with them.

CHAP. XIV.

How Demetrius Eucersus merconse Alexander, and yet in a little time retired to the City of Antioch for Fear of the Jews. As also how Alexander slew many of the Jews, and thereby got clear of his troubles. Concerning the Death of Demetrius.

1. So Demetrius came with an army, and took those that invaded him, and carried them near the city Shechem; upon which Alexander, with his six thousand two hundred mercenaries, and about twenty thousand Jews, who were of his party, went against Demetrius, who had three thousand horsemen, and forty thousand foot. Now there were great endeavors used on both sides, Demetrius trying to bring off the mercenaries that were with Alexander, because they were Greeks, and Alexander trying to bring off those that were with Demetrius, when neither of them could persuade them so to do, they came to a battle, and Demetrius was the conqueror, in which all Alexander's mercenaries were killed, when they had given demonstration of the utmost courage. A great number of Demetrius's soldiers were slain also.

2. Now as Alexander fled to the mountains, six thousand of the Jews hereupon came together, and by the exercise of pity at the change of his fortune; upon which Demetrius, who had now retired out of the country; after which the Jews fought against Alexander, and being beaters, were slain in great numbers in the several battles whereby they had; when he had shut up the most powerful of them in the city Bethosema, he besieged them therein; and when he had taken the city, and gotten the men into his power, he brought them to Jerusalem, and did one of the most barbarous acts of cruelty, of which women were guilty, by torturing with his concubines, in the sight of all the city, he ordered about eight hundred of them to be crucified, and while they were living, he ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut off. He did this thing, only to get an easy way of revenge for the injuries they had done him: which punishment yet was of an inhuman nature, though we suppose that he had been ever so much more cruel, as indeed he had been, by his words with them; for he had by their means come to the last degree of hazard, both of his life and of his kingdom, while they were not satisfied by themselves only to fight against him, but introduced fortifications for the same purpose, say, at length they reduced him to that degree of necessity, that he was forced to deliver back to the king of Arabia the land of Moab and Gilead, which he had subdued, and the places that were in it. And they engaged in a battle against him, as they had done ten thousand other things that tended to affront and reproach him. However, this barbarity seems to have been without any necessity, on which account he bare the name of a Thracian, a Thracian to the Jews; whereas upon the soldiers that had fought against him, being about eight thousand in number, ran away by night, and continued fugitives all the time.

3. But when Demetrius was departed out of Judea, he went to Berea, and besieged his brother Philip, having with him ten thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen. He possessed the territory of Berea, the confederate of Philip called in Zizon, the ruler of the Arabian tribes, and Mithridates Sinax, the ruler of the Parthians, who coming with a great number of forces and besieging Demetrius in his incampment, into which they had driven him with their arrows, they compelled those that were with him by thirst to deliver up themselves. So they took a great many spoils out of that country, and Demetrius himself, that they sent to Mithridates, who was then king of Parthia; but as to those whom they took captives of the people of Antioch, they restored them to the Antiochians without any ransom. Now Mithridates, the king of Parthia, had Demetrius in great honor, till Demetrius ended his life by sickness. So Philip, presently after the fight was over, came to Antioch, and took it, and reigned over Syria.

CHAP. XV.

How Antiochus, who was called Darioeus, and after him Artaxerxes, made expulsions into Judea; and as also how Alexander, that had received the Jews in his dominion, and had given them to the power into his hands, and there he reigned: but as he was making war against the Arabians, his brother Philip heard of it, and came to Damascus, where Alexander was governor of the citadel, and the Damascusenes themselves, delivered up the city to him: yet because Philip was become ungrateful to him, and had bestowed upon him nothing of that in hopes whereof he had received him into the city, but had a mind to have it believed that it was rather delivered up out of fear than by the kindness of Milestius, and because he had not rewarded him as he ought to have done, he became suspected by him, and so he was obliged to leave Damascus again; for Milestius caught him sacrificing into the Hippodrome, and shut him up in it, and kept Damascus for Antiochus [Eucersus], who, hearing how Philip's affairs stood, came out of Arabia. He mustered an army, and went out on an expedition against Judea, with eight thousand armed footmen, and eight hundred horsemen. So Alexander, out of fear of his coming, dug a deep ditch, beginning at Chabarasa, which is now called Antipatris, to the sea of Joppa, on which part only his army could be brought against him. He also raised a wall, and erected wooden towers, and intermediate redoubts, for one hundred and fifty furlongs in length, and there expected the coming of Antiochus, but he soon burnt them all, and made his army pass by that way into Arabia. The Arabian king [Artaxas] at first retreated, but afterward appeared on the suddenises, and with ten thousand and a thousand horsemen to them the meeting, and fought desperately; and indeed when he had gotten the victory, and was bringing some auxiliaries to that part of his army that was in distress, he was slain. When Antiochus was fallen, he came to Antiochus, where the greatest part of them perished by famine.

2. After him Artaxas reigned over Coles SYSIS, and of two others was the fifth son of Antiochus Grea- The son of Demetrius, and of Demetrius Eucersus.

1 This Artaxas was the first king of the Arabs who took Damascus and reigned there; which name because afterward common to such Arabic kings, both of Pontus
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

slavery for them; but the senators, who were in all five hundred, fled to Apollo's temple, (for this attack happened to be made as they were sitting,) which was held sacred to Apollo, and where they had not dared to overthrow their city, he returned to Jerusalem, having spent a year in that siege.

4. About this very time Antiochus, who was called Grypus, and reigned twenty-nine years, being in the fourtieth year, over a great part of the kingdom, went to war against Antiochus, his father's brother, king of Syria, in the city of Seleucis, a city of Cochylisia.

5. And when Alexander had delivered the city to Grypus, he presently made an expedition against Caesarea. He also took Gadara after a siege of ten months. He also took Antiochus, a strong fortress belonging to the inhabitants above Jordan, where Theodorus, the son of Zenod, had his chief treasure, and what he esteemed most precious. This Zenod fell unexpectedly upon the Jews, and slew ten thousand of them, and seized upon Alexander's baggage: yet did not this misfortune terrify Alexander, for he made an expedition upon the maritime parts of the country, Raphia and Anthedon, (the name of the king being changed to Agrippina,) and took even then that by force: but when Alexander saw that Ptolemy was retired from Gaza to Cyprus, and his mother Cleopatra was returned to Egypt, he grew angry at the persecution, and, being in Seleucia, inquired if Ptolemy would assist them, and besieged their city, and ravaged their country. But as Apollodorus, the general of the army of Gaza, fell upon the camp of the Jews by night, with two thousand foreign, and ten thousand of his own force, while the night lasted, those of Gaza prevailed, because the enemy was made to believe that it was Ptolemy who attacked them; but when day was come on, and that mistake was corrected, and the Jews sighted the number of the assailants came back again and fell upon those of Gaza, and slew of them about a thousand; but as those of Gaza stoutly resisted them, and would not yield for either their want of any thing, nor for the great multitude that were slain, for they would rather suffer any hardship whatever than come under the power of their enemies, Aretas, king of the Arabsians, a person then very illustrious, encouraged them to give them battle, and promised them that he would come to their assistance; but it happened, that before he came, Apollodorus was slain, for his brother Lyssmachus, envying him for the great reputation he had gained among the citizens, and also mad with envy, delivered up the city to Alexander, who, when he came in at first, lay quiet, and afterward set his army upon the inhabitants of Gaza, and gave them leave to punish them; so some went one way, and some went another, and slew the inhabitants of Gaza; yet were not they of cowardly hearts, but opposed those that came to slay them, and slew as many of the Jews; and some of them when they saw themselves deserted, burnt their own houses, that the enemy might get none of their spoils; nay, some of them with their own hands slew their children and their wives, having no other way than this of avoiding

This account of the death of Antiochus Grypus is contained by Appian, Syrac. p. 196, here cited by Spanheim.

† Porphyry says, that this Antiochus Grypus reigned but twenty-nine years. Dr. Hume says, that he reigned in the river Oronteus. Appian says, that he was deprived of the kingdom of Syria by Tyranus; but Porphyry says, that the Lacedaemonian princes of the Cyrenæan sea, which is not 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 reproach upon Alexander, that he was a traitor to his brother, seems only to be founded on an old Psalterian calumnny upon his father, chap. x. sect. 5.

This Theodore was the son of Zenod, and was in possession of Amathus, as we learn from sect. 3, foregoing.
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 desired that they would desist from their ill-will to him, they hated him so much the more, on account of what had already happened; and when he had asked them what he ought to do, they all cried out, "that he ought to kill himself." They also sent to Demetrius Eucerus, and desiderated him to make a league of mutual defence with them.

CHAP. XIV.

How Demetrius Eucerus overcome Alexander, and yet in a little time retired out of the Country for Fear of the Jews. As also how Alexander slew many of the Jews, and thereby got clear of his troubles. Concerning the Death of Demetrius.

§ 1. So Demetrius came with an army, and took those that invited him, and pitched his camp near the city Shechohn; upon which Alexander, with his six thousand two hundred mercenarys, and a great multitude of people, made his way to him. The whole of his party, went against Demetrius, who had three thousand horsemen, and forty thousand footmen. Now there were great endeavors used on both sides. Demetrius trying to bring off the mercenarys of Alexander, and Alexander, when they were Greeks, and Alexander trying to bring off the Jews that were with Demetrius. However, when neither of them could persuade them so to do, they came to a battle, and Demetrius was the conqueror. It is said, several of the enemy were killed, when they had given demonstration of their fidelity and courage. A great number of Demetrius's soldiers were slain also.

§ 2. Now as Alexander fought against the mountains, 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 Jews killed Alexander, and being beheaded, 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 Bethorno, he besieged them therein; and when he had taken the city, and got about men in this power, he, broaching west of his party, went against Demetrius, who had three thousand horsemen, and forty thousand footmen. Now there were great endeavors used on both sides. Demetrius trying to bring off the mercenarys of Alexander, and Alexander, when they were Greeks, and Alexander trying to bring off the Jews that were with Demetrius. However, when neither of them could persuade them so to do, they came to a battle, and Demetrius was the conqueror. It is said, several of the enemy were killed, when they had given demonstration of their fidelity and courage. A great number of Demetrius's soldiers were slain also.

How Antiochus, who was called Dionysus, and after him Aratus, made Expeditions into Judea; as also how Alexander took many Cities, and then returned to Jerusalem, and, after a Sickness of This Year died; and what Council be gave to Alexander.

§ 1. After this, Antiochus, who was called Dionysus, and was Philip's brother, aspiring to the dominion, and came to Damascus, and got the power into his hands, and there he reigned: but as he was going against the mountains, 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 Jews killed Alexander, and being beheaded, 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 Bethorno, he besieged them therein; and when he had taken the city, and got about men in this power, he, broaching west of his party, went against Demetrius, who had three thousand horsemen, and forty thousand footmen.

2. After him Aratus reigned over Colosseia; and of two others was the fifth son of Antiochus Olympos; and that he is styled on the coins, Antiochus Ephesius Dionysus.

3. This Aratus was the first king of the Arabians who took Damascus, and reigned there; and, after raising common to such Arabians kings, both at Damascus, and at Samaria, he reigned there forty years. But his son after him, after his father's death, reigned also there thirty years; and he was the third king of this name, and the third son of Antiochus Olympos, who reigned there. But his son after him, after his father's death, reigned also there thirty years; and he was the third king of this name, and the third son of Antiochus Olympos, who reigned there.
being called to the government by those that held Damascus, by reason of the hatred they bare to Ptolemy Mnesus. He also made them sue to the government against Judea, and beat Alexander the Great in battle, near a place called Adida, yet did he, upon certain conditions agreed on between them, retire out of Judea.

It is said that Alexander, arched again to the city Dios, and took it; and then made an expedition against Eba, where was the best part of Zeno's treasures, and there he encompassed the place with three walls; and when he had taken the city by force of arms, he gave to Gaza the Salleneis and when he had taken these cities, he, besides them, took the valley which is the valley of Antiochus, as also the fortress of Gammula. He also accused Demetrius, who was governor of those places, of treachery, and turned him out; and after he had spent three years in this war, he returned to his own country, when the Jews joyfully received him upon this his good success.

4. Now at this time the Jews were in possession of the following cities, that had been given to the Syrians, and Idumeans, and Phcenicians; at the seaside, Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamin, Ashdod, Gaza, Antiochus, Raphia, and Rhinocorura; in the middle of the country, near to Jerusalem, Ekron, and Marias; and near of Samaria, Mount Carmel, and Mount Tabor, Sceytropolis, and Gadara; of the country of Gaselniot, Seleucia, and Gabala; in the country of Tyre, and Medea, Tyre, and Oronea, Gelithon, Zara, the valley of the Celles, and Pella; which last they utterly destroyed, because its inhabitants would not bear to change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews also. 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 diseaiser by hard drinking, and had a consumption which had possessed him for three years, yet would not leave off going out with his army, till he was quite spent with the labors he had undergone, and died in the town of Regesa, a fortress beyond Jordan. But when his queen saw that he was not long to live, she sent for his son, and desired that he would take him to her, that she might bring him up, that he might be a king, and that he would bring him up; for she observed, that she had no longer any hopes of surviving, she came to him weeping, and lamenting, and bewailing herself and her sons, on the condition that they should be brought up by her, and when she had them, she would not leave me and any children, were destitute of all other supports, and this when thou knowest how much ill-will thy nation bears them?" But he gave her the following advice, "Yet I will follow her advice, and I will suggest to her, in order to retain the kingdom securely, with her children, that she should conceal their death from the soldiers till she should have taken that place: after this, she should go into triumph, as upon a victory, to Jerusalem, and put some of her authority into the hands of the them. As, for that she would commend her to the honor she had done them, and would reconcile the nation to her: for he told her, they had great authority among the Jews, both to do hurt to such as they hated, and to bring advantage to those they loved; and that they were from their disaffection that they are so believed best of all by the multitude when they speak any severe thing against others, though it be only out of easy at them. I have advised them by their means that he had incurred the displeasure of the nation, whom indeed he had injured. Do thou, therefore, and, (said he) when thou art come to Jerusalem, send for the leading men among them, and show them your written letters, and the presence of sincerity, give them leave to use as they themselves please, whether they will dishonor the dead body by refusing it burial, as having severely suffered by my means, or whether they will honor the dead body by burying it, and giving it that which is due to that body. Promise them also, that thou wilt do nothing with them in the affairs of the kingdom. If thou dost but say this to them, I shall have the honor of a more glorious funeral than if they do not give me any other, for which I am in fear, and when it is in their power to abuse my dead body, they will do it no injury at all, and thou wilt rule in safety." So when he had given his advice, he died, and he had reigned twenty-seven years, and lived fifty years within one.

CHAP. XVI.

How Alexander, by gaining the good-will of the Parthians, retained the Kingdom nine Years and then, having done many glorious Actions, died.

1. Alexander, when she had taken the kingdom, acted as her husband had suggested to her, and, spoke to the Parthians, and put all things into their power, both as to the dead body, and as to the affairs of the kingdom, and thereby pacified their anger against Alexander, and made them hear good of him and his family, and in the commandation they gave him, they brought them to grief, and to be in heaviness for him, so that he had a funeral more splendid than had any of the kings before him. Alexander left behind him twelve good sons, and he would have sent one to the kingdom to Alexander. Now, as to these two sons, Hyrcanus was indeed unable to manage public affairs, and delighted rather in a quisling, which sect yet, thus supported, were at last in a great measure the ruin of the religion, government, and people; and he brought them into so wicked a state that the vengeance of God came upon them to their utter exclusion. Just as did Calvinus politically advise the king of Persis, to who he said, "If you will be satisfied with this state, that is, if they set Jesus above, with his miracles, all will believe on him, and the Romans would come, and take away their place;" and which is so true, that a general recollection of Jesus of Nazareth brought down the vengeance of God upon them, and occasioned them very Romans, of whom they seemed so much afraid, that to prevent it they did not use the Roman laws, and thus came and cut a way both their place and nation, within thirty-eight years afterward. I hereby wish the queen's wife's advice to them would consider what advice was so good, and what like examples, and no longer suffered all virtues and religions to their pernicious schemes of government, to the destruction of all public good. Then the Parthians, who had introduced their own traditions, ob. xvi sect. 2; and that he now saw a political necessity of taking the sword into their hands, and the traditions brought to him, of his widow and family minded to retain their monarchical government by tyranny over the Jewish, but
already slain, and these in danger of it, all the by-standers broke out into tears: but Arius chiefly made manifest what were his sentiments, and used many reproachful expressions to his mother, saying, "Now indeed is the case this is, that they have been themselves the authors of their own calamities, who have permitted a woman, who, against reason, was mad with shame, in accordance with them also, to order the multitude to be obedient. She also restored again those practices which the Pharisees had introduced, according to the traditions of their forefathers, and which her father- in-law, and her son Aristobulus, and the principal truces, had indeed the name of the Regent, but the Pharisees had the authority; for it was they who restored such as had been banished, and set such as were prisoners at liberty, and, to say all at once, they differed in their principles. However, the queen also took care of the affairs of the kingdom, and got together a great body of mercenary soldiers, and increased her own army to such a degree, that she became terrible to the neighboring tyrants, and took hostages of them; and the country was entirely at peace, excepting the Pharisees; for they disturbed the queen, and desired that she should kill those who loved to disturb her: but they numbered them, after which they cast the throat of one of them, Diogenes: and after him they did the same to several, one after another, till the men that were the most potent came into the power, and restored them; these, however, did not appear openly, that if he had an opportunity, he would not permit his mother to go on so. "These put the queen in mind what great dangers they had been, and they begged of her that she should take her men alive; but if they must be done, whereas they had demonstrated the firm- ness of their fidelity to her master, insomuch, that they had received the greatest marks of favor from him; and they begged of her that she should not treat her men thus; and she consented. What happened, that when they had escaped the ha- zards that arose from their [open] enemies, they were to be cut off at home, by their [private] enemies, like brute beasts, without any help whatsoever. They said also, that if their adversaries would be satisfied with those that had been slain already, they would take what had been done patiently, on account of their natural love to their king; but if they must expect the same for the future also, they implored of her a dismissal from her service, for they could not bear to think of attempting any method for their deliverance without her, but would be driven to their flight; that is, the gate, in case she would not forgive them. And that it was a great shame both for themselves, and for the queen, that when they were neglected by her, they should come under the lash of her husband's enemies; for let things be the Arabian king, and the monachs, would give any reward, if they could get such men as foreign auxiliaries, to whom their very names, before their death, they had been given to; and the poet, but if they could not obtain this their second re- quest, and if she had determined to prefer the Pharisees before them, they still insisted that she would place them every one in her fortresses; for what they hated the most, namely, to be against Alexander's house, they would be willing to bear their part, and to live in a private station there."

3. As these men said thus, and called upon Alexander's ghost for confirmation of those

* The number of 325,000, or even 300,000, as one Great and the fewest, the 10,000. The Balance, whether the wife and children of Aristobulus were now met, and which overlooked the temple, could be no other than what Syrius, Antig., ir. met. 3 and 6, and Realled the Great revolt, and called The Power of Antonius, Antig., b. xv capp. xii. met. 3 which supposes them but 40,000.
of Aristobulus from all parts, insomuch that he had a kind of royal attendance about him; for in little more than forty-two strong places, which gave him the opportunity of raising an army from Libanus and Trachonitis, and the monarchs: for men are easily led by the greater number, and easily submit to them. And besides this, that by affording him 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 Hyrcanus with them, went into the queen, and desired, "that she would give them her sentiments about the present posture of affairs, for that Aristobulus was in effect lord of almost all the kingdom, by possessing of so many places, and that was afraid for them to take any counsel by themselves, how ever she were, whilst she was alive, and that the danger would be upon them in no long time." But she "bade them do what they thought proper to be done: that they had many circumstances in their favor still remaining: a nation in great heart, an army, and money in their several treasuries, for that she had small concern for public things, so long as the strength of her brother already failed her."

6. Now a little while after she had said this to them, she died, when she had reigned nine years,

and had in all reigned seventy-three. A woman she was who showed no signs of the weakness or frailty of her sex, for she was intelligible to the same degree in her ambition of governing, and demonstrated 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 government; for she always preferred the present to futurity, and preferred the power of an imperious dominion above all things, and in comparison of that had no regard to what was good, or what was right. However, she left the seat of her house to such an unfortunate condition, that she was the occasion of the taking away that authority from it, and that in no long time after, which she obtained by a vast number of her misfortunes, and this out of a desire 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 desirous of a proper support of great men: and indeed her management during her administration, while she was alive, was such, as filled the palace after her death with calamities and disturbance. However, all these things were not to happen, she preserved the nation in peace. And this is the conclusion of the affairs of Alexander.

BOOK XIV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA TO THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS.

CHAP. I.
The War between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus about the Kingdom; and how they made an Agreement that Aristobulus should be King, and Hyrcanus His private Life: 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. Denying, before we proceed, 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 harmoniously disposed, 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 of authors, sought to aim at above all the rest, is to speak accurately with truth historians; because, before we proceed, that those that are otherwise unacquainted with such transactions, and obliged to believe what these writers inform them of.

2. Hyrcanus then began his high priesthood on the third year of the hundred and seventy-seventh Olympiad, when Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus, who was called Metellus of Aretae, were consuls at Rome; when presently Alexander's was the last, he continued there, as it came to a battle with Hyrcanus at Jericho, many of the soldiers deserted him, and went over to his brother; upon which Hyrcanus fled into the citadel, where Aristobulus's wife and children were placed by their guard, as we have said already, and attacked and overcame those his adversaries that had fled thither, and lay within the walls of the temple. So when he had sent a message to his brother about agreeing the matters between them, he laid aside his enmity to him on these conditions, that Aristobulus should be king; that he should live without intermediate with public affairs, and quietily enjoy the estate he had acquired. When he had agreed upon these terms in the temple, and had confirmed the agreement with oaths, and the giving one another their right hands, and embracing one another in the sight of the whole multitude, they departed; the one, Aristobulus, to the palace; and Hyrcanus, as a private man, to the former house of Aristobulus.

3. But there was a certain friend of Hyrcanus, an idumesian, called Antipater, who was very rich, and in his nature an active and sedulous man; who was at enmity with Aristobulus, and hadaddock thoughts with him upon account of his good-will to Hyrcanus. It is true that Nicolaus of Damascus says, that Antipater was of the stock of the Jews who came out of Babylon into Judea; but that assertion of his was to gratify Herod, who was his son, and who, by certain revolutions of fortune, came afterward to be king of the Jews, whose history we shall give you in its proper place hereafter. However, this Antipater was at first called Antipas, and that was his father's name also; of whom they relate this, that king Alexander and his wife made him a son and made him a league of friendship with those Arabians, and Gazites, and Aesdonians, that were of his own party, and had

† That the famous Antipater's or Antipas's father was also Antipater or Antipas, which two may justly be esteemed one and the same name, the former with a Greek or Gentile, the latter with a Hebrew or Jewish termination, Josephan here assures us, though Eusebius indeed says it was Herod.
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 the might do him, because of his hatred to him, so he stirred up the most powerful of the Jews, and talked against him to them privately; and, said that "It was unjust to him, to make war and intense heat, and to burn the houses, and to make the city wet, and to send them rain. This man had hid himself, because he saw that this sedition would last a great while. However, they brought him to the Jewish camp, and desired, that as by his prayers he had once put an end to the storm, so he would in like manner make imprecations on Aristobulus, and those of his faction. And when upon his refusal, and the excuses that he made he was still by the multitude compelled to speak, he stood up and the Jews left the God, the King of the whole world! since those that stand now with me are they, and those that are besieged are also they priests, I beseech thee, that thou wilt neither hearken to the prayers of those besieged nor hate those who offer the prayers of those who besiege them." Whereupon such wicked Jews as stood about him, as soon as he had made this prayer, stoned him to death.

2. But God punished the Jews immediately for this their barbarity, and took vengeance of them for the murder of Onias, in the manner following: while the priest and Aristobulus were besieged, it happened that the feast called the Passover was at hand, which it was the custom of the Jews to offer a great number of sacrifices to God; but those that were with Aristobulus wanted sacrifices, and desired that their countrymen without would furnish them with such sacrifices, and as many of them to come in the manner of a supplicant to him, he would not deliver him up to his enemies. So Antipater having received such assurances, returned to Hyrcanus to Jerusalem. With this he entered the city, and went to the house of Aristobulus, and cried out, "In the name of God, let me in; for I am sent by the king to Aristobulus, and he said that it was for his advantage to fly away to Aretas. Now Arabia is a country that borders upon Judea. However, Hyrcanus sent Antipater first to the king of Arabia, in order to receive assurances from him; and those who were the more come in the manner of a supplicant to him, he would not deliver him up to his enemies. So Antipater having received such assurances, returned to Hyrcanus to Jerusalem. While after he was there, he was sent to Aretas, and was received with great respect, and went a great journey, and came and brought him to the city called Petra, where the palace of Aretas was; and as he was a very familiar friend of that king, he persuaded him to let him go to Hyrcanus to Judea, and his persuasion he continued every day without any intermission. He also proposed to make him presents on that account. At length he prevailed with Aretas in his suit. Moreover, Hyrcanus sent Antipater, that when he had been brought thither, and had received his kingdom, he would restore that country, and those twelve cities which his father Alexander had taken from the Arabians, which were these, Medaba, Naballo, Libias, Tharamus, Athone, Zoor, Orene, Marias, Rudda, Lussa, and Oruba.

CHAPTER II.

How Aretas and Hyrcanus made an Expedition against Aristobulus, and besieged Jerusalem; and how Scouras, the Roman General, raised the Siege. Concerning the Death of Onias.

§ 1. After these promises had been given to Aretas, Hyrcanus went to Jerusalem with an army of fifty thousand horse and foot, and best him in the battle. And when after that victory, many went over to Hyrcanus as deserters, Aristobulus was left desolate, and fled to Jerusalem; upon which the king of Aretas took all his army and made an assault upon the temple, and besieged Aristobulus therein, the people still supporting Hyrcanus, and assisting him in the siege, while none but the priests continued with Aristobulus. So Aretas joined the forces of the Arabians and of the Jews together, and pressed on the siege vigorously. As this hap-
Hycanus, and fought them at a place called Papparon, and beat them in the battle, and slew about six thousand of the enemy; with whom fell Phalion also, the brother of Antipater.

**CHAP. 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, to the Fortress Alexandrium, Pompey led his Army against him, and ordered him to deliver up the Fortress whereof he was possessed._

1. A LITTLE afterward Pompey came to Damascus, and marched over Calosarya, at which time there came ambassadors to him from all Syria, and Egypt, and out of Judea also; for to Aristobulus had sent him a great present, which was a golden vine,* of the value of five hundred talents. Now Strabo of Capadocia mentions this present in these words: "There came also an embassy out of Egypt, and a crown of the value of four thousand pieces of gold, and out of Judea there came another, whether you call it a vine or a garden; they called the thing TEMPOLE. However, we ourselves saw that present reposited at Rome in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with this inscription, _The gift of Alexander the king of the Jews._ It was valued at five hundred talents, and the report is, that Alexander the Great made the gift of this tera to the god, and that it was reserved for the perpetual use of the priests, so that it was not to be sold or given to any one for any price, but that it was to remain in the Temple at all times, and that it might be seen as a perpetual testimony of what the king had done for the god and his temple."

2. In a little time afterward came ambassadors again to him, Antipater from Hycanus, and Nicodemus from Aristobulus; which last also accused such as had taken bribes, first Gabinius, and then Scipio, and one thousand 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 contumaciously opposed him to be taken and slain, the beginning of the spring, he brought his army out of their winter quarters, and marched into the country of Damascus; and as he went along he demolished the citadel that was at Apamia, which Antiochus Cyzicus had built, and took cognizance of the country of Ptolemy Menneus, a wicked man, and not less than Dionysius of Tripoli, who had been3 distinguished, who was also his relation by marriage; yet did he not find the punishment of his crimes for the thousand talents, with which money Pompey paid the soldiers their wages. He also conquered the place called Lyais, of which Silas, a Jew, was tyrant. And when he had passed over the city of Palmyra and Chalcis, he got over the mountain which is on the limit of Calosarya, he came from Pella to Damascus; and there it was that he heard the causes of the Jews, and of their governors Hycanus and Aristobulus, who were at difference one with another, as also of the nation against them both, which did not desire to be under kingling government, because the form of government they received from their forefathers was that of submission to the priests of that God whom they worshipped, and not the government of a prince. There is another passage which explains, that though these two were the posterity of priests, yet did they seek to change the government of their nation to another form, in order to enslavethem. However, he justified them, and said, that although he were the elder brother, he was deprived of the prerogative of his birth by Aristobulus, and that he had but a small part of the country under him. Aristobulus having taken away the rest, he ran to Pompey also, and accused him that the vine which had been made into their neighbors' countries, and the pyramids that had been at sea, were owing to him; and that the nation would not have revolted, if a prince had been averse from violence and disorder; and there were no fewer than a thousand Jews, of the best esteem among them, who confirmed this accusation: which confirmation was procured by Antipater. But Aristobulus, in return, and of his own accord, ordered his troops, in his emperor's own temper, which was inactive, and to account contemptible, which caused him to be deprived of the government; and that for himself he was necessitated to take it upon himself, for fear lest it should be transferred to others; and that he had as to his title of king, it was no other than what his father had taken before him. He also called for witnesses of what he said, some persons who were both young and insolent, whose heads were so hard, some heads of hair, and other ornaments, were detached [by the court, and which they appeared in, not as though they were to plead their cause in a court of justice, but as if they were to detain Pompey:]

3. When Pompey had heard the causes of these two, and had condemned Aristobulus for his violent procedure, he then spake civilly to them, and sent them away; and told them, that they should appoint a judge to settle all their affairs, after he had first taken a view of the affairs of the Nabataeans. In the mean time, he ordered them to be quiet; and treated Aristobulus civilly, lest he should make the assembly of the Romans angry. But when Aristobulus did; for without expecting any further determination, which Pompey had promised them, he went to the city of Deius, and thence marched into Judea. And when Pompey was angry; and taking with him that army which he was leading against the Nabataeans, and the auxiliaries that came from Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, with the other Roman legions which he had with him, he made an expedition against Aristobulus; but as he passed by Pella and Scythopolis, he came to Carea, which is the first entrance into Judea when one passes over the sand hills, and which was a most beautiful fortress that was built on the top of a mountain, called Alexandrium, whither Aristobulus had fled, and thence Pompey sent his commands to him, that he should come to him. According ly he sent his envoys, and did not make war with the Romans, he came down; and when he had disputed with his brother about the right to the government, he went up again to the citadel, as Pompey gave him leave to do; and this he did two or three times, as fatterer himself with the hopes of having the kingdom granted him; so that still pretended he would obey Pompey in whatsoever he commanded, although at the same time, he retired to his fortresses, and did not choose himself too keen, and that he might be prepared for a war, in case it should prove, as he feared, that Pompey should transfer the government to Hycanus. But when Pompey had given orders to his general, that the Alexandrian fortress he held, and to send an injunction to his governors under his own hand, for that purpose, for they had been forbidden to deliver them places, which last seems to me the most probable; for as to Archibius Usher's conjectures, that Alexander made it, and dedicated it to God in the temple, and that thence Aristobulus took it, and sent it to Pompey, they seem to me to be without foundation. Some Jewish sephiroth, who would hardly have avoided the recording both these uncommon points of history, had he known and comprehended it, either the Jewish nation, or even Pompey himself, than have replenished such a fragment instance of marriage.
BOOK XIV—CHAP. IV.

How 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 at Jericho, (where the palm-trees grow,) and the temple which is an ornament of the most precious, which, upon any incision made in the wood with a sharp stone, distills out thence like a juice,) he marched in the morning to Jerusalem. Hereupon Aristobulus reported on what he was to say and do, because he was already promised to give him money, and received him into Jerusalem, and desired that he would leave off the war, and do what he pleased peaceably. So Pompey sent his captain, and sent Gabinius, and soldiers with him, to receive the money and the city; yet was no part of this performed, but Gabinius came back, being both excluded out of the city, and receiving none of the money, and the soldiers were not permitted to the agreements to be executed. At this Pompey was very angry, and put Aristobulus into prison, and came himself to the city, which was strong on every side, excepting the south, where the top was not so high, and if there was a broad and deep ditch that encompassed the city, and included within the temple, which was itself encompassed about with a very strong stone wall.

2. There was a sedition of the men that were within the city, who did not agree what was to be done in their present circumstances, while some thought it best to deliver up the city to Pompey; but Aristobulus's party exhorted the people, and the others, not to give up the city, but there was a broad and deep ditch that encompassed the city, and included within the temple, which was itself encompassed about with a very strong stone wall.

3. Pompey took the city by a sedition of the men that were within the city, who did not agree what was to be done in their present circumstances, while some thought it best to deliver up the city to Pompey; but Aristobulus's party exhorted the people, and the others, not to give up the city, but there was a broad and deep ditch that encompassed the city, and included within the temple, which was itself encompassed about with a very strong stone wall.

4. But when the battering engine was brought near, the greatest of the towers was shaken by Josephus to be immense, which exactly agrees to Strabo's description, and which numbers in Strabo are a strong confirmation of the truth of Josephus's description also.

* These express testimonies of Josephus here, and Antiq. b. viii. ch. vi. sect. 6, and b. xv. ch. iv. sect. 2, that the only palma gardens, and the best palm-trees, stood at Jericho. Engracia about the north part of the Dead Sea (whereabout also Alexander the Great saw the basin drop,) show the mistake of those that understand Engracia and Jerome, who were at Jericho, and that those places were not distant from Jericho, as westward sent the people to the temple; and all those which were more distant, and without it. And in the first place, he offered terms of accommodation to those within, but when they would not comply with what he desired, he encompassed all the places thereabout with a wall, wherein Herod was glad to assist him on all occasions, but Pompey pitched his camp within the wall, on the north part of the temple, where it was most practicable; and the best and the best palma gardens, as well as the wall, 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's army was stationed; however, a bank was raised day by day, with great deal of labor, 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 through benefit 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 it not been our practice, from the days of our forefathers, to rest on the seventh day, this bank could never have been perfected, by reason of the opposition the Jews would have made; for though our laws give us leave then to defend ourselves against those that besiege us, and assault us, yet it does not permit us to meddle with our enemies while they do any thing else.

5. This 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 the temple, and then that they might do it the following days. And any one may hence learn how very great piety we exercise towards God, and the observance of his laws, since the priests were not at all hindered from their sacred duties, nor were the ministers, but they continued all the day, and in the night, and still did not 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 against them, or by fire, but whatever 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 consul, and the enemy then fell upon them, and cut them to pieces; and thenceforward the Jews would not comply with Pompey, as thinking it better to suffer whatever came upon them, at their very altars, than to omit any thing that they had required of them. And that this is not a mere brag, or an encomium to the honor of our temple, but the real truth, I appeal to those that have written the acts of Pompey; and among them, to Strabo and Nicolaus [of Damascus]; and besides these, to Titus Livius, the writer of the Roman history, who will bear witness to this thing.

6. But when the battering engine was brought near, the greatest of the towers was shaken by Josephus to be immense, which exactly agrees to Strabo's description, and which numbers in Strabo are a strong confirmation of the truth of Josephus's description also.
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

it, and fell down, and brake down a part of the fortifications; so the enemy poured in space, and Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sylla, with his soldiers, first of all ascended the wall, and next to him Furius the centurion, with those that followed on the other part, while Fabius, who was also a centurion, ascended it in the middle, with a guard behind him, and now all men fell into 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 burnt them that were not able to meet; and there was under. Of the Jews there fell twelve thousand, but of the Romans very few. Abaelon, who was at once both uncle and father-in-law to Aristobulus, was taken captive. And no small quantities of money, and other things of the value 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 orders that the charge of the temple should be cleansed, and to bring what offerings was the law required to God; and restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, both because he had been useful to him in other respects, and because he himself had been in the cause of giving Aristobulus any assistance in 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 bridge, and made a breach in it with the help of Pella, and Dios, and Samaria, as also Marius, and Ashdod, and Jamnia, and Athresha, to their own inhabitants: these were in the inland parts; besides that which had been demolished; and also of the main city, Gaza, and Joppa, and Doræ, 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 misery which came upon Jerusalem, were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, by raising a sedition one against the other; for now the Romans were not so much bent 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 fell into the hands of Herod, and the dignity was bestowed on those that were high priests, by the right of their family, became the property of private men. But of these matters we shall treat in their proper places. Now Pompey committed Celsus,asar as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt, to Scævus, 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 as many sons, the one of whom run away, but the younger, Antigonus was carried to Rome, together with his sisters.

CHAP. V.

How Scævus made a League of mutual Assistance with Aretas. And what Gabinius did in Judæa, after he had conquered Alexander the Son of Aristobulus.

1. Scævus made now an expedition against Petrea, 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 pinched by famine, Antipater furnished him with corn out of Judæa, and gave him a large sum of money at the command of Hyrcanus. And when he was sent to Aretas, as an ambassador by Scævus, because he had lived with him formerly, he persuaded Aretas to give Scævus a sum of money, to persuade him to his own advantage; and undertook to be his surety for three hundred talents. So Scævus, upon these terms, ceased to make war any longer, which was done much as Scævus's desire, as at the desire of Aretas.

2. So Scævus returned from Arabia, after he had discharged the duties of his mission. As soon as the son of Aristobulus, made an incursion into Judea, Gabinius came from Rome to Syria, as commander of the Roman forces. He did many consider, who was to be sent to Judæa, and for better to consult Alexander, since Hyrcanus was not yet able to oppose his power, but was already attempting to build the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had overthrown, although the Romans, who were there, restrained him from giving him leave. Moreover, Alexander went over all the country round about, and armed many of the Jews, and suddenly got together ten thousand armed footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen, and fortified Alexandria; a fortress there near to Cœnas and Mese, and near the mountains of Arabia. Gabinius therefore came upon him, having sent Marcus Antonius, with other commanders, before. These armed such Romans as followed them, and, together with them, such Jews as were subject to them, whose leaders were Pitholus and Mailichus, and they took with them also their friends that were with Antipater, and met Alexander, while Gabinius himself followed with his legion. However, Alexander, with the consent of his friends, fell upon one another, and it came to a pitched battle, in which the Romans slew of their enemies about three thousand, and took a like number alive.

3. At which time Gabinius came to Alexandria, and invited those that were in it to deliver up its on certain conditions, and promised that then their former offences should be forgiven but a great number of the enemy had pitched their camp before the fortress, whom the Romans attacked, Marcus Antonius fought bravely, and slew a great number, and seemed to come off with the greatest honor. So Gabinius left the army there, and sent the rest of the soldiers, and he himself went into other parts of Judæa, and gave order to rebuild all the cities that he met with that had been demolished; at which time were rebuilt Samaria, Ashdod, Scythopolis, Antipatris, Raphia, and many of the cities also in Gaza, and not a few others besides. And the men acted according to Gabinius's command, it came to pass, that at this time these cities were securely inhabited, which had been desolate for a long time.

4. When Gabinius had done thus in the country, he returned to Alexandria; and when he urged

† Of this destruction of Gabinius there is no mention in Josephus. And it is not certain what Pompey did concerning Scævus, whose name is not mentioned in Ciceró. Accordingly, in this place, it is not easy to determine whether Pompey is, or is not, the person intended.
on the siege of the place, Alexander sent an 
assemble him, desiring that he would pardon 
a former offences; he also delivered up the fort-
tresses, Hyrcania, and Macheras; and at last 
Alexandrium itself, which fortress Gabinius de-
 molested. But when Alexander's mother was 
of the sight of the Romans, as having her 
husband and other children at Rome, came to 
him, he granted her whatsoever she asked; and 
when he had settled matters with her, he brought 
Hyrcania to Jerusalem, and committed the care 
of the child to her. With this Alexander had ordain-
ed five counsellors; he distributed the same nation 
into the same number of parts: so these coun-
sells governed the people; the first was at Je-
erusalem, the second Gabinius, the third 
Amatus, the fourth at Jericho, and the fifth at 
Sepphoris in Galilee. So the Jews were now 
freed from monarchic authority, and were 
governed by an aristocracy. *(x)

CHAP. VI.

How Gabinius caught Aristobulus after he had 
left Rome, and sent him back to Rome 
again; and how the same Gabinius, as he 
returned out of Egypt, overcame Alexander 
and the Nabataeans in battle.

1. Now Aristobulus ran away from Rome to 
Jerusalem, when he saw the rebellion at 
Alexandrium, which had been newly demolished: here-
upon Gabinius sent soldiers against him, and for 
their commanders Sesemna, and Antonius, and 
Servilius, in order to hinder him from getting 
protection from the country; and in the mean 
time, although a great number of those that came to 
him were unarmed; and when Aristobulus had 
resolved to go to Macheras, he dismissed those 
people, because they were unarmed, for they 
could not be useful to him, in what actions they 
were going about, but he took with him eight 
 thousand that were armed, and marched on: and 
as the Romans fell upon them severely, the Jews 
ought valiantly, but were beaten in the battle; and 
the fact was that they had fought with alacrity, but 
were overborne by the enemy, they were put to 
fight; of whom were slain about five thousand, 
and the rest being dispersed, tried, as well as they 
could, to escape in the wood. But Gabinius 
Aristobulus had with him still above a thousand; 
and with them he fled to Macheras, and fortified 
the place, and though he had bad ill success, he 
still had good hopes of his affairs: but when he 
had struggled against the siege for two days' 
time, and had received many wounds, he was 
brought as a captive to Gabinius, with his son 
Antigonus, who also fled with him from Rome. 
And this was the fortune of Aristobulus, who 
was sent back again to Rome, and was there re-
tained in bonds, having been both king and high 
priest for three years and six months: and was 
indeed an eminent person and one of a great 
soeur. However, the senate let his children go, 
together with Gabinius, with Gabinius, that he had 
remissed their mother so much when she delivered 
up the fortresses to him; and accordingly they 
then returned into Judæa.

2. But when Gabinius was making an expedi-
tion against the Nabataeans, and had already 
passed over Ephraim, he changed his mind, 
and resolved to return into Egypt, in order to re-
store Ptolemy to his kingdom. * This hath also

been related elsewhere. However, Antipater 
supplied his army, which he sent against Arche-
laus, with corn, and weapons, and money. He 
also made those Jews who were above Ptolemais, 
his friends and confederates, and had been the 
guardians of the passes that led into Egypt. 
But when he came back out of Egypt, he found 
Syria in disorder, with seditions and troubles; 
for Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, having 
seized on the government a second time by 
force, made many of the Jews revolt to him, and 
had his brother, who was in the army, and slew all the Romans he could light 
upon, and proceeded to besiege the mountain 
called Gerizim, whither they had retreated.

3. But when Antipater had sent for a state, he sent Antipater, who was a prudent man, 
to those that were seditious, to try whether he 
could cure them of their madness, and persuade 
them, to return to a better mind, and when he 
came to them, he brought many of them to a sound 
mind, and induced them to do what they ought 
to do; but he could not restrain Alexander, for 
he had an army of thirty thousand Jews, and 
met Gabinius, and joining battle with him, was 
beaten, and lost ten thousand of his men about 
mount Tabor.

4. So Gabinius settled the affairs which be-
longed to the city Jerusalem, as was agreeable 
to Antipater's inclination, and went against the 
Nabataeans, and overcame them; and he also 
went in a friendly manner Mithridates and 
Orsanes, who were Parthian deserters, and 
came to him, though the report went abroad 
that they had taken him again. And when 
Gabinius had performed great and glorious ac-
tions, in his management of the affairs of war, 
he returned to Rome, and delivered the govern-
ment to Cassius. Now, Nicolaus of Damascus, 
Strabon, and Pliny, and Strabo, all besides, 
advocated the opinion of Pompey and Gabinius against the Jews, 
while neither of them say anything new which 
is not in the other.

CHAP. VII.

How Cassius came into Judæa, and pillaged 
the Temple; and marched against the Parthians,
and perished with his Army. Also how Cassius 
obtained Syria, and put a stop to the Parthians, 
and then went up to Judæa.

1. Now Cassius, as he was going upon his 
extpedition against the Parthians, came into 
Judæa, and carried his army up to the temple, 
which Pompey had left, being two thou-
sand talents; and was disposed to spoil it of all 
the gold belonging to it, which was eight thou-
sand talents. He also took a beam which was 
made of solid beaten gold, of the weight of 
three hundred mine; 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 want of desire for gold, but as a 
righteous man; but being intrusted with the 
custody of the veil belonging to the temple, 
which were of admirable beauty, and of very 
costly workmanship, and hung down from this 
beam, when he saw that Cassius was busy in 
gathering money, and was in fear for the entire 
norms of the temple, he gave him this 
beam of gold, as a ransom for the whole; but 
this did not fail him, and he neither removed nothing else out of the temple, but 
was satisfied with this only which he should give 
him, being worth many ten thousand [shekels.] 
Now, this beam was contained in a wooden beam

*(x) Dean Prideaux well observes, that "notwithstanding 
the slander against Gabinius at Rome, Josephus gives 
him a laudable character. If he had acquitted himself 
with honor in the charge committed to him"

*In Judæa.* See at the year 55.

*This history is best illustrated by Dr. Hudson out of 
Livy, who says, "That 4. Gabinius the proconsul re-
stored Ptolemy to his kingdom of Egypt, and ejected 
Archelaus, whom they had set up for king." &c. See 
Prid. at the years 64 and 63.
that was hollow; but was known to no others, but Elesazar alone knew it; yet did Crassus take away this beam, upon the condition of touching none other else that belonged to the temple, and then brake his oath, and carried away all the gold that was in the temple.

2. Let no one wonder that there was so much wealth in our temple, since all the Jews throughout the world, and those who worshipped God, say, even those of Asia and Europe, sent their contributions to it, and this from very ancient times. Nor is the largeness of these sums without its attractiveness; nor is that greatness owing to its being holy, as making it great; but there are many witnesses to it, and particularly Strabo of Cappadocia, who says thus: "Mithridates sent to Cos, and took the money which queen Cleopatra had deposited there; in addition, he sent the people of Phrygia, Phœrias; and a daughter named Selome. This Antipater cultivated also a friendship and mutual 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 that were coming to attack him, as hath been related by others.

4. But some time afterward, Cœsar, who had been defeated near Antioch and the senate were fled beyond the Ionia sea, freed Aristobulus from his bonds, and resolved to send him into Syria, and delivered two legions to him, that he might set matters right, as being a peaceable man and beloved by his subjects. Cassius had no desire of what he hoped for from the power that was given him by Cœsar, for those of Pompey's party prevented it, and destroyed him by poison, and those of Cæsar's party buried him. His dead body also lay, for a good while, embalmed in honey, till Antony afterward sent it to Judea, and caused him to be buried in the royal sepulchre. But Scipio, upon Pompey's sending a request to him to take Cæsar's body, said, because the young man was accused of what offenses he had been guilty of at first against the Romans, cut off his head; and thus did he die at Antioch. But Ptolemy, the son of Menæas, the brother of Cistaenus, hearing of this, and knowing Cæsar taken, took his brethren to him, and sent his son Philippon to Askelion to Aristobulus's wife, and desired her to send back with her his son Antigonus, and her daughters; the one of which, who was the wife of Demetrius, did all she could to do the behest of her father, Ptolemy, slew him, and married Alexander, and continued to take care of his brethren.

CHAP. VIII.
The Jews became confederates with Cæsar when he fought against Egypt. The glorious Actions of Antipater, and his Friendship with Cæsar. The Honors which the Jews received from the Romans and Athenians.

§ 1. Now after Pompey was dead, and after that victory Cæsar had gained over him, Antipater persuaded Cæsar to make him a very useful to Cæsar when he made war against Egypt, and that by the order of Hyrcanus: for when Mithridates of Pergamus was bringing his auxiliaries, and was not able to continue his march, he fell into the hands of Hyrcanus, who was put to death by him. Cæsar, and Aristobulus was captured. 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 arrival there, he made a treaty with Antipater, and a certain number of the Jews to march with him. Hyrcanus was now in Phœnicia; and when the inhabit-

3. So when Crassus had settled all things as he used, he marched into Parthia, and all the cities where both he himself and all his army perished, as hath been related elsewhere. But Cassius, as he fled from Rome to Syria, took possession of it, and was an impediment to the Parthians, who now these Jews began to overrun the Parthians, made incursions upon it; and as he came back to Tyre, he went up into Judea also, and fell upon Taricheæ, and presently took it, and carried about thirty thousand Jews captives; and they Ptolemais, who succeeded Aristobulus in his military services, and that by the persuasion of Antipater, who proved to have great interest in him, and was at that time in great repute with the Idumeans also; out of which nation he mar-

*Dr Hudson observes, that the name of this wife of Antipater in Josephus was Cypris, as a Hebrew term, 

mination, but not Cypris, the Greek name for Venus, as some critics were ready to correct it.
BOOK XIV.—CHAP. VIII.

was the high priest, whereas he exhorted them to cultivate friendship with Caesar, and to supply his army with money, and all sorts of provisions which they wanted; and accordingly, when he saw Antipater and the high priest of the same sentiments, they did, as they were desired. And when the Jews about Memphis heard that these Jews were come over to Caesar, they also invited Mithridates to come to them; so he came, and what Antipater and the high priest advised he should choose, leaving the determination to himself; so he made him procurator of Judea. He also gave Hyrcanus leave to raise up the walls of his own city, upon his asking that favor of him, for they had been destroyed by fire. And this grant he sent to the consuls of Rome, to be engraven in the capitol. The decree of the senate was this that follows: **"Lucius Valerius, the son of Lucius, the pretor, referred this to the senate, upon the state of December, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree Lucius Coponius, the son of Lucius, of the Colline tribe, and Papirius, of the Quirine tribe, concerning the affairs which had happened, and also those of Alexander, the son of Antiochus, and Alexander, the son of Dositheus, ambassadors of the Jews, good and worthy men, proposed, who came to renew that league of good-will and friendship with the Romans which was before being broken: and, having brought a shield of gold, as a mark of confederacy, valued at fifty thousand pieces of gold; and desired that letters might be given them, directing them both to the citizens of Rome, and to their country and their havens might be at peace, and that no one among them might receive any injury. It, therefore, pleased [the senate] to make a league of friendship and good will with them, and that time and ever they stood in need of, and to accept of the shield which was brought by them. This was done in the ninth year of Hyrcanus, the high priest and ethnarch, in the month Panemus."**

Hyrcanus also desired that Athenaios, a citizen 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 Prutaneia and priesthood of Dionysius, the son of Euphranor, the son of the latter part of the month Panemus, this decree of the Athenians was given to their commandants, when Agathocles was archon, and Eucles, the son of Menander, of Alcamia, was the scribe. In the month Mysicus, the fourth day of the Prutaneia, 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. Dionysius, the son of Dionysius, gave to the people. Since Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, continues to bear good-will to our people in general, and to every one of our citizens in particular, and treats them with all sorts of kindness; and when any of the Athenians come to him, either as ambassadors, or on any occasion of their own, he receives them in an obliging manner, and sees that they are commodious. The ancient city of Jewish, of several former testimonies, it is now also decreed, at the report of Theodosius, the son of Theodorus, and upon his putting the people in mind of the virtue of this man, and that his pursuit is to do us good, and since the king himself, to honor him with a crown of gold, the usual reward according to the law, and to erect his**

*Take Dr. Hudson's note upon this place, which I suppose to be the truth: "Here is some mistake in Josephus; for when he had promised a decree for the restoration of Jerusalem, he brings in a decree of far greater importance, which is not to be found. It hath been thought that the ancient of Josephus, and the one here, are not the same, but that the ancient of Josephus is the son of Jonathan, and the one here, a descendant of Abba, and that the former is the original of the latter. This, however, which believes the Josephus' son is called the son of Antiochus and Alexander, and that the name Tiberius is set down follows a little lower, in the collection of Roman decrees, that concerned the Jews and is thus stated when Caesar was consul the fifth time. See ch. 23.*
statue is brass in the temple of Demus, and of the Graces; and that this present of a crown shall be proclaimed publicly in the theatre, in the Dionysian shows, while the new tragedies are acting; and in the Panathenean, Eleusinian, and Gymnical shows also; and that the commanders shall take care, while he continues in his friendship, and preserves his good will to us, to return all possible honor and favor to the man for his affection and generosity; that by this treatment it may appear how our people receive the goods sent, and repay a suitable reward and he be induced to proceed in his affection towards us, by the honors we have already paid him. That ambassadors be also chosen out of all the Athenians, who shall carry this despatch, and direct him in the accept of the honors we do him, and to endeavor always to be doing some good to our city." And this shall suffice us to have spoken as to the honors that were paid by the Romans and the people of Athens to Hyrcanus.

CHAPTER IX.

How Antipater committed the Care of Galilee to Herod, and that of Jerusalem to Phasaelus; as also, how Herod, upon the Jews' eneny 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 brought him to Phoenicia, he went out of Syria, and returned to Judea. He then immediately raised up the wall, which had been thrown down by Pompey; and, by convening thither, he pacified that tumult which had been in the country; and this by both threats and promises; so that they were free from it, so that "if they would be of Hyrcanus's side, they would live happily, and lead their lives without disturbance, in the enjoyment of their own possessions; but if they were addicted to the hopes of their former friends, they should be free, for fear that if they get wealth thereby, they should 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 bear him to be set aside whom they had appointed to govern." And when Antipater had said this to them, he himself settled the affairs of the country, and caused one of those that had been slain by Herod raised this indignation; for those women continued every day in the temple, persuading the king and the people, that Herod might undergo a trial before the sanhedrim for what he had done. Hyrcanus was so moved by these complaints, that he summoned Herod to come to his trial, for what was charged upon him. Accordingly he came: but his father had persuaded him to come not like a private man, but to appear in his official character, and that when he had settled the affairs of Galilee 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 to Jerusalem, that he should assume that as great a force as might look like terrifying Hyrcanus, but still such a one as might not expose

6 Those who will carefully observe the several occasional numbers and chronological characters in the life and death of this Herod, and of his children, hereafter noted, will see, that twenty-five years, and not fifteen, must for certain have been Josephus's own number, when he was made governor of Galilee. See chap. xxviii. sect. 3, and chap. xxiv. sect. 7, and particularly Antiq. b. xvii. chap. viii. sect. 1. where he tells us 44 years after Herod dies an old man about 70

Sextus Caesar, who was a relation of the great Caesar, and was now president of Syria. Now Phasaelus, Herod's brother, was by ambition and emulation at his actions, and envied the fame he had thereby got, and became ambitious not to be behindhand with him in deserving it: so he made the inhabitants of Jerusalem bear him the greatest good-will which could believe itself, but did neither manage its affairs improperly, nor abuse his authority therein. This conduct procured from the nation to Antipater such respect, as he was due to kings, and such honors as he might possibly have had, if he were an honest prince of the country. Yet did not this splendor of his as frequently happens, in the least diminish him in that kindness and fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

3. But now the principal men among the Jews, when they saw Antipater and his sons to grow so much in the good-will of the nation bare to them, and in the revenues which they received out of Judea, and out of Israel, became ill disposed to him: for indeed Antipater had contracted a friendship with the Roman emperors: and when he had prevailed with Hyrcanus to send them money, he took it to himself and his son, and present intended, and paid a part of it as if it were his own, and not Hyrcanus's gift to them. Hyrcanus heard of this his management, but took no care about it; say, he was rather very glad of it: but the chief men of the Jews the next year, when they saw it, were so angry, that Herod was a violent and bold man, and very desirous of acting tyrannically; so they came to Hyrcanus, and now accused Antipater openly, and said to him, "How long wilt thou be quiet and suffer those that ingratefully abuse thy benefactions, by being so careless of thyself and of thy kingdom; for Antipater and his sons are not now stewards of thine affairs: do not thou deceive thyself with such notions: they are evidently absolute lords, for Herod, Antipater's son, has slain Hesekiah and those that were with him, and hath thereby transgressed our law, which hath forbidden to slay any man, even though he were Antipater's son, because he had been accus- ed to suffer death by the sanhedrim; yet hath he been so insolent as to do this, and that without any authority from thee."

4. Upon Hyrcanus hearing this he compelled them to withdraw; and he exhorted his brother and of those that had been slain by Herod raised this indignation; for those women continued every day in the temple, persuading the king and the people, that Herod might undergo a trial before the sanhedrim for what he had done. Hyrcanus was so moved by these complaints, that he summoned Herod to come to his trial, for what was charged upon him. Accordingly he came: but his father had persuaded him to come not like a private man, but to appear in his official character, and that when he had settled the affairs of Galilee 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 to Jerusalem, that he should assume that as great a force as might look like terrifying Hyrcanus, but still such a one as might not expose
him asked and unguarded [to his enemies.]

However, Sextus Caesar, president of Syria, wrote to Hyrcanus, and desired him to clear Herod, and dismiss him at his trial, and threatened him beforehand, if he did not do it. Which epistle of his was the occasion of Hyrcanus's delivering Herod from suffering any harm from the sanhedrin, for he loved him as his own son. But when Herod stood before the sanhedrin with his body of men about him, he affrighted them all; for he was unlike any other man in that he would not bring any charge against him, but there was a deep silence, and nobody knew what was to be done. When affairs stood thus, one whose name was Maccabeus, and his son Gropius, de-\ndered to move us to compassion, with his hair dishevelled, and in black mourning garm-\nts: but this admirable man Herod, who is accused of murder, and called to answer so bold and grave a question, stands in purple, and with the hair of his head finely trimmed, and with his armed men about him, that if we shall condemn him by our law, he may either suffer in silence or escape death. Yet do not I make this complaint against Herod: he is to be sure more concerned for himself than for the laws; but my complaint is against yourselves, and your king, who gave him a license to do so. However, take you notice, that God is great, and that this very man, whom you are going to absolve and dissoy, for the sake of Hyrcanus, will one day punish both you and your king himself also."

Now the sanhedrin mistook any part of this pre-diction; for when Herod had received the king-
dom, he slew all the members of this Sanhedrin, and Hyrcanus himself also, excepting Seneus, for he had a great honor for him on account of his friendship. So Herod was afterward besieged by Herod and Sosius, he persuaded the people to admit Herod into it; and told them, "That for their sins they would not be able to bear the very things are not to be done, and that this things will be related by us in their proper places."

But when Hyrcanus saw that the members of the sanedrin were ready to pronounce the sentence of death upon Herod, he put off the trial to another day, and sent privately to Herod, and advised him to fly out of the city, for that by this means he might escape. So he retired to Damascus, as though he fled from the king; and when he was had with Sextus Caesar, and had given him a license to do so. However, resolved to do thus, that in case he were again summoned before the sanedrin to take his trial, he would not obey that summons. Hereupon the members of the sanedrin had great indignation at this, and made every effort to persuade Hyrcanus that all these things were against him. Which state of matters he was not ignorant of, but his temper was so unnatural, and his joy was so great, that he ignored the nothing all. But when Sextus had made Herod's disruption of the army of Colosoea, for he sold him that post for money, Hyrcanus was in fear lest Herod should make war upon him; nor was the effect of what he feared long in coming on: for Herod came and brought an army along with him, to fight with Hyrcanus, as being angry at the trial he had been summoned to undergo be-}

fore the sanedrin; but his father Antipater, and his brother [Phasaelus], met him, and hindered him from assaulting Jerusalem. They also pacified his vehement temper, and persuaded him to do no overt act, only to affright them with threatening, with threats of war 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 within, how he was dissuaded by his friends from bring any charge against him, but there was a deep silence, and nobody knew what was to be done. When affairs stood thus, one whose name was Maccabeus, and his son Gropius, de-\ndered to move us to compassion, with his hair dishevelled, and in black mourning garm-\nts: but this admirable man Herod, who is accused of murder, and called to answer so bold and grave a question, stands in purple, and with the hair of his head finely trimmed, and with his armed men about him, that if we shall condemn him by our law, he may either suffer in silence or escape death. Yet do not I make this complaint against Herod: he is to be sure more concerned for himself than for the laws; but my complaint is against yourselves, and your king, who gave him a license to do so. However, take you notice, that God is great, and that this very man, whom you are going to absolve and dissoy, for the sake of Hyrcanus, will one day punish both you and your king himself also."

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tated his fidelity and diligence about our affairs, and this both now and in former times, both in person as a part of our generals, and by our commanders of the armies, and in presence as a 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 valor to all the others of our generals, and showed to my personal satisfaction that whatever he promised or cried for, he gave to our enemies, and that whatsoever he shall hereafter have, and are in possession of, or have bought, they shall retain them all. It is also our pleasure, that the city of Joppa, which the Jews had originally, and afterwards for the reasons I write, the Romans shall belong to them, as it formerly did, and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his sons, have as tribute of that city from those that occupy the land for the country, and for that in the fights between single gladiators, and in those with beasts, they shall sit among the senators to see those shows, and that when they desire an audience, they shall be introduced into the senate by the dictator, or by the governor of Syria, and when the governor introduced them their answers shall be returned them in ten days at the farthest, after the decree of the senate is made about their affairs."

3. "Caius Cæsar, the son of Alexander, and consul, hath granted, That out of regard to the honor, and virtue, and kindness of the man, and for the advantage of the senate, and of the people of Rome, both as a ruler and as his children, he has granted, both the land of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish nation, by the same right, and according to the same laws, by which their progenitors have held the priesthood."

4. "Caius Cæsar, the son of Alexander, and consul, hath granted, That out of regard to the honor, and virtue, and kindness of the man, and for the advantage of the senate, and of the people of Rome, both as a ruler and as his children, he has granted, both the land of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish nation, by the same right, and according to the same laws, by which their progenitors have held the priesthood."

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8. "Julius Caesar, praetor [consul] of Rome, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Parthians, sendeth greeting. The Jews of Delos and some of the senators, and some of our ambassadors, signified to us, that by a decree of yours, you forbid them to make use of the customs of their forefathers, and their way of sacred worship. Now it does not please us, that you should pass laws against our friends, and confederates, whereby they are forbidden to live according to their own 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 nor may soldiers exact money of them for winter quarters, or under any other pretense, but that they shall retain that which they already have, and that whatsoever they shall hereafter have, and are in possession of, or have bought, they shall retain them all. It is also our pleasure, that the city of Joppa, which the Jews had originally, and afterwards for the reasons I write, the Romans shall belong to them, as it formerly did, and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his sons, have as tribute of that city from those that occupy the land for the country, and for that in the fights between single gladiators, and in those with beasts, they shall sit among the senators to see those shows, and that when they desire an audience, they shall be introduced into the senate by the dictator, or by the governor of Syria, and when the governor introduced them their answers shall be returned them in ten days at the farthest, after the decree of the senate is made about their affairs."

9. "Julius Caesar, praetor [consul] of Rome, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Parthians, sendeth greeting. The Jews of Delos and some of the senators, and some of our ambassadors, signified to us, that by a decree of yours, you forbid them to make use of the customs of their forefathers, and their way of sacred worship. Now it does not please us, that you should pass laws against our friends, and confederates, whereby they are forbidden to live according to their own 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
Caius Caesar, our emperor and consul, in that decree wherein he forbade the Baccanian rioters to meet in the city, did yet permit these Jews, and these only, both to bring in their contributions, and to make their common sacrifices. Accordingly, when I forbid other Baccanalian rites, I permit these Jews to gather themselves together according to the customs and laws of their religion, to perform their sacrifices and to sacrifice for sacred and religious purposes, as their law requires, and for collecting oblations necessary for their sacrifices: and my will is, that you write this to the several cities under your jurisdiction."

13. And these were the concessions that Dossabella made to our nation when Hyrcanus sent an embassy to barter with them. But Lucius the emperor, in this decree ran thus: "I have at my tribunal set these Jews, who are citizens of Rome, and follow the Jewish religious rites, and yet live at Ephesus, free from going there every year, and from the superintendence they are under. This was done before the twelfth of the kalends of October, when Lucius Lentulus, and Caius Marcellus, were consuls, in the presence of Titus Appius Balbus, the son of Titus, and lieutenant of the province of Asia, of Titus Togius, the son of Titus, of the Crustumine tribe; of Quintus Resius, the son of Quintus; of Titus Pompeius Longinus, the son of Titus; of Caius Servilius, the son of Caius, of the Tarentine tribe; and Publius Gallius, the son of Publius, of the Vetarian tribe; of Caius Sentius, the son of Caius, of the Sabattine tribe; of Titus Atullius Bulbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant and vice-prætor to the magistrates, and to the people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting: Lucius Lentulus the consul freed the Jews that are in Asia from going into the army, at my intercession for them. And when I sent the same petition some time afterward to Pharnaces, the emperor, and to Lucius Antonius the vice-questor, I obtained that privilege of them also; and my will is, that you take care that no one give them any molestation."  

14. The decree of the Delians. "The answer of the prætors, when Beuctus was archon, on the twentieth day of the month Thargelion. While Marcus Fiso the lieutenant lived in our city, who was also appointed to the prætorship, the Delians being in the senate, that as to those things which, by the decree of the senate, Caius Caesar had adjudged about the Jews, and yet had not hitherto that decree been brought into the treasury, it is our will, as to the order of Publius, Isabell, and Marcus Antonius, our consuls, to have these decrees put into the public tables, and brought to the city questors, that they may take care to have the people put upon them this tax. This was done before the fifth of the ides of February in the temple of Concord. Now the ambassadors from Hyrcanus the high priest were these, Lysimachus the son of Pannatius, Alexander the son of Marcus, and Marcianus the son of Chema, and Jonathan the son of Onias."

11. Hyrcanus sent also one of these ambassadors to Dolabella, who was then the prefect of Asia, and desired him to dismiss the Jews from military service, and to preserve to them the customs of their forefathers, and to permit them to live according to them. And when Dolabella had received Hyrcanus's letter, without any further deliberation, he sent an epistle to all the Asiarchs, to the kings of Libya, to the Cappadocians, to the Ephesians, the metropolis of Asia, about the Jews, a copy of which epistle here follows:

12. "When Artemon was prytaneis, on the first day of the month Leneus, Dolabella, the emperor, to the people of Ephesus, sends greeting: Alexander, the son of Theodorus, the ambassador of Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander the high priest and enthroned of the Jews, and the countrymen of many nations could not go into their armies, because they are not allowed to bear arms, or to travel on the Sabbath-days, nor there to procure themselves those sorts of food which they have been used to eat from the times of their forefathers: I therefore grant them a freedom from going into the army, as the former precepts 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 their sacrifices: and my will is, that you write this to the several cities under your jurisdiction."

13. And these were the concessions that Dossabella made to our nation when Hyrcanus sent an embassy to barter with them. But Lucius the emperor, in this decree ran thus: "I have at my tribunal set these Jews, who are citizens of Rome, and follow the Jewish religious rites, and yet live at Ephesus, free from going there every year, and from the superintendence they are under. This was done before the twelfth of the kalends of October, when Lucius Lentulus, and Caius Marcellus, were consuls, in the presence of Titus Appius Balbus, the son of Titus, and lieutenant of the province of Asia, of Titus Togius, the son of Titus, of the Crustumine tribe; of Quintus Resius, the son of Quintus; of Titus Pompeius Longinus, the son of Titus; of Caius Servilius, the son of Caius, of the Tarentine tribe; and Publius Gallius, the son of Publius, of the Vetarian tribe; of Caius Sentius, the son of Caius, of the Sabattine tribe; of Titus Atullius Bulbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant and vice-prætor to the magistrates, and to the people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting: Lucius Lentulus the consul freed the Jews that are in Asia from going into the army, at my intercession for them. And when I sent the same petition some time afterward to Pharnaces, the emperor, and to Lucius Antonius the vice-questor, I obtained that privilege of them also; and my will is, that you take care that no one give them any molestation."

14. The decree of the Delians. "The answer of the prætors, when Beuctus was archon, on the twentieth day of the month Thargelion. While Marcus Fiso the lieutenant lived in our city, who was also appointed to the prætorship, the Delians being in the senate, that as to those things which, by the decree of the senate, Caius Caesar had adjudged about the Jews, and yet had not hitherto that decree been brought into the treasury, it is our will, as to the order of Publius, Isabell, and Marcus Antonius, our consuls, to have these decrees put into the public tables, and brought to the city questors, that they may take care to have the people put upon them this tax. This was done before the fifth of the ides of February in the temple of Concord. Now the ambassadors from Hyrcanus the high priest were these, Lysimachus the son of Pannatius, Alexander the son of Marcus, and Marcianus the son of Chema, and Jonathan the son of Onias."

11. Hyrcanus sent also one of these ambassadors to Dolabella, who was then the prefect of Asia, and desired him to dismiss the Jews from military service, and to preserve to them the customs of their forefathers, and to permit them to live according to them. And when Dolabella had received Hyrcanus's letter, without any further deliberation, he sent an epistle to all the Asiarchs, to the kings of Libya, to the Cappadocians, to the Ephesians, the metropolis of Asia, about the Jews, a copy of which epistle here follows:

12. "When Artemon was prytaneis, on the first day of the month Leneus, Dolabella, the emperor, to the people of Ephesus, sends greeting: Alexander, the son of Theodorus, the ambassador of Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander the high priest and enthroned of the Jews, and the countrymen of many nations could not go into their armies, because they are not allowed to bear arms, or to travel on the Sabbath-days, nor there to procure themselves those sorts of food which they have been used to eat from the times of their forefathers: I therefore grant them a freedom from
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 were not consulted, and informed him of what he did. Dositheus, the son of Cleopatra of Alexandria 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, under the supervision they were wont to receive under. Accordingly, he did dismiss them. This was done before the thirteenth of the kalends of October."

19 In the month Quintilis, when Lucius Lentulus and Caesar Marcellus were consuls; and there were present Titus Appius Balbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant of the horatian tribe, Titus Togius of the crusturin tribe, Quintus Resius the son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius the son of Titus Cornelianus Luctus Parrucius the son of Capito, the son of Lucius, of the Colline tribe, Aulus Furio Tertius, the son of Aulus, and Appius Menas. In the presence of these it was that Lentulus pronounced this decree: I have been advised by the Senate to dismiss those Jews that are Roman citizens, and are accustomed to observe the sacred rites of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of the superstition they are under."

20 The magistrates of the Latins, and Publius, and of the citizens of the colony, send greeting: Sopater, the ambassador of Hyrcanus, the high priest, hath delivered us an epistle from thee, whereby he let us know, that certain ambassadors were come from Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, saying, he had sent an epistle written concerning their nation, wherein they desire that the Jews may be allowed to observe their Sabbaths and other sacred rites, according to the laws of their forefathers, and that they may be under no command, because they are our friends and confederates, and that nobody may injure them in our provinces. Now, although the Trebillians there present contradicted them, and were not agreed with the decree, yet didst thou give order that they should be observed, and informed us that thou hadst been desired to write this to us about them. We therefore, in obedience to the injunctions we have received, have received the epistle which they sent, 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."

21 "Publius Servilius, the son of Publius, of the Galban tribe, the proconsul of the magistrates, senate, and people of the Milesians, sendeth greeting: Pytanes, the son of Hermes, a citizen of the city, came to me at Tralles, and held a court there, and informed me that you used the Jews in a way different from my opinion, and forbade them to celebrate their Sabbaths, and to perform the sacred rites receive of the fathers, and to enjoy the fruits of the land according to their ancient custom, and that he had himself been the promulger of your decree, according as your laws require. 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 make use of their own customs."

22 The decree of those of Pergamus. When Cratinus was prytaneis, on the first day of the month Deius, the decree of the prytaneis was this: Since the Jews undertook dangers for the common safety of all mankind, and are ambitious to settle their confederates and friends in happiness and with peace, and since the nation of the Jews, being a great nation, and in many parts, undertake dangers for the common safety of all mankind, they have no right to have their relations among us, and to bring their affairs to exercise the Senate thereupon made a decree about what they had desired of them, that Antiochus the king, the son of Antiochus, should be regularly to come to the body, that comes to hand, that the Romans; and that the fortresses, and the havens, and the country, and whatsoever else he had taken from them, should be restored to them; and that it may be lawful for them to export and import all goods to and from their country; that there be no king nor people may have leave to export any goods, either out of the country of Judea, or out of their havens, without paying customs, but only Prolemy, the king of Alexandria, because he is our brother, and has always been our friend. We, accordingly, desire to the garrison that is in Joppa may be ejected. Now Lucius Pettius, one of the senators, a worthy and good man, gave order that we should take care that these things should be done, and accord or promise the things as we shall take care also that their ambassadors 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 which he was dismissioned, and gave great zeal about the Jews, and described Hyrcanus's virtue and generosity, and how he was a benefactor to all men in common, and particularly to us, and said that we laid up the epistle in our public records; and made a decree ourselves, that since we also are in confederacy with the Romans, we would do every thing we could for the Jews, according to our power, to the end that they may be made free, and be ready to bestow other benefits upon us, as justly expecting to receive proper requitals from us; and desiring them to remember that our ancestors were friendly to the Jews even in the days of Abram, who was the father of all the Hebrews, as we have [also] found it set down in our public records."

23 The decree of those of Halicarnassus. When Eumenes was prytaneis, the son of Oristidas by descent, but by adoption of Eumenes himself, on the 4th day of the month Aristierion, the decree of the people, upon the representation of Marcus Alexander, was this: Since we have ever a great care and precaution to manage the affairs of the king, and since we aim to follow the people of the Romans, who are the benefactors of all men, by a public epistle of those people to the Jews, preserved in the first book of the Maccabees, xii. 10-23, and those by Simon and Antiochus Eupator, as recorded in p. 58, that Alexander, who raised the Parthian, was of the seed of Abra-
BOOK XIV.—CHAP. XI.

and what they have written to us about a league of f. 1. dansal and mutual assistance among the Jews and our city, and that their sacred offices and accustomed festivals and assemblies, may be observed by us, we have decreed, that as many men and women of the Jews as are willing so to do, may celebrate their holy seasons in their holy offices, according to the Jewish laws; and may make their processions at the several, according to the customs of their forefathers; and if any one, whether he be a magistrate or private person, hindereth them from performing them, he shall be liable to a fine, to be applied to the uses of the city."

24. The decree of the Sardians. This decree was made by the senate and people, upon the request of the priests of the precincts of those Jews, who are our fellow-citizens, and live with us in this city, have ever had great benefits bestowed upon them by the people, and have come now into the senate, and desired of the people their liberty, by the senate and people of Rome, they may assemble together, according to their ancient and legal custom, and that we will not bring any suit against them about it; and that a place may be set apart for them to worship in, with their congregations, with their wives and children, and may offer, as did their forefathers, their prayers and sacrifices to God; now the senate and people have decreed to permit them to assemble together, as far as they can do so according to their own laws; and that such a place be set apart for them by the praetors, for the building and inhabiting the same, as they shall esteem fit for that purpose. And that those that take care of the provisions for the city, shall take care that such sorts of food as they esteem fit for their eating, may be imported into the city.

25. The decree of the Ephesians. When Menophilius was prytaneus, on the first day of the month Artemisia, this decree was made by the people: "Nicanor, the son of Euphemius, pronounced it, upon the representation of the praetors. Since the Jews that dwell in our city had petitioned Marcus Julius Ponticus, the son of Brutus, the praefect, that they might be allowed to observe their Sabbath, and to act in all things according to the customs of their forefathers, he the Senate and the nobles, and so decreed it, and now the praetor hath granted their petition. Accordingly, it was decreed by the senate and people, that in this affair that concerned the Romans, no one of them should be hindered from keeping the Sabbath, nor be fined for so doing, but that they may be allowed to do all things according to their own laws."

26. Now there are many such decrees of the senate and imperators of the Romans, and those different from those before, which have been made in favor of Hyrcanus, and of our nation; as also, there have been more decrees of the city, and rescripts of the praetors, to such epistles as concerned, our rights and privileges; and certainly it may be believed that they are all to this purpose, and that by the specimens which we have inserted; for since we have produced evident marks that have still been seen, of the friendship we have had with the Romans, and demonstrated that those marks are, engraven upon columns and tables of brass in the Capitol, that are still in being, and preserved to this day, we have omitted to set down all as needless and disagreeable; for I cannot suppose any one so perverse as not to believe the friendship which 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 which we have recited. And thus have we sufficiently explained that confederacy we set those times had with the Romans.

CHAP. XI.

How Marcus succeeded Sextus, when he had been slain by Brutus's assassins; and how, after the Death of Cassius, Cassius came to Rome, and was distrusted Judeus; 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: Cæcilius Bassus, being a very valiant and brave man, in a serious design against Sestus Cæsar, and slew him, and then took his army and got the management of public affairs into his own hand; so there arose a great war about Apamia, while Cæsar's great army came against Apamia, and caused a great number of horsemen and footmen: these Antipater also sent succours, and his sons with them, as calling to mind the kindnesses they had received from Cæsar, and on that account he thought they ought not but justly and lawfully take vengeance on the man that had murdered him. And as the war was drawn out into a great length, Marcus came from Rome to take notice of the government upon him: but Cæsar's 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 time that arose upon the death of Cæsar was now begun, and the principal men were all gone, some one way, and some another, to raise armies; Cassius came from Rome into Syria, in order to receive the [army that lay in] the camp of Apamia; and having raised the siege, he brought over both Bassus and Marcus to his party. He then went over the cities, and got together weapons and soldiers, and laid great taxes upon those cities; and he chiefly oppressed the Jews and the Gentiles of it, and of many talents; but Antipater, when he saw the state to be in so great consternation and disorder, divided the collection of that sum, and appointed his two sons to gather it, and so that part of it was to be enfranchised by Marcus, who was ill disposed to him, and part by others. And because Herod did exact what was required of him from Galilee before others, he was in the greatest favor with Cassius; for he thought it a part of prudence to cultivate a friendship with the Romans, and to gain their good-will at the expense of others; whereas the curators of the other cities, with their citizens, were sold for slaves; and Cassius reduced four cities into slavery, the two most potent of which were Tyre and Sidon, and besides these, Lydda and Thamna. Nay, Cassius was so very angry at Malichus, that he had killed him, (for he assailed him,) had not Hyrcanus 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
that his death would be the preservation of Hyrcanus's government; but his design was not unknown to the Romans, who, when they conceived, he retired beyond Jordan, and got together an army, partly of Arabs, and partly of his own countrymen. However, Malichus, being one of great cunning, denied that he had laid any snares for him, and said that his defences were impenetrable, both to himself and his sons; and said that while Phasaelus had a garrison in Jerusalem, and Herod had the weapons of war in his custody, he could never have a thought of any such thing. So Antipater, hearing the discourse of Malichus, was reconciled to him, and made an agreement with him; this was when Marcus was president of Syria; who yet perceiving that this Malichus was making a disturbance in Judea, prevented both; but Phinias had already resolved to steal him away privately, and to march thence into Judea; and as Cassius was in haste to march against Antony, he thought to bring the country to revolt, and to procure the government to himself. But Phinias had already resolved, and he, being a shrewd man, and perceiving what his intention was, he sent thither beforehand a servant, in appearance indeed to get a supper ready, for he said before, that he would feast them all there, but in reality to the commanders of the army, whom he persuaded to go out against Malichus with their daggers. So they went out and met the man, and he feasted them, and in the night caused him to be bed. Whereupon Hyrcanus was so astonished at what had happened, that his speech failed him; and when, after some difficulty, he had recovered himself, he asked Herod, what the matter was; and Herod replied, that it was for his own good; and when he said that it was done by the command 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 establishment of the city; for Herod did not care for what he wickedly did to Antipater.

7. But when Cassius was marched out of Syria, disturbances arose in Judea; for Felix, who was left at Jerusalem with an army, made a sedition, and the legions within themselves rose in arms; but Herod went to Fabius the prefect of Damascus, and was desired to run to his brother's assistance, but was hindered by a disturber that seized upon him, till Phasaelus by himself had been too hard for Felix; and had shut him up in the tower, and there, on certain conditions, dismissed him. Phasaelus also complained of Hyrcanus, that although he had received a great many benefits from them, yet they would not help him in the time of his necessity. But his brother made many places to revolt, and kept garrisons in them; and, particularly Massada, the strongest fortress of them all. In the mean time Herod sent a new captain, and took from Felix all the places he had gotten; and, upon certain conditions, dismissed him also.

CHAP. XII.

Herod ejects Antigonus, the Son of Aristobulus out of Judea, and gains the Friendship of Antony, who was now come into Syria, by sending him presents; on which Antony did not admit of those that would have accused Herod: and what it was that Antony wrote to the Tyrians in behalf of the Jews.

§ 1. Now Ptolemy, the son of Menneus brought back into Judea Antigons, the son of Aristobulus, and made him governor; but Herod and his friends were not content to contradict Malichus's hypocrisy, but to give him tokens of mutual friendship, in order to prevent his suspicion of them.

6. However, Herod sent to Cassius, and informed him of the murder of his father; who

*In this and the following chapters, the reader will easily remark how truly Grotius observes, in his notices on the Romans, in favor of the Jews, that their rights and privileges were commonly purchased of the Romans with money. Many examples of this sort, both as to the Romans and others in authority, will occur in our Josephus, both now and hereafter,
kept it under in the way of a tyrant. Marcellus also marched into Gallia, which lay in his neighborhood, and took three of his fortresses, and put garrisons into them to keep them. But when Herod came, he took all from him; but the Tyrian garrison he dismissed in a very civil manner: nay, to some of the soldiers he gave presents, out of the good-will he bare to that city. When he had despatched these affairs, and was gone to meet Antigonus, he joined battle with him, and beat him, and made him out of his course, and presently, when he was just come to the borders. But when he was come to Jerusalem, Hyrcanus and the people put garlands about his head; for he had already contracted an affinity with them by his marriage with Caecilia, a descendant of his, and for that reason Herod took the greater care of him, as being to marry the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and the grand-daughter of Hyrcanus, by whose marriage he gained the eye of the Jews and two female children. He had also married before this another wife, out of a lower family of his own nation, whose name was Doris, by whom he had his eldest son Antipater.

The victory was undeceived, and had been cassius near Philippi, as others have related; but after the victory, Caesar went into Gaul [Italy] and Antony marched for Asia, who, when he was arrived at Bikhiynus, had ambassadors that met him, either for Cassius or Antony. So large a part of the Jews came thither, to accuse Phasaelus and Herod, and they said, that Hyrcanus had indeed the appearance of reigning; but that these men had the power; but Antony paid great respect to Herod, and sent him a crown of gold. The Jews, with a great show of persuading him to take his defence against his accusers, on which account his adversaries could not so much as obtain a hearing; which favor Herod had gained of Antony by money. But since, Asia was come to Ephesus, Hyrcanus the high priest, and our nation, sent an embassy to him, who carried a crown of gold with them, and desired that he would write to the governors of the provinces, to set those Jews free who had been carried captive by Cassius, and this without their having fought against him, and to restore them that country, which, in the days of Cassius, had been taken from them. Antony thought the Jews' desertion of justice, and purpose against Hyrcanus, and to the Jews. He also sent, at the same time, a decree to the Tyrians; the contents of which were to the same purpose.

3. Marcus Antonius, imperator, to Hyrcanus that he might have taken by the first of the u-nith greeting: If you be in health, it is well; I also am in health, with the army. Lysimachus, the son of Pseudus, and Josephus, the son of Menea, and Alexander, the son of Theodorus, your ambassadors, met me at Ephesus, and have renewed that embassy which they had formerly been upon Rome; and have diligently acquitted themselves of the present embassy, which thou and thy nation have intrusted to them. I have heard their last remonstrances devoted to us for us. I am therefore satisfied, both by your actions and your words, that you are well disposed to us: and I understand that your conduct is constant and religious; so I reckon upon you as our own; but when those were adversaries to you, and to the Roman people, abstained neither from cities nor temples, and did not observe the agreement they had confirmed by oath; it was proper of us to account of our contest with them, but on account of all mankind in common, that we have taken vengeance on those who have been the authors of great injustice towards men, and of great wickedness towards those that were the friends of God. For the rest, of what 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 threatened the gods themselves, which Macedonia received, as it is a climate peculiarly proper for infamous and insensate attempts: and we have overcome that confused rout of men, half mad with spite against us, which they got together at Philippi, in Macedonia, when they seized on the places that were appointed to them: in that 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 victory we gained, because the gods had condemned those men for their wicked enterprise. When he had fled as far as Philippi, was shot up by us, and became a partaker of the same perdition with Cassius; and now these have received their punishment, we suppose that we may enjoy peace for our own security, both by land and sea. I therefore, bearing in mind both thee and your nation, shall take care of what may be for your advantage. I have also sent epistles in writing to the several cities, that if any persons, whether free or bond, are under the spear of Cassius, or his subordinates, they may be set free. And I will that you kindly make use of the favors which I and Dolabella have granted you. I also forbid the Tyrians and others in your country, to know for what places of the Jews they now possess, I order them to restore them. I have withal accepted of the crown which thou sentest me.

4. Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting: The ambassadors of Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews appeared before me at Ephesus, and told me, that you are in possession of part of their own city, which you entered upon under the government of our adversaries. Since, therefore, we have undertaken a war for the obtaining the government, and have taken care to do what was agreeable to piety and justice, and our conveniences, and your own; and that had neither any remembrance of the kindnesses they had received, nor have kept their oaths, I will that you be at peace with those that are our confederates; as also, that what you have obtained in no measure of our advancement, you shall not be reckoned your own, but be returned to those from whom you took them; for none of them took their provinces or their armies by the gift of the senate, but they seized them by force, and bestowed them by violence upon such as became useful to them in their unjust proceedings. Since, therefore, those men have received the punishment due to them, we desire that our confederates may retain whatever it was to them formerly possessed without disturbance, and that you restore all the places which belong to Hyrcanus the ethnarch of the Jews, which you have had, though it were but one day before Cassius Cassius began the war, and the Tyrians were enabled, and entered into our provinces; nor do you use any force against him, in order to weaken him, that he may not be able to dispose of that which is his own, but if you have any content with him about your possessions, you shall have the liberty for you to plead your cause when we come upon the places concerned, for we shall sike preserve the rights, and hear all the causes of our confederates.

5. Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the senators, which is taken great notice by Virgil, Pliny, and other Roman authors. See Virgil's Georgics, Book 1, just before the end; and Pliny's Nat. Hist. b. iii. ch. xi.
ANTIOQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

gutates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting: I have sent you my decree, of which I will that ye take care that it be engraven 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 Cyrus, in the revolt he had made, hath pillagd that province which belonged not to him, and was hld by garrisons there encamped, while they were our confederates, and hath spoiled that nation of the Jews that was in friendship with the Roman people, 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 he hath done to the Jewish pornechth, 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 smack a man in the Jewish pornechth, whether he stand as a soldier, or if he be a slave, may be punished for his disobedience; and if such a one be caught, I will take care that the offender suffer condign punishment." 2. But this thing did Antony write to the Sidonians, and the Antiochians, and the Arabians. 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 Phasaelus Tetrachs after they had been accused to no purport; and how the Parthians, when they brought Antigonus into Judea, took Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, Herod's father, and Antigonus, Herod's [father]; and what Afflictions Hyrcanus and Phasaelus endured.

§ 1. When, after this, Antony came into Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, and brought him to fall in love with her. And there came now also a hundred of the most potent of the Jews to accuse Herod and those about him, and set the men of the greatest clearance 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 already. When Antony had heard both sides, he asked Hyrcanus who the men 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 his father [Antipater], at that time when he was with Gabo, the Jewish prince both Herod, and Phasaelus tetrarchs, and committed the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpose. He also bound fifteen of their adversaries, and was going to kill them, but that Herod obtained their pardon.

2. Yet did not these men continue quiet when they were come back, but a thousand of the Jews came to Tyre to meet him there, whither the report was that he would come. But Antony was corrupted by the money which Herod and his brother had given him, and so he gave order to the governor of the place to punish the Jewish ambassadors, who were for making innovations, and to give them over to Herod; but when 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 ways, because great mischief would 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 espousals alone were of old esteemed a sufficient foundation for affinity, Hyrcanus being here called father-in-law to Herod, be-

and wounded more of them, and the rest fled away and went home, and lay still in great contention: and when the people made a clamour against Herod, Antony was so provoked at it that he slew the prisoners.

3. Now, in the second year, Pocorus, the king of Parthia's son, and Barzapharnes, a commander of the Parthians, possessed themselves of the city of Artsen, when that city is now dead, and Lycaenus his son took his government, 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 a great reputation with him. They also had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, upon condition they would take the government away from Hyrcanus, and bestow it upon him, and wish to kill him in his room. But what he had promised, yet did the Parthians make an expedition into Judea on that account, and carried Antigonus with them. Pocorus went along the maritime parts, but the commander who was with them, he called Drymm, and when some others came and met them, the men privately fell upon Jerusalem; and when some more came to them they gave them great number, and rang against the king's palace and besieged it. But as Phasaelus and Herod's party came to the other's assistance, and a battle happened between them in the market-place, the young men beat their enemies, and pursued them into the temple, 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 who smote them. And Herod and Pocorus avenged 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. Now, 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 ten thousands of the people were gathered to see what would happen. And Phasaelus and Herod strengthened the outer fortifications, for some such fortifications there were in that place. Phasaelus came also to his assistance; yet was Pocorus, the general of the Parthians, at the desire of Antigonus, by his money out of the city of Antioch, how to serve the king's son and his horsemens, under pretence indeed as if he would still the sedition, but in reality to assist Antigonus in obtaining the government. And when Phasaelus met him, and received him kindly, Pocorus persuaded him to go himself as ambassador to Barzapharnes, which was done fraudently. Accordingly, Phasaelus, suspecting no cause his grand daughter Mariamme was betrothed to him, although the marriage was not completed till four years afterward. See Matt. 1:16.
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harm, complied with his proposal, while Herod did not give his consent to what was done, because of the perfidiousness of these barbarians, but desired Phasaelus rather to fight those that were come into the city.

5. So both Hyrcanus and Phasaelus went on the embassage; but Pocorus left with Herod two hundred horsemen, and ten men, who were called The Priests; and conducted the others on their journey; and when they were in Gailee, the governors of the cities there met them in the Acheareian to the daughter of Aleimachus, at the first with cheerfulness, and made them presents, though he afterward conspired against them; and Phasaelus, with his horsemen, were conducted to the naisus: but when they heard that Antigonus had brought and gave the Parthenon a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to assist him against them, they soon had a suspicion of the barbarians. Moreover, there was one who informed them that asses were laid for them and they had then been seized upon, had they not waited for the leisure of Herod by the Parthians that were about Jerusalem, lest upon the slaughter of Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, he should have as much to do with the most daring of them all. And these were the circumstances they were now in, and they saw who they were that guarded them. Some persons indeed would have persuaded Phasaelus to fly away immediately on hearing this news, but one who was called one Ophellius, who, above all the rest, was most earnest with him to do so, for he had heard of this treachery by Saramelle, the richest of all the Syrians at that time, who also promised to conduct him shipe to carry him off; for the word was just by them: but he had no mind to desert Hyrcanus, nor bring his brother into danger; but he went to Berosphenes, and told him he did not suspect that Antigonus would kill his brother in his absence, for that if he wanted money, he would give him more than Antigonus; and besides, that it was a horrible thing to slay those that came to him upon the security of their oaths, and that when they had done them a wrong, but the barbarian swore to him that there was no truth in any of his suspicions, but that he was troubled with nothing but false proposals, and then went away to Pocorus.

7. But while Hyrcanus was gone away, some men came and bound Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, while Phasaelus greatly reproached the Parthians for their perjury. However, that butcher who was sent against Herod, had in command to get him, and took him up, and the utmost harm he could do to him; but messengers had been sent by Phasaelus to inform Herod of the perfidiousness of the Parthians: and when he knew that the enemy had seized upon him, he went to Pocorus, and to the high priest that the Parthians had suffered the rest of the rest, who, although they knew the whole matter, dissembled with him in a deceitful way; and said "that he ought to go out with them before the walls, and meet those who were bringing him in, and that there was no reason he should have by his adversaries, but were coming to give him as account of the good success Phasaelus had had." Herod did not give credit to what they said, for he was afraid of the time afterward, and had set upon him; and when the Parthians were beaten by others also; and the daughter of Hyrcanus, whose daughter he had espoused, was his monitor also (not to credit them,) which made him still more suspicious of the Parthians, for although other things, no one would have been able to do, yet did he believe her as a woman of very great wisdom.

9. Now while the Parthians were in consultation what was to be done; for they did not think that they could force him, he sent way that he might be a person of his character; and while they put off the determination until the next day, Herod was under great disturbance of mind; and rather inclining to believe the reports he had heard about his brother and the Parthians, then to give heed to what was said on the other side, he determined that when the evening came on, he would make use of it for his flight, and make no sign any longer delay, as if the dangers from the enemy were not yet certain. He therefore removed with the armed men whom he had with him; and set his wives upon the beasts, as also his mother and sister, and her whom he was about to marry, Mariamne, and all the children of Aristobulus, with her mother, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the seat of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemies' privy, pursued his way, the greater part of his courtiers of his, who, when he saw him in this case, so hard-hearted, but would have commiserated his fortune, while the women drew along their infant children, and left their own country, and their friends in the midst of need and lamentations, and in expectation of nothing but what was of a melancholy nature.

6. But for Herod himself, he raised his mind above the miserable state he was in, and was of good courage, and of the most easy temper he was, and as he passed along, he bade every one to be of good cheer, and not to give themselves up to sorrow, because that would hinder them in their flight, which was now the only hope of safety that they had; and of them to be about him with patience the calamity they were under, as he exhorted them to do; yet was he once almost going to kill himself, upon the overthrow of a wagon, and the danger of his mother was then in 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 the pursuit; but as he was drawing his sword to kill himself, he was restrained by 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 case of a brave man to free himself from the distresses he was in, and to overlook his friends that were in the same distresses also. So he was compelled to let that horrid attempt alone, partly out of shame at what they said to him, and partly out of the number of those that would not permit him to do what he intended. So he encouraged his mother, and took all the care of her the time would allow, and proceeded on the way he proposed to go with the others, and arrived at the city of Massada. And as he had many skirmishes with such of the Parthians as attacked him, and pursued him, he was conqueror in them all.

9. Nor indeed was he free from the Jews all along as he went in with them; for the time he had gotten sixty furlongs out of the city, and was upon the road, they fell upon him, and fought hand to hand with him, whom also he also put to flight, and overcame, by his despair of distress and necessity, but like one that was excellently prepared for war, and had what he wanted in great plenty. And in this very place where he overcame the Jews it was that he some time afterward, after the time afterward, in a city round about it, called it Herodium. And when he was come to Idumaen, at a place called Tiberias, his brother Joseph met him, and he then held a council to take advice about all his affairs, and what was to be done in his circumstances, since he had a great multitude that followed him, besides his mercenary soldiers, and the place Massada, whether he was promised to be, was too small to contain so great a multitude; so they sent away a man who was above nine thousand, and bade them go some one way, and some another, and to save
gutrate, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting: I have sent you my decree, of which I will that ye take care that it be engraven on the public tables, in Roman and Greek letters, and that it stand engraven in the illustrious places, that it may be read by all." Marcus Antonius, emperor, one of the triumvirates over the public affairs, made this declaration: "Since Cn. Cornelius in this revolt hath made, hath pillaged that province which belonged his son to him, and was heli by garrisons there encamped, while they were our confederates, and hath spoiled that nation of the Jews that was in friendship with him Romulus, as is true; 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 done to the Jewish possession, 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 have of the Jews possessed, shall be punished for his disobedience; and if such a one be caught, I will take care that the offender suffer confine punishment." 6. The same thing did Antonius write to the King of Parthia, to the Antiochians, and the Arme-rians. 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 Tet- racha after they had been accused to no pur- pose; and how the Parthians, when they brought Antigonus into Judaea, took Hyrcanus and Phasaeus into Herod's Pala- ce; and what AfflictionsHyrcanus and Phasaeus endured. § 1. When, after this, Antony came into Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, and brought him to fall in love with her. And there came now also a hundred of the most potent of the Jews to accuse Herod and those about him, and set the Jews of the greatest eloquence among them to speak. But Messala contradicted them, on behalf of the young men, and all this in the presence of Hyrcanus, who was Herod's father-in-law already. When Antony had heard both sides, 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 his father [Antipater] at that time when he was with Antipater, being a man of great spirit, sought Herod and Phasaeus tetrarchy, 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, whither the report was that he would come. But Antony was corrupted by the money which Herod and his brother had given him, and so he gave order to the governor of the place to punish the Jewish ambassadors, who were for making innovations, and of the governor of the town upon Herod; but Herod went out hastily to the temple and Hyrcanus was with him (for they stood upon the shore before the city,) and he charged them to go their ways, because great mischief would befell 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. 3. Now, in the second year, Paeorus, the king of Parthia's son, and Barzapharnes, a com- mander of the Parthians, possessed themselves of Syria. Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, also was not content with his patrimony and govern- ment, and made a league of friendship with Anti- gonus, the son of Aristobulus; and in order to obtain it, made use of that commander, who had a great influence in him. Now Ptolemy had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, upon condition they would take the government away from Hyrcanus, and bestow it upon him, and withal kill the Jews, and put them in their stead. When he had promised, yet did the Parthians make an expedition into Judea on that account, and carried Antigonus with them. Paeorus went along the maritime parts, but the commander of the sea was not able to the ships of the Tyrians excluded Paeorus, but the Sidonians, and those of Ptolemis, received him. However, Paeorus sent a troop of horsemen into Judea, to take a view of the state of the country, and to apprehend the Antiochians, who were of the same name with himself. So when the Jews that dwelt about mount Carmel came to Antigonus, and were ready to march with him into Judea, Antigonus hoped to get some part of the souls of their assistance. But it was called Drymina; and when some others came and met them, the men privately fell upon Jeru- salem; and when some more came to them they got together in great numbers, and came against the temple, and set fire to it. But as Phasaeus's and Herod's party came to the other's assistance, and a battle happened be- tween them in the market-place, the young men believed that Phasaeus had destroyed the temple, and sent some armed men into the ad- joining 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 who were just met with, burned together. But Herod was revenged 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. 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 ten thousands of the people were gathered to- gether about the temple, some in, some in the temple, and sent some armed men into the ad- joining 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 who were just met with, burned together. But Herod was revenged 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.
harm, complied with his proposal, while Herod did not give his consent to what was done, because he feared the pernicious consequence of one barbarian, but desired Phæusæus rather to fight those that were come into the city.

8. So both Hycranus and Phæusæus went on the horse's charge; but Pæcon left with Herod a hundred horsemen, and ten men were called The Freemen; and conducted the others on their journey; and when they were in Galilee, the governors of the cities there met them at first with show of kindness; but when they heard that Antipater hastened to give the Parthians use a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to assist him against them, they soon had a suspicion of the barbarians. Moreover, there was one who informed them that snares were laid for them, but when they had done them no injury, they had then been seized upon, had they not waited for the seizure of Herod by the Parthians that were about Jerusalem, lest upon the slaughter of Hycranus and Phæusæus, he should have an opportunity of destroying them. And these were the circumstances they were now in, and they saw who they were that guarded them. Some persons indeed would have persuaded the Parthians to fly away immediately on horseback, and not attempt to go to Scepsis. One of them was one Ophelius, who, above all the rest, was earnest with him to do so, for he had heard of this treachery from Seneclus, the richest of all the Syrians at that time, who also promised to provide him ships to carry him off; for the sea was just by them: but he had no mind to desert Hycranus, nor bring his brother into danger; but he went to Barzosphanes, and told him he did not intend to desert Hycranus to give the Parthians the chance against them, for that if he wanted money, he would give him more than Antigonus; and besides, that it was a horrible thing to slay those that came to him upon the security of their oaths, and that what they had done was upon injury. But the barbarian, aware that he was to truth in any of his suspicions, but that he was troubled with nothing but false proposals, and then went away to Pæconus.

9. Nos. Pæconus, allabe away, some men came and bound Hycranus and Phæusæus, while Phæusæus greatly reproached the Parthians for their perjury. However, that butcher who was sent against Herod, had it in command to get him. It was the king's matter to send him; but messengers had been sent by Phæusæus to inform Herod of the perniciousness of the Parthians: and when he knew that the enemy had seized upon him, he went to Pæconus, and to the last postest of the Parthians, and to the rest of the Parthians, who, although they knew the whole matter, dissembled with him in a deceitful way, and said "that he ought to get out with them before the Parthians came; that he had to him, but not to others also; and the daughter of Hycranus, whose daughter he had espoused, was his minister also (not to credit them,) which made him still more suspicions of the Parthians, for although other people did not give him any more, yet did he believe her a woman of very great wisdom.

7. Now while the Parthians were in consultation what was fit to be done, for they did not think it fit to throw away a person of his character; and while they put off the determination until the next day, Herod was

under great disturbance of mind; and rather inclining to believe the reports he had heard about his brother, and the Parthians, he determined to what was said on the other side, he determined that when the evening came on, he would make use of it for his flight, and not make say longer delay, as if they feared from the Parthians that it was yet certain. He therefore removed with the armed men whom he had with him; and set his wives upon the beasts, as also his mother and sister, and her whom he was about to marry, [Marseenne] the daughter of Aristobulus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the vest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemies' privy, passed his way in the midst of his troops, and made a circuit of Aristobulus, with his mother, the daughter of Hycranus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemies' privy, passed his way in the midst of his troops, and made a circuit of Aristobulus, with his mother, the daughter of Hycranus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemies' privy, passed his way in the midst of his troops, and made a circuit of Aristobulus, with his mother, the daughter of Hycranus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemies' privy, passed his way in the midst of his troops, and made a circuit of Aristobulus, with his mother, the daughter of Hycranus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemies' privy, passed his way in the midst of his troops, and made a circuit of Aristobulus, with his mother, the daughter of Hycranus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemies' privy, passed his way in the midst of his troops, and made a circuit of Aristobulus, with his mother, the daughter of Hycranus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemies' privy, passed his way in the midst of his troops, and made a circle round about it, and called it Herodius. And when he was come to Iдумæa, at a place called Thessalon, his brother Joseph met him, and he then held a council to take advice about all his affairs, and what was to be done in his circumstances, since he had a great multitude that followed him, besides his mercenaries, soldiers, and the place Massada, whither he promised to fly, was too small to contain so great a multitude; so he saw it was to be done. He had been above nine thousand, and bade them go some one way, and some another, and to save

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Chapter XIII.

How Antony made Herod and Phasaelus to trache after they had been accused to no purpose; and how the Parthians, when they brought Antigonus into Judea, took Hyrcanus and Phanuelus captives. Herod's Flight; and what afflictions Hyrcanus and Phasaelus endured.

§ 1. When, after this, Antony came into Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, and brought him to fall in love with her. And there came now also a hundred of the most potent of the Jews to accuse Herod and those about him, and set the men of the greatest eloquence among them to beseech Antony to remove Messala, on the death of the young men. But he was in the presence of Hyrcanus, who was Herod's father-in-law already. When Antony had heard both sides of the case, he asked Hyrcanus who they were that had brought in the nation against him, and against Herod and his friends. Herewith Antony, by reason of the old hospitable friendship he had made with his father [Antipater,] at that time when he was with Gabinius, he made both Herod and Phasaelus tetrarchs, and committed the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpose. He also bound fifteen of their adversaries, and was going to kill them, but that Herod obtained their pardon.

But the Jews did not cease quiet when they were come back, but a thousand of the Jews came to Tyre to meet him there, whether the report was that he would come. But Antony was corrupted by the money which Herod and his friends gave him, and he was ordered by the governor of the place to punish the Jewish ambassadors, who were for making innovations, and to settle the government upon Herod; but Herod went out hastily to them, and Hyrcanus was not in the city, but in the camp (before the city,) and he charged them to go their ways, because great mischief would befal them if they went on with their accusation. But they did not acquiesce; whereupon the Romans ran upon them with their numbers, and slew some. We may here take notice, that 

Byrcanus being here called father-in-law to Herod, be- and wounded more of them, and the rest fled away and went home, and lay still in great consterna tion: and when the people made a clamor against Herod, Antony was so provoked at it that he slew the prisoners.

§ 2. And this was the opinion of Herod's crown, Pocorus, the king of Parthis's son, and Barzapharisses, a commander of the Parthians, possessed themselves of Syria. Polemy, the son of Menneus, also was now dead, and Lysonias his son took his government. And we must also believe, that they would take the government away from Hyrcanus, and bestow it upon him, and withal kill Herod. And although he did not give them what he had promised, yet did the Parthians make an expense into Judea, and conveyed Antigonus with them. Pocorus went along the maritime parts, but the commander Barzapharisses through the midland. Now the Tyrians concluded with Pocorus, but those of Plemestines received him. However, Pocorus sent a troop of horsemen into Judea, to take a view of the state of the country, and to assist Antigonus; and sent also the king's butcher, to be able to give credit to the multitude of Jews that dwelt about mount Carmel came to Antigonus, and were ready to march with him into Judea, Antigonus hoped to get some part of the country by their assistance. The place is called Baptism of Pella. But when some other of their own met them, the men privately fell upon Jerusalem; and when some more were come to them they got together in great numbers, and came against the king's palace and besieged it. But as they were making their way to Herod's party, and to his other's assistance, and a battle happened between them in the market-place, the young men beat their enemies, and pursued them into the temple, and sent some armed men into the adjoining houses to keep them in, yet were with one, as should support them, were burnt, and the houses with them, by the people who rose up against them. But Herod was enraged on these seditions, and sent the soldiers into the temple, and they they had offered him, when he fought with them, and slew a great number of them.

§ 4. But while there were daily skirmishes, the emperor had sent a letter out of the country to Pentecost, a feast of ours so called: and when that day was come, many ten thousand of the people were gathered together about the temple, some in armor, 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 Phasaelus had the charge of the wall, while Herod, with a body of his men, went out upon the battlements of the suburbs, and fought courageously, and put many ten thousands to flight, some flying into the city, and some into the temple, and some into the outer fortifications, for some such fortifications there were in those times. And Phasaelus came also to his assistance; yet was Pocorus, the general of the Parthians, at the desire of Antigonus, admitted into the city, with a few of his horsemen, under pretense indeed as if he would still maintain and assist Antigonus in obtaining the government. And when Phasaelus met him, and received him kindly, Pocorus persuaded him to go himself as ambassador to Barzapharisses, which was done fraudulently, and with intent to deceive Phasaelus, suspecting no cause his grandson Maranasso was betrothed to him, although the marriage was not completed till four years afterwards. See Matt. L. 16.
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harm, complied with his proposal, while Herod did not give his consent to what was done, because of the perfidies of these barbarians, but desired Phæsælus rather to fight those that were come into the city.

5. So both Hyrceanus and Phæsælus went on the engagement; butMarcus left with Herod two hundred horsemen, and the first of the armed men whom he had with him; and set his wife upon the beasts, as also his mother and sister, and Bar whom he was about to marry, [Mærenæ] the son of Alexander the son of Aristobulus, with her mother, the daughter of Hyrceanus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemies' privy, pur- sued his way to Jerusalem; but Herod gave the word to his sons, who then saw him in this case, be so hard- hearted, but would have commiserated his fortune, while the women drew along their infant children, and left their own country, and their friends in prison, with grief; for they had then been seized upon, had they not waited for the seizure of Herod by the Parthians that were about Jerusalem, lest upon the slaug- ther of Hyrceanus and Phæsælus, he should have an occasion to lay hold upon them; And these were the circumstances they were now in, and they saw who they were that guarded them. Some persons indeed would have persuaded Phæsælus to fly away immediately on discovering their weakness, but the person that was one Ophellius, who, above all the rest, was earnest with him to do so, for he had heard of this treachery from Sarmassals, the richest of all the Syræs that at that time, who was also promised the provinces to carry his chief; for he was in the sea just by them; but he had no mind to desert Hyrceanus, nor bring his brother into danger; but he went to Barzapharnes, and told him he did not think he would be able to offer any resis- tance against them, for that if he wanted money, he would give him more than Antigonus; and be- sides, that it was a horrible thing to say those that came to him upon the security of their oaths, and that when they had done so, to refuse; But the barbarian swore to him that there was not truth in any of his suspicions, but that he was troubled with nothing but false proposals, and then went away to Barzapharnes.

6. So Ophellius was gone away, some men came and bound Hyrceanus and Phæsælus, while Phæsælus greatly reproached the Parthians for their perjury. However, that butcher who was sent against Herod, had it in command to get him and Phæsælus together, as the armed men had not been sent with him; but messengers had been sent by Phæsælus to inform Herod of the perfidies of the Parthians: and when he knew that the enemy had seized upon him, he went to Marcus, and to the rest of the Parthians, as to the lords of the rest, who, although they knew the whole matter, were not disposed with him in a deceitful way; and said that he ought to go out with them before him, and command those that bring- ing him his Liburnians, that they were not to give him any assistance; but were coming to give him an account of the good success Phæsælus had had.

Herod did not give credit to what they said, but sent under cover of a great multitude to his wife, and this was the same, to Phæsælus, and the monitor also (not to credit it,) which made him still more suspicious of the Parthians, for although other people did not give heed to her, yet did he believe her as a woman of very great wisdom.

7. Now while the Parthians were in consultation what it was fit to be done; for they did not think it had been so, to send away a person of his character; and while they put off the determination until the next day, Herod was under great disturbance of mind; and rather in- clicking to believe the reports he had heard about his brother and the Parthians, that he gave the word to what was said on the other side, he determined that when the evening came on, he would make use of it for his flight, and not make any longer delay, as if the dangers from the enemy were not yet certain. He therefore removed with the armed men whom he had with him; and set his wife upon the beasts, as also his mother and sister, and Bar whom he was about to marry, [Mærenæ] the son of Alexander the son of Aristobulus, with her mother, the daughter of Hyrceanus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemies' privy, pur- sued his way to Jerusalem; but Herod gave the word to his sons, who then saw him in this case, be so hard- hearted, but would have commiserated his fortune, while the women drew along their infant children, and left their own country, and their friends in prison, with grief; for they had then been seized upon, had they not waited for the seizure of Herod by the Parthians that were about Jerusalem, lest upon the slaug-
themselves in idleness, and gave them what would buy them provisions on their journey; but he took with him those that were the least encumbered, and were most intimate with him, and came to the fortress, and placed there his wives and daughters, being eight hundred in number, there being in the place a sufficient quantity of corn and water, and other necessaries, and went directly for Petra, in Arabia. But when it was day, the Parthians plundered all Jerusalem, and the palace; and abstained from nothing, but Hycranus's money, which was three hundred talents. A great deal of Herod's money escaped, and principally all that the man had been so provident as to send into idums before-hand; and what was left in the city suffered the Parthians, but they went out into the country, and plundered it, and demolished the city of Masada.

10. And thus was Antigonus brought back into Judea by the king of the Parthians, and received Hycranus and Phasaelus 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 alive, for their reward; but being afraid that Hycranus, who was under the guard of the Parthians, might have his kingdom restored to him by the multitude, he cut off his ears, and thereby took care that the high priests should never come to him any more; because he was maimed, while the law required 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, expecting that he was to be put to death, did not think death any terrible thing at all; but to die thus by the means of his enemy, this he thought a most pitiable and dishonorable thing, and therefore, since he had not his hands and feet, in order to prevent him from killing himself thereby, he dashed his head against a great stone, and thereby took away his own life, which he thought to be the best thing he could do in such a distress as he was in, and thereby put it out of the power of the enemy to bring him to any death he pleased. It is also reported, that when he had made a great wound in his head, Antigonus sent physicians to cure it, and to induce the poison into the wound, killed him. However, Phasaelus hearing, before he was quite dead, by a certain woman, that his brother Herod had escaped the enemy, underwent his death cheerfully, and now left behind him one who would revenge his death, and who was able to inflict punishment on his enemies.

CHAP. XIV.

How Herod got away from the King of Arabia, and made haste to go into Egypt, and thence went away in Haste also to Rome; and how, by promising a great deal of Money to Antony, he obtained of the Senate and of Caesar to be made King of the Jews.

11. As for Herod, the great miseries he was as did not discourage him, but made him sharper and more surprised under his misfortunes; for he went to Malches, king of Arabia, whom he had formerly been very kind to, in order to receive somewhat by way of requital, now he was in more than ordinary want of it, and desired he should be sent a sum of money by the way of loan, or as his free gift, on account of the many hardships he had received from him; for not knowing what was become of his brother, he was in haste to redeem him out of the hands of his enemies, as willing to give three hundred talents for the price of his redemption. He sate took with him the son of Phasaelus, who was a child of but seven years of age, for this reason, that he might be a hostage for the repayment of the money; and to cause strangers from Malches to meet him, by whom he was desired to be gone, for that the Parthians had laid a charge upon him not to entertain 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 some they had received from his [father] Antipater, and so he wrote, and told them that they had what was in the city sufficient for the Parthians, but they went out into the country, and plundered it, and demolished the city of Masada.

2. Herod soon resolved to go away, and did go very prudently the road to Egypt; and then it was that he lodged in a certain temple, for he had left a great many of his followers there. On the next day, he received a pontifical robed in priestly vestments, and made answer, that he did not intend to be troublesome to them by his coming thither, but that he desired only to discourse with them about certain affairs that were to him of the greatest importance. He

3. So he set sail from thence to Paphlagonia, and, falling into a violent storm, he had much need to escape to Rhodes, with the loss of the ship's burden; and there it was that two of his friends, Sapphas and Ptolemaeus, met with him; and as he found that city very much damaged in the war against Cassius, though he were in need of money, he sent for them, and desired they would supply him with their means, but did what he could to recover it to its former state. He also built there a three-decked ship, and set sail thence, with his friends, for Italy, and came to the port of Brundisium; and here he left behind him one who was related to Anthony what had befallen him in Judea, and how Phasaelus, his brother, was seized on by the Parthians, and put to death by them; and how Hycranus was detained captive by them, and how they made Antigonus king, who had promised them a sum of money, no less than a thousand talents, with five hundred women, who were to be of the principal families, and of the Jewish stock, and that he had carried off the money, and had understood that by understanding that he could perform many hardships, he had escaped the hands of his enemies; as also, that his own relations were in danger of being besieged and taken and that he had sailed through a storm, and contended with these terrible dangers, in order to come as soon as possible to him, who was his hope and only succor at this time.

4. This account made Antony commiserate him, and desired Cassius to be in a more suitable condition; and renewing with himself that there was a common case among those that are placed in such great dignities, and that they are liable to the miscarriages that come from fortune, he was the time when he began his second reign, without a rival, upon the conquest and slaughter of Antigonus, both principally derived from this and the two next chapters in Josephus, see the note at sect. 6, and chap. xiv. sect. 10.
very easily 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 formerly given him to make him tetrarch, and the chief because of his hatred to Antigonus, for he took him to be a seditious person, and an enemy to the Romans. Caesar was also the forerunner to raise Herod's dignity, and to give him his friends, and to show in what he deserved the toils of war which he had himself undergone with Antipater his father in Egypt, and of the hospitality he had treated him withal, and the kindness he had always showed him, and to grant him what was very unsuitable for Herod. So a senate was convened; and Massala, first, and then Attalus, introduced Herod into it, and enlarged upon the benefits they had received from him, and put him in good-will with borne to the Romans. At the same time they accused Antigonus, and declared him as enemy, not only because of his former opposition to them, but that he had now overlooked the Romans, and taken the government from the Parthians. Upon this the senate was irritated: and Antony informed them further, that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king. This seemed good to all the senators, and they declared him, and by this act relieved him. 5. And this was the principal instance of Antony's affection for Herod, that he not only procured him a kingdom which he did not expect, but also the consulate for the Romans, which would grant him, who used to belong it on some of the royal family, but intended to desire it for his wife's brother, who was grandson by his father to Aristobulus, and to Hyrcanus, and to be preferred to him so suddenly that he obtained what he did not expect, and departed out of Italy in so few days as in seven. This young man [the grandson] Herod afterward took care to have slain, as we shall show, when he was in place, when the senate was dissolved, Antony and Caesar went out of the senate-house, with Herod between them, and with the consuls and other magistrates; he was in order to declare his freedom, and to lay up their decrees in the capsule. Antony accused Herod the first day of his reign. And thus did this man receive the kingdom, having obtained it on the hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad, and was thereupon pursued by the Jews, Herod fell upon them with a small body of men, and both put the Jews to flight and saved Silo, when he was very poorly able to defend himself; and the same year, when Herod took the consulate, he set free those of his family that were in Massada. Now of the people of the country, some joined him because of the friendship they had had with his father, and some because of his praises he made, and others by way of requital for the benefits they had received from both of them, but the greatest number came to him in hopes of getting something from him afterward, for he was one of the firmly settling. 2. Herod had now a strong army; and as he marched on, Antigonus laid snares and ambushed in the passes and places most proper for them, but in truth he thereby did little or no damage to the enemy; so Herod received those of his family out of Massada, and the fortress Rome, and then went on to Jerusalem. The soldiers also that was with Silo accompanied him all along, as did many of the citizens, being afraid of his power; as soon as he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the soldiers that were set to guard that part shot their arrows, and threw their darts at him; and when some enwrapped in a crowd, and came to fight with him, but he made the men retire, and the army, he gave orders that they should, in the first place, make proclamation about the wall that "he came for the good of the people, and for the preservation of the city, and not to any other end, but to make his most open enemies, but ready to forget the offences which his greatest adversaries had done him." But Antigonus, 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 than a private man, and an Idumæan, mentioned both here, and Of the War, b. i. ch. xv. 29. 1, is an indication that it was new summer times."
mean, i.e. a half Jew, whereas they ought to bestow it on one of the royal family, as their custom was; for in that case they at present bare an ill-will to him, and had resolved to deprive him of the kingdom, as having received it from the Parthians, yet there were many others of his family that might by their help take it, and these such as had noway 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 their base conduct, Silo permitted his own men that were upon the wall to defend themselves, who using their bows, and showing great sincerity against their enemies, saved them from the danger; but when they brought over to him all Gallure, excepting those that dwelt in the caves, and distributed money to every one of his soldiers, giving them a hundred and fifty drachmas, and much more, and sent them into winter-quarters: at which time Silo came to him, and his commanders with him, because Antigonus would not give them provisions any longer, for he supplied them for no more than one month: now, he could not have continued this, but to have made them carry off the provisions that were there, and retire to the mountains, that the Romans might have no provisions to live upon, and so might perish by famine: but Herod commissiated the whole of the provisions that were there, which he brought to his brother, and ordered him to repair Alexandria also. Accordingly, he quickly made the soldiers abound with great plenty of provisions, and rebuilt Alexandria, which had been before desolate.

5. About this time it was that Antony continued some time at Athens, and that Ventidius, who was now in Syria, sent for Silo, and commanded him to prepare himself to fight against the Romans, that they might finish the present war, and then to send for their 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 Ventidius, while he marched against them. These caves were in mountains, that were exceedingly abrupt, and in their middle were no other than precipices, with certain entrances into the caves, and those caves were so low and narrow, and so covered with thorns, that the robbers did lie concealed, with all their families about them; but the king caused certain chest to be made, in order to destroy them, and to be hung down, bound about with iron chains, and made clean by the sun; and, as he was not being possible to get up to them, by reason of the sharp ascent of the mountains, nor to creep down to them from above. Now these chests were filled with armed men, who had long hooks in their hands, by which they might pull out such as resisted them, and then tumble them down, and kill them by so doing; but the letting the chest down proved to be a matter of great danger, because of the vast depth there was to be let down, although they had their provisions in the chests themselves: but when the chests were let down, and not one of those in the mouth of the caves durst come near them, but lay still, and one of the men of the arm, by and by, the other, which were held by the garrisons of Antigonus; and he passed on to Sephoria, 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 those robbers that dwell in the caves, 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 Arbela; and on the fortieth day after, he came himself with his whole army; and as the enemy rallied and boldly upon him, the left wing of his army gave way, but the king, with his own forces, and Antigonus to fight who were already conquerors, and recalled his men that ran away. He also pressed upon his enemies, and pursued them as far as the river Jordan, though he thought them a different people from the others he had brought over to him all Gallure, excepting those that dwelt in the caves, and distributed money to every one of his soldiers, giving them a hundred and fifty drachmas each, and much more, and sent them into winter-quarters: at which time Silo came to him, and his commanders with him, because Antigonus would not give them provisions any longer, for he supplied them for no more than one month: now, he could not have continued this, but to have made them carry off the provisions that were there, and retire to the mountains, that the Romans might have no provisions to live upon, and so might perish by famine: but Herod commissiated the whole of the provisions that were there, which he brought to his brother, and ordered him to repair Alexandria also. Accordingly, he quickly made the soldiers abound with great plenty of provisions, and rebuilt Alexandria, which had been before desolate.

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their darts and afterward pulled those to them that resisted them with their hands and tumbled them down the precipice, and afterward went into the caves, and killed many more, and then went into their chests again, and lay still there; but upon this, terror seized the rest, when they saw this, and would not venture. The desolation of this day was made use of the next day; and they went farther, and got out in baskets to fight them, and fought them at their doors, and sent fire among them, and set their caves on fire, for there was a great deal of bones and dead men in them. Now there was one old man, who was caught within one of these caves, with seven children and a wife; these prayed him to give them leave to go out, and yield themselves up to the enemy; but he could not leave his wife, and said that he had destroyed them every one; and after that he slew his wife, and cast their dead bodies down the precipice, and himself after them; and so under- went with much misfortune the like plight, as those that he had done he, who reaped this spoil, which he did this, he greatly reproached Herod with the meanness of his family, although he was then king. Herod also saw what he was doing, and stretched out his hand, and offered him all manner of kindness, and desired he would come with him; and all these caves were at length subdued entirely.

6. And when the king had set Pteleony over these parts of the country as his general, he went to Samaria, with six hundred horsemen, and three thousand armed men, and prepared to fight Antigonus. But still this command of the army did not succeed well with Pteleony, but those that had been troublesome to Galilee before, thereabouts, didlew him; and when they had done this, they fled and passed away, and places almost inaccessible, laying waste and plundering whatsoever they could come at in those places. But Herod soon returned, and pursued them as the most contemptible foes; for some of these rebels he slew, and others of them, who had fled to the strong holds, he besieged, and both slew them, and demolished their strong holds: and when he had thus put an end to their resistance he laid a fine upon the cities of a hundred talents.

7. In the mean time Pctorus was fallen in a battle, and the Parthians were defeated. When Vendidius sent Macerus to the assistance of Herod, and to the city of Emmaus, while Antony encouraged him to make haste. But Macerus, at the instigation of Antigonus, without the approbation of Herod, as being corrupted by money, went about to take a view of his affairs; but Antony suspecting this intention of his coming, did not admit him into the city, but kept him at a distance, with throwing stones at him, and plainly showed what he himself meant. But when Macerus was sensible that Herod had given him to understand that he had made a mistake himself in not hearkening to that advice, he retired to the city of Emmaus; and what Jews he met with he slew them, whether they were enemies or friends, out of the rage he was in at what hardships he had undergone. The king was provoked at this conduct of his, and went to Samarla, and resolved to go to Antony about these affairs, and to inform him that he stood in need of such helpers, who did him more mischief than they did his enemies, and that he was able of himself to beat Antigonus; but Macerus followed him, and desired that he would not go to Antony, or, if he was resolved to go, he would join his brother Joseph with him, and let them fight against Antigonus. So he was reconciled to Macerus, upon his earnest entreaties. Accordingly he left Joseph there with his army, but sent to run no hazards, nor to quarrel with Macerus.

8. But for his own part he made haste to Antony, (who was then at the siege of Samosata, a place upon Euphrates,) with his troops, both horse and foot. When he came, he found that the barbarians fell upon men on the road, and slew many, so he en- couraged them, and became their conductor upon the road. Now when they were within two days march of Samosata, the barbarians had laid an ambush there to disturb those that came to An- tony; and the way was very narrow, as they led to the plains, there they laced not a few of their horsemen, who were to lie still until those passengers were gone by into the wide place. Now as soon as their first ranks were gone before, they fell upon them on the sudden, and when they had put the foremost to flight, the king came riding hard with the forces that were about him, and put many of them to flight, which means he made the minds of his own men courageous, and emboldened them to go on, in so much that those who ran away before, now re- turned back, and the barbarians were slain on all sides. The king also was not wanting to recover all the baggage; among which were many, slay on beasts for burden, and of slaves, and proceeded on in his march; and whereas there were a very great number of those in the woods that had passed away the passage that led into the plain, he made a sally upon these also with a strong body of men, and put them to flight, and slew many of them, and thereby rendered the way safe for those that came after; and called these Herod their savior and protector.

9. And when he was near to Samosata, Antony sent out his army in all their proper habiliments, to meet him; and his army, and pay Herod the respect, and because of the assistance he had given him, for he had heard what attacks the barbarians had made upon him (in Judea.) He also was very glad to see him there, as having been made acquainted with the great activity that had been formed upon the road; so he entertained him very kindly, and could not but admire his courage. Antony also embraced him as soon as he saw him, and saluted him after a most affectionate manner, and having himself lately made him a king; and in a little time Antiochus delivered up the fortress, 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- self to Egypt. Accordingly, Sosius sent two legions before into Judea to the assistance of Her- od, and he followed himself with the body of the army.

10. Now Joseph was already slain in Judea, in the manner following: he forgot what charge his brother Herod had given him when he went to Antony; and when he had pitched his camp among the mountains, for Macerus had lent him five regiments, with which he was rich, in order to reap the corn thereto belonging: and as the Roman regiments were but nearly raised, and were unskillful 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 difficulty, 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 Pharamas his brother would have redeemed it at the price of
fifty talents. After which defeat, the Galileans revolted from their commanders, and took those of Herod's party, and drowned them in the lake, and a great part of Judea was become seditions; but Machernus fortified the place Gitta [in Samaria.]

11. At this time messengers came to Herod, and informed him of what had been done; and when he was coming to Depehas by Atamim, that was 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 foreshowed his brother's death. So with great haste he had his march; and when he came up to mount Libanus, he received about eight hundred of the men of that place, having already with him also one Roman legion, and with these came to Ptolemia. He also marched thence by night to Neapolis, this was the castle of Galilea. Here it was that the enemy met him, and fought him, and were beaten, and shut up in the same place of strength whence they had saluted the day before. So he attacked the place in the morning by reason of a great storm that was then very violent, he was able to do nothing, but drew off his army into the neighboring villages; yet as soon as the other legion that Antony sent him was come to his assistance, and they were in the place which was not near, the place were afraid, and deserted in the night-time. Then did the king march hastily to Jericho, intending to average himself on the enemy for the slaughter of his brother; and when he had pitched his tent, he kept his hand on the principal commanders, and after this collision was over, and he had dismissed his guests, he retired to his own chamber; and here one may see that it was good 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, since he had escaped such a great and surprising attack.

12. But the next day six thousand of the enemy came down from the tops of the mountains to sight the Romans, which greatly terrified them; and the soldiers that were in light armor came near the ends of the king, and being in the great 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 Pappus, with some forces, being desirous to show how potent he was, and that he had men to spare in his war with them: he set down to oppose Machernus; but Herod, when he had taken five cities, took such as were left in them, being about two thousand, and slew them, and burnt the cities, and returned and then returned to go against Pappus, who was encamped at a village called Isana; and there ran in to him many out of Jericho 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 slaughter of his brother, he pursued them shame as they went away; and as the houses were full of armed men, and many of them ran as far as the tops of the houses, they got them under his power, and pulled down the roofs of the houses, and saw the lower rooms full of dead men, and fires 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 in all the war than this, where beyond 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.

* It may be worth our observation here, that there soldiers of Herod could not have gotten upon the tops of those houses, as it was full of men, in order to pull up the upper doors, and destroy them beneath, but by 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 if it had been for the depth of winter, which then restrained them, the king's army had presently gone to Jerusalem, as being very courageous at this good success. But now, as he was moved, and particularly, for Antigonus was already looking about how he might by way, 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; but while he was in the upper room, he bid the man who was his chamberlain to bring him a bath, for he was very weary; and here it was that he was in the greatest danger, which yet, by God's providence, he escaped; for as he was naked, and had but one servant that followed him, and even when he was in the upper room, he was in the inner room, certain of the enemy, who were in their armor, and bad 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 and smote and wounding the doors, and after that a second said a third, armed in like manner, and were under such a consternation, that they did no hurt to the king, and thought themselves to have come off very well in suffering no harm to him. However, on the next day, he cut off the head of Pappus, for he was already slain, and sent it to Pharaoh, as a punishment of what their brother had suffered by his means, for he was the mess that killed him.

14. When the rigor of winter was over, Herod removed his army, and came near to Jerusalem, and pitched his camp hard by the sea. Now this was the same day that he had been crowned king at Rome; and as he removed his camp, and came near that part of the wall where it could be most easily assaulted, he pitched that camp before the temple, intending to make his attacks in that manner as did Ptolemy so long as 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 finished the work, he did not proceed with the other 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 Aristobulus; for he had betrothed her already, as I have before related.

CHAP. XVI.

How Herod, when he had married Mariamne, took Jerusalem, with the Assistance of Sosius, by Forces; and how the Government of the Ammonites 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 came himself from Samaria and brought his army with him. These were now about thirty thousand, and they all met together at the walls of Jerusalem, and encamped at the north wall of the city, being now an army of eleven legions, and they were besieged within the walls with other auxiliaries out of Syria. The generals were two, Sosius, sent by Antony to assist Herod, and Herod on his own account, in order to take the government from Antigonus, who was declared an enemy to Rome, and that he might himself be king, according to the decree of the senate.

ladders from the outside; which illustrates some texts in the New Testament, by which it appears that some used to ascend the walls of the temple in order to pull up the upper doors, and destroy them beneath, but by
BOOK XIV.—CHAP. XVI.

2. Now the Jews that were enclosed within the walls of the city fought against Herod with great slendour 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 out of the dangers they were in; they had also carried off what was out of the city, that they might not leave any thing to afford sustenance to them for the past private robberies, they made the want of necessaries greater. When Herod understood this, he opposed ambushes in the finest places against the army lying about, and sent agents disguised among men to bring in provisions, without being from remote places, so that in a little time they had great plenty of provisions. Now the three bulwarks were easily erected, because so many hands were employed in their raising, and when 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 to drive them out. They also did not those within discover any fear, but they also continued not a few engines to oppose their engines withal. They also sallied out, and burnt not only those engines that were not yet perfected, but also many of the Roman men, in order to prove that, hand to hand, their attempts were not less bold than those of the Romans, though they were behind them in skill. They also erected new walls, and as the former were ruined, and, making mines under ground, the place was taken by them. And when they fought there, and, making use of brutish courage rather than of prudent valor, they persisted in this war to the very last; and this they did while they might take away in the cities, and towns and villages, those that were distressed by famine, and the want of necessaries, for this happened to be a sabbatical year. The first that scaled the walls were twenty chosen men, the next were Sosius's centurions, and four years, and the second in fifteen more, when some of the cloisters that were about the temple were burnt, which Herod gave out to have been burnt by Antigonus, in order to expose him to the hated name of traitor. And as Antigonus made all the space of the temple, and the lower city, were, the Jews fled into the inner court of the temple, and into the upper city; but now, fearing lest the Romans should hinder them from offering their daily sacrifices, Herod, by the advice of the Senate, and desired that they would only permit them to bring in beasts for sacrifices, which Herod granted, hoping they were going to yield; but when he saw that they did nothing of what he supposed, but bitterly opposed him, in order to preserve the kingdom to Antigonus, he made an assault upon the city, and took it by storm; and now all parts were full of those that were slain in the rage of the Romans at the long duration of the siege, and by the seal of the Jews that were upon Herod's side, who were not willing to leave one of their adversaries alive, so they were murdered continually in the narrow streets.

3. And now they being having overcome his enemies, his care was to govern those foreigners who had been his assistants, for the crowd of strangers rushed to see the temple, and the sacred things in the temple; but the king, thinking the attempt to be a victory to get the Romans, and not those within discover any fear, but they also continued not a few engines to oppose their engines withal. They also sallied out, and burnt not only those engines that were not yet perfected, but also many of the Roman men, in order to prove that, hand to hand, their attempts were not less bold than those of the Romans, though they were behind them in skill. They also erected new walls, and as the former were ruined, and, making mines under ground, the place was taken by them. And when they fought there, and, making use of brutish courage rather than of prudent valor, they persisted in this war to the very last; and this they did while they might take away in the cities, and towns and villages, those that were distressed by famine, and the want of necessaries, for this happened to be a sabbatical year. The first that scaled the walls were twenty chosen men, the next were Sosius's centurions, and four years, and the second in fifteen more, when some of the cloisters that were about the temple were burnt, which Herod gave out to have been burnt by Antigonus, in order to expose him to the hated name of traitor. And as Antigonus made all the space of the temple, and the lower city, were, the Jews fled into the inner court of the temple, and into the upper city; but now, fearing lest the Romans should hinder them from offering their daily sacrifices, Herod, by the advice of the Senate, and desired that they would only permit them to bring in beasts for sacrifices, which Herod granted, hoping they were going to yield; but when he saw that they did nothing of what he supposed, but bitterly opposed him, in order to preserve the kingdom to Antigonus, he made an assault upon the city, and took it by storm; and now all parts were full of those that were slain in the rage of the Romans at the long duration of the siege, and by the seal of the Jews that were upon Herod's side, who were not willing to leave one of their adversaries alive, so they were murdered continually in the narrow streets. And in the houses by crowds, and as they were flying to the temple for shelter, and there was no pity taken of either infants or the aged, nor did they spare much as the weaker sex; nay, although the king sent about, and besought them not to spare the people, yet nobody restrained their hand from slaughter, but, as if they were a company of madmen, they fell upon persons of all ages without distinction; and then Antigonus, without regard to time, moved under these circumstances, came down from the citadel, and fell down at the feet of Sosius, who took no pity of him in the change of his fortune, but insulted him, and hurled him beyond the city gates. [1. I. a. woman, and not a man.] yet did he not treat him as if he were a woman, by letting him go at liberty, but put him into bonds, and kept him in close custody.

4. And now seeing he having overcome his enemies, his care was to govern those foreigners who had been his assistants, for the crowd of strangers rushed to see the temple, and the sacred things in the temple; but the king, thinking the attempt to be a victory to get the Romans, and not those within discover any fear, but they also continued not a few engines to oppose their engines withal. They also sallied out, and burnt not only those engines that were not yet perfected, but also many of the Roman men, in order to prove that, hand to hand, their attempts were not less bold than those of the Romans, though they were behind them in skill. They also erected new walls, and as the former were ruined, and, making mines under ground, the place was taken by them. And when they fought there, and, making use of brutish courage rather than of prudent valor, they persisted in this war to the very last; and this they did while they might take away in the cities, and towns and villages, those that were distressed by famine, and the want of necessaries, for this happened to be a sabbatical year. The first that scaled the walls were twenty chosen men, the next were Sosius's centurions, and four years, and the second in fifteen more, when some of the cloisters that were about the temple were burnt, which Herod gave out to have been burnt by Antigonus, in order to expose him to the hated name of traitor. And as Antigonus made all the space of the temple, and the lower city, were, the Jews fled into the inner court of the temple, and into the upper city; but now, fearing lest the Romans should hinder them from offering their daily sacrifices, Herod, by the advice of the Senate, and desired that they would only permit them to bring in beasts for sacrifices, which Herod granted, hoping they were going to yield; but when he saw that they did nothing of what he supposed, but bitterly opposed him, in order to preserve the kingdom to Antigonus, he made an assault upon the city, and took it by storm; and now all parts were full of those that were slain in the rage of the Romans at the long duration of the siege, and by the seal of the Jews that were upon Herod's side, who were not willing to leave one of their adversaries alive, so they were murdered continually in the narrow streets. And in the houses by crowds, and as they were flying to the temple for shelter, and there was no pity taken of either infants or the aged, nor did they spare much as the weaker sex; nay, although the king sent about, and besought them not to spare the people, yet nobody restrained their hand from slaughter, but, as if they were a company of madmen, they fell upon persons of all ages without distinction; and then Antigonus, without regard to time, moved under these circumstances, came down from the citadel, and fell down at the feet of Sosius, who took no pity of him in the change of his fortune, but insulted him, and hurled him beyond the city gates. [1. I. a. woman, and not a man.] yet did he not treat him as if he were a woman, by letting him go at liberty, but put him into bonds, and kept him in close custody.

5. So when Sosius had dedicated a crown of gold to God, he marched away from 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 cause to be heard by the senate, and might demonstrate, as he was himself of the royal blood, and Herod but a private man, that therefore it belonged to his own senate however to have the kingdom, on account of the family they were of, in case he had himself offended the Romans by what he had done. Out of the money in Josephus is fully supplied by Moses Chreameson, the Arabian historian, in his history of the same interval, b. i. c. x. xviii, where he directly assures us, that Titreus, then king of Armenia, and the principal monarch of this part of Asia, was released two years after this Herod was made king at Rome; and yet Antony did not hear of this death, in that very neighborhood, at Sidon, in Phoenicia, till he was returned to his own country. Antigonus brought him an army, which was 340 miles march, and through a difficult country, full of mountains also, and joined with him in the siege of Samosata, till that city was taken; then Herod and Samosata marched back with their large armies the same number of 340 miles, and when in a little time they sat down to besiege Jerusalem, they were not able in seven years' time to take it. All which put together fully supplies what is wanting in Josephus, and secures the exact chronology of these times beyond contradiction.
Herod's fear of this it was, that he, by giving Antony a great deal of money, endeavored 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 Aesmoneans cease, a hundred twenty and six 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 eminent extraction, but one that was subject to other kings; and this is what history tells us was the end of the Aesmonean family.

BOOK XV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTEEN YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS TO THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD

CHAPTER I.

Concerning Pollio and Sannaeus. Herod slew the principal of Antigonus's friends, and spoiled the City of its Wealth. Antony beheads Antigonus.

1. How Susias and Herod took Jerusalem by famine; and, besides that, how they took Antigonus's treasure, has been related by us in the foregoing Book. We will now proceed in the narration. And since Herod had now the government of all Judea put into his hands, he promoted much of the private men in the city as had been before, but never by way of avenging and punishing every day those that had chosen to be of the party of his enemies: but Pollio, the Pharisee, and Sannaeus, a disciple of his, were honored by him above all the rest; for when Jesus came, as he was 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 way of reproach, Hycranus and the other judges, how this Herod, whom 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 and its power, carried off all the royal ornaments and spoilt the wealthy men of what they had gotten; and when by these means he had disposed together a great quantity of silver and gold, he sent them 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 their 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 forbidden to sow the land in that year. Now when Antony had received Antigonus as his captive, he determined to keep him against his triumph; but when he heard that the nation grew sedition, and that out of their hatred to Herod, they continued to bear good-will to Antigonus, he resolved to behead him at Antioch, for otherwise the Jews could noway be brought to be quiet. And Strabo of Cappadocia attests to what I have said, when he thus speaks: "Antony ordered Antigonus to be brought to Antioch, and there to be beheaded; and this Antony seems to me to have been the very first man who behelded a king, as supposing he could no other way bend the minds of the Jews, so as to receive Herod, whom he had made king by his steed, for by no torments could they be forced to call him king, so great a fondness they had for their former king: so he thought that this dishonorable 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.

CHAPTER II.

How Hycranus was set at Liberty by the Parthians, and returned to Herod; and what Alexander did when he heard that Amaelus was made High Priest.

1. Now after Herod was in possession of the kingdom, Hycranus the high priest, who was the son of Antipater, was again called to the high priest's office, and he again, and was set free from his captivity in the manner following: Barzaphernes and Pacorus the generals of the Parthians, took Hycranus, who was first made high priest and afterward king, and Herod's brother Phasaelus, captives, and were carrying them away into Parthia. Phasaelus indeed could not bear the reproach of being in bonds, and thinking that death with glory was better than any life whatsoever, he be came his own executioner, as I have formerly related.

2. But when Hycranus was brought into Parthia, the king Phraates treated him after a very gentle manner, as having already learned of what an illustrious man he was; on which account he set him free from his bonds, and gave him a habitation at Babylon, where there were Jews in great numbers. These Jews honored Hycranus as their high priest and king; and he was as great a name as any that dwelt as far as Asia; and the Parthians, 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 favor he had received from him, and when he was upon his trial, and when he was in danger that a capitâ sentence would be pronounced against him, he delivered him from that danger, and from all punishment. Accordingly he talked of that matter with the Jews that came often to him with great affection; but they endeavored to retain him among them, and desired that he would stay with him, putting him in mind of the kind offices and honors they did him, and that those honors they paid him were not at all inferior to what they could pay to either their high priests or their kings; and so he was to determine to determine them, they said, was this, that he could not have those dignities [in Judea] because of that main in his body, which had been inflicted on him by Antigonus; and that kings do far from Seleucia; just as the later adjoining city Babylon till this very day.
BOOK XV—CHAP. II.

not use to requite men for those kindnesses which they received when they were private persons, the height of fortune making usually no small changes in them.

2. Now although Herod 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 not use him so far as he was in their power, but that he should have jointly with himself, for that now was the proper time for himself to make him amends for the favors he had received from him, as having been brought up by him, and saved him from the danger of the former sedition. And as he wrote thus to Hyrcanus, so did he send also Saramillas, his ambassador, to Phraates, and many presents with him, and desired him in the most obliging way that he would be so kind to his graces towards his benefactor. 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 cause thereof, and that upon very good enough, of choice, of his condition, and so made what haste he could to get Hyrcanus into his power, or indeed to put him quite out of the way: which last thing he com-

4. Accordingly, when Hyrcanus came, full of assurance, by the permission of the king of Par-

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This content is from an old edition of a book. It is missing some pages and is not entirely legible. The text is challenging and contains multiple references to historical figures and events. The paragraphs are not clearly separated, and the natural language processing is difficult due to the lack of punctuation and the quality of the images. However, it appears to be a passage from a historical or religious text, discussing events and arguments between historical figures, likely from the time of Herod and the Jewish temple. The text mentions the desire of Hyrcanus to depart and the attempts by Herod to persuade him to stay. The text also includes references to the Jewish temple and the role of the high priest in maintaining the purity and traditions of the temple. The text is rich with historical and religious content, discussing the challenges faced by the high priest in maintaining the temple's sanctity. The text is a mix of direct and indirect addresses, with references to the role of the high priest in the Jewish temple and the challenges faced by the high priest in maintaining the temple's purity and traditions. The text is a reflection of the religious and historical context of the time, discussing the role of the high priest in the Jewish temple and the challenges faced by the high priest in maintaining the temple's sanctity.
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

Chap. III.

How Herod, upon his making Aristobulus High Priest, took care that he should not be murdered in a like manner: and that apology he made to Antony about Aristobulus: as also concerning Joseph and Mariamme.

1. So King Herod immediately took the high priesthood away from Ananias, who, as we said before, was not of this country, but one of those Jews that had been carried captive beyond Egypt; for there were not a few ten thousand of that number of people that had been carried captive, and dwelt about Babylonia, whence Ananias came." He was one of the stock of the high priests, and had been of old a particular friend of Herod; and when he was first made king, he conferred that dignity upon him, and now put him out of it again, in order to quiet the troubles in his kingdom, and to satisfy what the people had clamorously complained of it, for at no other time [of old] was any one that had once been in that dignity deprived of it. It was Antiochus Epiphanes who first broke that law, and deprived Jesus, and made his brother Onias king in his stead. Aristobulus was the second that did so, and took that dignity from his brother [Hyrcanus]: and this Herod was the third, who took that high office away [from Ananias] and gave it to this young man, his associate.

2. And now Herod seemed to have healed the divisions in his family; yet was he not without suspicion, as is frequently the case, of people seeming to be reconciled to one another, but threats and commands, as if they had made attempts tending to innovations, so did he fear that she would go on therein, if she found a fit opportunity for so doing; so he gave a command, that she should dwell in the palace, and meddle with no public affairs; her guards also were so careful, that nothing she did in private life every day was concealed. All these hardships put her out of patience, by little and little, and she began to harbor a design to get rid of a woman to the utmost degree, she had great indignation at this suspicious guard that was about her, as desirous rather to undergo any thing that could befall her, than to be deprived of her liberty of speaking, and being thus a holy and holy, and guard, to live in a state of slavery and terror. She therefore sent to Cleopatra, and made a long complaint of the circumstances she was in, and entreated her to do her utmost for her assistance. Cleopatra hereupon advised her, to send her son with her, and come away immediately to her into Egypt. This advice pleased her; and she had this contrivance for getting away; she got two coffins made, as if they were to carry away two dead bodies, and she was with them, and she [Herod] sent her son into the other, and gave orders to such of her servants as knew of her intentions, to carry them away in the night-time. Now their road was to be thence to the seaside, and there was a ship ready to carry them into Egypt. Now Zeoph, one of her servants, happened to fall upon Sabion, one of her friends, and spake of this matter to him, as thinking he had known of it before. When Zeoph knew this, (who had formerly been an enemy of Herod, and was esteemed one of those that laid snares for, and gave the poison to [his father] Antipater,) he expected that this discovery might be a great destruction to Herod's house; he spoke to him of it, he durst not inflict any thing that was severe upon her, for he knew that Cleopatra would not bear that he should have her accused, on account of her hatred to him, but made a show as if it were rather the generosity of his soul, in 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 him in probability better to let him alone, if he so consented, nor immediately after what had lately happened.

3. And now, upon the approach of the feast of tabernacles, while he was about to serve his god, 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 arose in him, cause him to make haste to do what he thought could be done as quickly as possible; and 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 sacrifice, and with this the ornaments of his high priesthood, he made a scene there. He was too young, it 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 he was sprung from, and a warm zeal and affection to his father. He was not alone 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 inclinations to him. 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 was made too evident, and they obeyed the commands of him they had received from his family, than was fit under a monarchy to have done. Upon all this, Herod resolved to complete what he had intended against the young man. When therefore he was about to proceed from 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 licentious 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 vein of madness; and as they stood by the fish-ponds, of which there were large ones about the house, they dipp'd their heads, and they threw themselves among the bosom of one another, because it was in the midst of a hot day. At first they were only spectators of Herod's servants and acquaintance as they were swimming, but after a while, the young man, at the instigation among the Maccabees; and this tyrant king Herod the Great; and afterward that infamous praetor, when he was frequent in the very destruction of Jerusalem, when the office of high priesthood was at an end.

This entirely confutes the Talmudists, who pretend that no one under twenty years of age could officiate as high priest among the Jews.

1. A few lines later, Roland says, this drowning was at Jericho, not at Jericho, and this even when he quotes Josephus. I suspect the transcriber of the Hebrew chronicler misread the name, and wrote Jerem for Jericho.
of Herod, went into the water among them, while such of Herod's acquaintance, as he had appointed to do it, dipped him, as he was swimming, and plunged him under water, in the dark of the evening, as if it had been done in sport only, nor did they desist till he was entirely and soundly located; and thus was Aristobulus murdered, having lived no more in all than eighteen years, and kept the high priesthood one year only, which high priesthood Anaelassus 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. Then, as they were about to take him away, 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, but Alexander was more deeply affected, upon her knowledge that he had been destitute of [for purpose.] Her sorrow was greater than that of others, by her knowing how the murder was committed, but she was under a necessity of being silent, as she did not intend to give any 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 see Jerusalem's king avenged. But Alexander was not 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 forced to discover her design to her husband, and thereby expose herself to an accident which was caused by any design of his; and for this purpose he did not only use the ordinary signs of sorrow, but fell into tears also, and exhibited a real confusion of soul; and perhaps his affection were overcome on this occasion, when he saw the child's consternation 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 then, too, he thought that to be killed would be very magnificent, by making great preparation for a sepulchre to lay his body in, and providing a great quantity of spices, and burying many ornaments together with him, till the very women that were in such deep sorrow were astonished at it, and received in this way some consolation.

5. However, no such things could overcome Alexandras's grief, but the remembrance of this miserable case made her sorrow both deep and obstinate. Accordingly, she wrote an account of this treacherous scene to Cleopatra, and how her son was murdered; but Cleopatra, as she had formerly been disposed to give her what satisfaction she could, and commiserating Alexandras's misfortunes, made the case her own, and would not let Antony be quiet, but excited him to punish the child's murder, for that it was an unpardonable crime, and with him, to call him made king of a kingdom that noways belonged to him, should be guilty of such horrid crimes against those that were of the royal blood in reality. Antony was persuaded by these arguments, and consented to let the thing pass over, and commanded Herod to come and make his defence, as to what he had done to Aristobulus, for that such a treacherous design was not well done, if he had any hand in it. Herod was now in fear, both of the accusation, and of Cleopatra's ill-will to him, which was such, that she was ever endeavoring to make Antony hate him. He therefore, determined to obey his summons, for he had no possible way to avoid it: so he left his uncle, Joseph, procurator for his government, and for the public affairs, and gave him a private charge, that if Antony should kill him, he also should kill Mariamne immediately; for that he had a tender affection for this his wife, and was afraid of the injury that should be offered him, if, after his death, she, for her beauty, should be the cause of some hindrance. But his intimation was nothing but this at the bottom, that Antony had fallen in love with her when he had formerly heard somewhat of her beauty; so when he had once given the charge, and had indeed no sure hopes of escaping with his life, he went away to Antony.

6. But as Joseph was administering the public affairs of the kingdom, and for that reason was very frequently with Mariamne, 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 Alexander, used to discourse into feminine raimery, 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 demonstration, and not being committed. And this was the reason, and that if he should come to any ill end, he could not endure a separation from her, even after he was dead. Thus spoke Joseph. But the women, as was natural, did not take this to be an instance of Herod's affection for them, but of his severe usage of them, that they could not escape destruction, nor a tyrannical death, even when he was dead himself; and this saying [of Joseph] was the foundation for the women's severe suspicions about him afterward.

7. At this time a report went about the city of Jerusalem, among Herod's enemies, that Antony had tortured Herod, and put him to death. This report, as is natural, disturbed those that were about the palace, but chiefly the women: upon which Alexandras endeavored to persuade Joseph to go out of the palace, and fly to the confines of the Roman legion, that lay near the city, and there put himself as a guard to the kingdom, under the command of Julius; for, by this means, if any disturbance should happen about the palace, they should be in greater security, as having the Romans favorable to them, and also may be expected to have obtained the highest authority, if Antony did but once see Mariamne, by whose means they should recover the kingdom, and want nothing which was reasonable for them to hope for, because of their royal extinction.

8. But as they were in the midst of these deliberations, letters were brought from Herod about all his affairs, and proved contrary to the report, and of what they before expected; for when he was come to Antony, he soon recovered his interest with him, by the presents he made him, which he had brought with him from Jerusalem, and he soon induced him, upon discovering him, to receive the charge, his Antony should kill himself; and Cleopatra's persuasions had less force than the arguments and presents he brought, to regain his friendship, for Antony said, that it was not good to require an account of a king, as to the affairs of the great, but he could no king at all, but that those who had given him that authority ought to permit him to make use of it. He also said the same things to Cleopatra, that it would be best for her not to busily to meddle with the acts of the king's government. Herod wrote an account of these
things, and "enlarged upon the other bonors 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 favors from him, notwithstanding the re-
proaches that Cleopatra so severely laid against him, who having a great desire of his country, and earnestly entreating Antony that the king-
dom given to her, be also given to her, labored with her utmost diligence to have him overtake the way to that, but that he still found Antony just to him, and had no longer any apprehensions of hard treat-
ment from him; and that he was soon upon his return, by means of Alexander's influence of his favor to him, in his reigning and managing public affairs; and that there was no longer any hopes for Cleopatra's covetous temper, since An-
tony had given her Cilicia, instead of what she desired, by which together he made him acculp-
itate her, and got clear of the entreaties which she made him to have Judea bestowed upon her." 9 When these letters were brought, the women left off their attempt for dying to the Romanas, which was the first sign of the suspicion was, and left of to be dead, yet was not that purpose of theirs a secret; but when the king had conducted Antony on his way against the Parthians, he returned to Judea, when both his sister Salome, and his mother came to Alexander, full of desire of intentions. Salone also added somewhat further against Jo-
seph, though it were no more than a calumny, that he had often had criminal conversation with Mariamme, and that he was the reason of her saying to Joseph that this, that she for a long time bare her ill-will, for when they had differences with one another, Mariamme took great freoods, and reproached the rest for the meanness of their birth. But Herod, who was like to Mariamme in all, was always very warm, was presently disturbed at this, and could not bear the torments of jealousy, so was still restrained from doing any rash thing to her by the love he had for her; yet did his vehement affection and jealousy together make him make her, Mariamme by herself about this matter of Joseph; but she denied it upon her oath, and said all that an innocent woman could possibly say in her own defence, so that by little and little the king was very much moved, and left off his anger at her; and being overcome with his passion for his wife, he made an apology to her for having seemed to believe what he had heard about her, and returned her a great many ac-
knowledgments of her modest behavior, and he professed the extraordinary affection and kind-
ness he had for her, till at last, as is usual be-
tween lovers, they both fell into tears, and embr-
ces. But as he had a most tender mother with a most tender daughter, so did Joseph, having restored to her the king, who was very much overjoyed at this, for he knew he should have been free cities from their ancestors, although she pressed him very often to bestow those on her also.

2 When Cleopatra had obtained this much, and had accompanied Antony in his expedition to Armenia, so far as Ephrates, she returned back, and came to Apamea and Damascus, and passed on to Judea, where Herod met her, and left her her of her parts of Arabia, and those reve-
gers that were her, and to Jericho, which is the most precious drug that is there, and grows there alone. The place bears also palm-trees, both many in number, and those excellent in form, so that the place was the most). When the king had been there with Joseph, he had often with Herod, she endeavors to have criminal conversation with the king; nor did she affect secrecy in the indulgence of such sort of passion, 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 aiming to obtain such adulterous conversation from him: however, upon the whole, she seemed to love her own life more than love to him. Nor 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 lust; he had also thought of preventing her intrigues, by putting her to death, if such were her endeavors. However, he refused to comply with her proposals, and called a council of his friends to consult with them. "Whether he should not kill her now he had her in his power for that she should thereby deliver all those from a multitude of evils. If she was a ready become irksome, and was expected to be still so for the time to come; and that this very thing would be much for the advantage of Antony himself, he would therefore command the men of the fleet to keep her near him, in case any such reason or necessity should come upon him as that he should stand in seed of her fidelity." But when he thought to follow this advice, his friends would not let him; and so did he, when they first proposed it; it was, by his right to attempt so great a thing, and run himself thereby into the utmost danger; and they lay hard at him, and begged of him to undertake nothing rashly, for that Antony would never bear it, if he should chance to die 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, would probably set his affections more in theAuthorized product of Scriptorium Classics. Do not distribute. 238

of 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 the enemy to come very near those Jews to a close fight with them. And when they were so tumultuous, and showed such great ascertainty, the king resolved to make use of that zeal the multitude then exhibited; and when he had assured them they would not have minded them, to encourage them in course, he led them on, and stood before them all in his armor, all the regiments following him in their several ranks: whereupon a consternation fell upon the Arabians; for when they perceived the Jews were not so numerous, nor armed, and were full of spirit, the greater part of them ran away, and avoided fighting, and they had been quite destroyed, had not Athenion fallen upon the Jews, and distressed them, for this man was Cleopatra prince to Cleopatra, his younger brother, to that kingdom: but this happened a good while afterward.

4. But then, as to the tributes which Herod was to pay Cleopatra for that country, which Antony had given her, he acted fairly with her, as seeming 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 did not take it, for the amount was much 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 them without some deductions.

CHAP. V.

How Herod made war with the King of Arabia, and after they had fought many Battles, at length conquered him, and was chosen by the Arabs to be Governor of that Nation; as also concerning a great Earthquake.

§ 1. HERODUS Herod held himself ready to go against the King of Arabia, because of his ingratitude to him and because, after all, he would do nothing that was just to his, although Herod made the Roman 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 taxes, and having received great honors therefrom, with great body of men, and carefully furnished them with all necessaries, and designed them as auxiliaries for Antony; but Antony said, he had no want of his assistance; but he commanded them to put the men of the fleet to him, for he had heard both from him and from Cleopatra, how peridious he was; for this was what Cleopatra desired, who thought it for her own advantage, that these two kings should do one another as great mischief as possible. Upon this message from Antony, Herod returned back, but kept his arm with him, in order to invade Arabia immediately. So when his army of horsemen and footmen was ready, he marched to Dioscuripolis, whither the Arabs had caused him to come, for they were not unsatisfied of this war that was coming upon them; and after a great battle had been fought, the Jews had the victory. But afterward there were gotten together another number of Arabians, and the Arabians, of which is a place of Colsosyria. Herod was informed of this beforehand: so he came marching against them with the greatest part of the forces he had; and when he came, he resolved to encompass 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 let him at once destroy 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 the enemy to come very near those Jews to a close fight with them. And when they were so tumultuous, and showed such great ascertainty, the king resolved to make use of that zeal the multitude then exhibited; and when he had assured them they would not have minded them, to encourage them in course, he led them on, and stood before them all in his armor, all the regiments following him in their several ranks: whereupon a consternation fell upon the Arabians; for when they perceived the Jews were not so numerous, nor armed, and were full of spirit, the greater part of them ran away, and avoided fighting, and they had been quite destroyed, had not Athenion fallen upon the Jews, and distressed them, for this man was Cleopatra prince to Cleopatra, his younger brother, to that kingdom: but this happened a good while afterward.

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of slaughter were now frequent, and of those that escaped, a few only returned into the camp. For, when he was dispirited with the battle, he rode up to them to bring them assistance, yet did he not come time enough to do them any service, though he labored hard to do it, but the Jewish camp was taken, so that the Arabians had unexpectedly a most glorious success, having gained that victory, which of themselves they were nower likely to have gained, and slaying a great part of the enemy's army: whence afterward Herod could only act like a private robber, and the king's enemies rose up among parts of Idumaæa, 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 activity, and the heavy punishment of them in the case sudden. And the king took great care of his own forces, and used all the means he could to restore his affairs to their old state.

On this time it was that the fight happened at Actium, between Octavius Caesar and Antony, in the seventh9 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 before., and which, earthquake brought a great destruction upon the cattle in that country. 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 king was informed of this, and when those that hated the Jews, and pleased themselves with aggravating the reports, told them of it, they raised their spirits, as if their enemy's country was quite overturned, and the army was 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 upon the Jews with a great army, and thought they durst not withstand them, and were so cast down by the calamities they were under, that they took no care of their affairs, but gave up those to despair; for they had no hope that they should be upon a level with them again in battles, nor obtain any assistance elsewhere, while their affairs at home were in such great distress also. When matters were in this condition, then persuading the commanders by his words, and tried to raise their spirits, which were quite sunk; and first he endeavored to encourage and embolden some of the better sort beforehand, and then ventured to make a speech to the army, which had before avoided to do, lest he should find them uneasy thereat, because of the misfortunes which had happened; so he made a consolatory speech to the multitude, in the manner following:

"1. You are not unacquainted, my fellow soldiers, that we have had not long since many accidents that have put a stop to what we are about; and it is probable that even those that are most distinguished of the rest have their courage, can hardly keep up their spirits in such times of distress, and they have been so anxious to recover their good fortune. I will, then, in the first place demonstrate to you, that this war is a just one on our side, and that on this account it is a war of necessity, and occurs in the most severe manner, and that the Jews have been only once satisfied of this, it will be a real cause of deformity to you, after which I will farther demonstrate, that the misfortunes we are under are of no great consequence, and that we have the greatest reason to hope for victory. I shall begin with the first, and appeal to yourselves as witnesses to what I shall say. You are not ignorant certainly of the wickedness of the Arabians, which is to that degree as to appear incredible to all other men, and to include somewhat that shows the grossest barbarity and ignorance of God. The chief things wherein they have affronted us, have arisen from covetousness and envy; and they have attacked us in an insidious manner. And it is incredible, that in the case sudden. And the king took great care of his own forces, and used all the means he could to restore his affairs to their old state.

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able they can live securely in common life, or be successful in war? In my opinion this is impossible; but perhaps some will say, that what is holy and what is righteous, is indeed on our side, but the Arabs are either more courageous, or more accustomed to war. But when we were in our first place, it is not fit for us to say so, for with whom is what is righteous, with them is God himself; now where God is, there is both multitude and courage. But to examine our own circumstances, a little, we were conquerors in the first battle: and when we fought again, they were not able to oppose us, but ran away, and could not endure our attacks or our courage: but when we had conquered them, then came Arab: and for that reason, they now keep their peace, and re-claiming it; and pray, is this an instance of their manhood? or is it not a second instance of their wickedness and treachery? Why are we, therefore, of less courage, on account of that which ought to inspire us with stronger hopes and why are we terrified at these, who, when they fought upon the level, are continually beaten, and when they seem to be conquerors, they gain it by their numbers, and they think they should deem them to be men of real courage, will he not be excited by that very consideration to do his utmost against them? For true valor is not shown by fighting against weak person, but in being able to withstand the attack of the brave. But then, if the distresses we are ourselves under, and the miseries that have come by the earthquake, have affrighted any one, let him consider, in the first place, that this very thing will deceive the enemy, who think that their enemies are poorer than it really is. Moreover, it is not right that the same thing that emboldens them should discourage us; for these men, you see, do not derive their alacrity from any advantageous virtue of their own, but from the multitude, which makes them sure that we are quite cast down by our misfortunes; but when we boldly march against them, they shall soon pull down their insolent c canadian of them- selves, and shall gain this as also, they reason that they will not be so insolent when we come to the battle, for our distresses are not so great, nor is what hath happened an indication of the anger of God against us, as some imagine, for with them they have not been so much agitated as we are in the usual course of things; and if we allow that this was done by the will of God, we must allow that it is now over by his will also, and that he is satisfied with what has already happened, for he is pleased with good work. And thereby, he had not changed his mind so soon. And as for the war we are engaged in, he hath himself demonstrated, that he is willing it should go on, and that he knows it to be a just war; for while some of the people in the country have undergone all, who you were in arms have suffered nothing, but are all preserved alive; whereby God makes it plain to us, that if you had universally, with your children and wives, marched with the army, it had come to pass, that you had not undergone any thing that would have much hurt you. Consider these things, and, what is more than all the rest, that you have God at all times for your advocate; and if you were all armed with a just bravery, who, in point of friendship are unjust, in their battles peridious, towards ambassadors impious, and always inferior to you. 4. When the Jews heard this speech they were much raised in their minds, and more disposed to fight than before. So Herod, when he had offered the sacrifices appointed by the law, made haste, and took them, and led them against the Arabians; and in order to pass over Jordan, and pitched his camp near to that of the Arabians, they set up a little castle that lay in the midst of them, as hoping it would be for his advantage, and would the sooner produce a battle; and that if there were occasion for delay, he should by it have his camp fortified. And as the Arabians had the same intentions upon that place, a contest arose about it: at first they were but 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 were worsted. They were now treated. This was no small encouragement 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 ordered boldly, that he might attack the bulwark by night, and carry it, and so to get nearer to their camp, in order to fight them; for when they were forced out of their trenches, they were no match for them. And by this he would raise to act, by fire and sword, by the alacrity, or hope of victory; yet did they fight hand to hand, because they were more in number than the Jews, and because they were in such a disposition of war that they were under a necessity of holding on, and combatting with a terrible battle, while not a few fell on each side. However, at length the Arabians fled; and so great a slaughter was made upon their being routed, that they were not only killed by the sword, but also burnt, and their bodies burnt, and their own deaths also, and were trodden down by the multitude, and the great current of people in disorder, and were destroyed by their own arm; so five thousand men lay dead upon the spot, while they were hotly pursued from them, by all those within the bulwark [for safety, but had no firm hope of safety, by reason of their want of necessaries, and especially of water. The Jews pursued them; but could not get in with them, but sat round about the bulwark, and watched and assisted that assistance which would get in to them, and prevented any there, that had a mind to it, from making away. 5. When the Arabs were in these circumstances, they sent ambassadors to Herod, in the first place to propose terms of accommodation; and after that to offer him, so pressing was their thirst upon them, to undergo whatsoever he pleased, if he would release them from this distress; but he would admit of no ambassadors, of no price of redemption, nor of any other moderate terms whatever, being very desirous to revenge those unjust actions which they had been guilty of towards his nation. So they were necessitated by other motives, and particularly by their thirst, to come out and deliver themselves up to him, to be carried away captives; and in five days' time the number of four thousand were taken prisoners, while all the rest remained to make a sacrifice upon their enemies, and to fight it out with them. Choosing rather, if so it must be, to die therein than to perish gradually and ingloriously. When they had taken this resolution, they came out of their trenches, and it was now easy to 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 within the bulwark, so that the first onset there fell about seven thousand, many times of affliction making men most religious; nor was he disappointed of his hopes here, but immediately gained a most signal victory over the Arabians; while they who just before had been so great victors, and so much elevated upon the earth, were now under a strange consternation, and hardly able to fight at all.
and of them; after which stroke they let all the
courage they had put on before fell, and stood
amazed at Herod’s warlike spirit under his own
command as for the future, and yielded, and
made him ruler of their nation; whereupon he
was greatly elevated at so seasonable a success,
and returned home, taking great authority over
him, on account of so bold and glorious an expen-
dition as he has made.

CHAP. VI.
How Herod slew Hyrcanus, and then hasted unto
Caesar, and obtained the kingdom from him
also; and how, a little time afterward, he enter-
tained Caesar in a most honorable manner.

1. His rod’s other affairs were now very pros-
sperous; but yet he was not to be easily to bear on
any side. Yet did there come upon him a danger
that would hazard his entire dominions, after An-
tony had been beaten at the battle of Actium by
Romans [see Ch. 4] but without hope of escape, but
for his enemies, they all outwardly appeared 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 a great temptation for the True Hyrcanists,
and therefore he thought it would be for his
advantage not to suffer him to be an obstacle in
his way any longer; for that in case he himself sur-
vived, and escaped the danger he was in, he thought
the time was come to put into the power of
some such a man to make any attempt against
him at such junctures of affairs, as was more
worthy of the kingdom than himself; and in case
he should be slain by Caesar, his envy prompted
him to desire that he may be toward who would otherwise
be king after him.

2. While Herod had these things in his mind,
there was a certain occasion afforded him; for
Ariobarzanes, who had no hope of escape, but
for his enemies, they all outwardly appeared to
be troubled at his case, but were privately very
glad of it, as hoping to obtain a change for the
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worthy of the kingdom than himself; and in case
he should be slain by Caesar, his envy prompted
him to desire that he may be toward who would otherwise
be king after him.

3. And this account we give the reader, as it is
one of the few things that the present author
but other historians do not agree with them, for
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, which he would not have accepted had he
not been once at a treat, and that Herod had given
no occasion to suspect [that he was displeased at
him], but put this question to Hyrcanus, Whe-
ther he had received any letters from Malchus?
and answered him, that he had received no let-
ters, but those of salutation only; and when he
asked farther, 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, and that Malchus had sent him a pair. He
attended that Herod charged these upon him 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
entirely guilty of nothing, when he was thus brought
to his end, they alleged how little his temper had
been, and that even in his youth he had never
given any demonstration of boldness or rashness
nor any desire to be king, but that he was simply
to be king, but that he even then committed the
management of the greatest part of public affairs
to Antipater; and that he was now above four-
score years old, and knew that Herod’s govern-
ment was such as he had been trained and
brought up under, under Cassius and Eupharon,
and left those who greatly honored him beyond that river, though he were to be en-
tirely under Herod’s government, and that it was
a most incredible thing that he should enter-
prise 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 re-
markable things, Hyrcanian adventures, and a
life-time: for he was made high priest of the Jewish
nation in the beginning of his mother Alexan-
dra’s reign, who held the government nine years;
and when, after his mother’s death, he took the
throne, he lived well, and was esteemed among
the Persians as a man of the first class, while
Herod did love him as the means of bringing
himself and his son to the throne of Jerusalem.

5. He was then restored by Pompey, and received
all sorts of honor from him, and enjoyed them
forty years; but when he was again deprived by
Antigonus, and was cast in his body, he was
made a captive by the Parthians, and thence re-
turned home again after some time, on account of
the hopes that Herod had given him, none of
which came to pass according to his expectation,
and then returned to Rome, and was set free, and
went through the whole course of his life; and what
was the heaviest calamity of all, we have re-
issued already, he came to an end and which was undeserved by him. His character appeared to be that of a man of a mild and moderate disposition, and suffered the administration of affairs to be generally done by others under him. He was not inclined to the mixing with him of the court, nor had he shrewdness enough to govern a kingdom; and both Antipater and Herod came to their greatness by reason of his mildness, and at last he met with such an end from them as was not against his will, unless by order.

5. Now Herod, as soon as he put Hyrcanus out of the way, made haste to Cæsar; and because he could not have any hopes of kindness from him, or account of the friendship he had for Alexander, he was afraid that he should take this opportunity to bring the multitude to a revolt, and introduce a sedition into the affairs of the kingdom; so he committed the care of every thing to his brother Pheroras, and placed his mother Cleopatra, 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 in the meantime, 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 Alexandrium, with Alexander her brother, and gave Pheroras his care for the land of Iturea, 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 that should not suit with the interest of the kingdom, 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 made haste to the Ephod, to meet Cæsar; 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 speak to him, he therein exhibited much more consideration, than the former situation of the kingdom required; for he did not then betake himself to supplications, as men usually do upon such occasions, nor offered him any petition, as if he were an initiated man, and gave him an account of what he had done; for he spoke thus to Cæsar, that “he had the greatest friendship for Antony, and did every thing he could that he might attain the government; that he was no more in love with him and his cause than the Arabs had diverted him, but that he had sent him both money and corn, which was but too little in comparison of what he ought to have done for him; for if a man owns himself to be another’s friend, and knows him to be a benefactor, he is obliged to hazard every thing, to use every faculty of his soul, every member of his body, and all the wealth he hath, for him, in which I confess I have been too deficient. However, I am content to say to thee, far from not right, that I have not deserted him upon his defeat at Actium; nor upon the evident change of his fortune have I transferred my hopes from him to another, but have preserved myself, that I might certainly continue certainly as a faithful counsellor to Antony, when I demonstrated to him that the only way that he had to save himself, and not to lose all his authority, was to say Cleopatra was for; for when she was dead, there would be room for him to retain his authority, and rather to bring thee to make a composition with him, than to continue at enmity any longer. None of which advice would he attend to, but preferred his own rash resolutions before them, which have happened unprofitably for him, but profitably for thee. Now therefore, in case thou determinest about me, and my allegiance in serving Antony, according to thy anger at him, I own there is no room for me, to deny what I have done, nor will I be ashamed to own, and that publicly too, that I had a great kindness for him; but if thou wilt put him out of the case, and only examine how I beheld myself in my own interest, and not what sort of friend I am, thou wilt find by experience that we shall do and be the same to thyself, for it is but changing the names, and the firmness of friendship that we shall bear to thee will not be differently judged by us.”

7. By this speech, and by his behavior, which showed Cæsar the frankness of his mind, he greatly gained upon him, who was himself of a generous and magnificent temper, inasmuch that he did not suspect the motives of those very acts of Cæsar, on the accusation against him, procured him Cæsar’s good-will. Accordingly he restored him his diadem again; and encouraged him to exhibit himself as great a friend to himself as he had been to Antony, and then had him in great esteem. Moreover, he added this, that Quintus Didius had written to him, that Herod had very readily assisted him in the affair of the gladiators. So when Cæsar had received this as a token of reparation, and had, beyond all his hopes, procured his crown to be more entirely and firmly settled upon him than ever by Cæsar’s donation, as well as by that decree of the Romans, which Cæsar took care for his great advantage, who had conducted Cæsar on his way to Egypt, and made presents even beyond his ability, to both him and his friends, and in general behaved himself with great magnanimity. He also desired that Cæsar would make Antony, and those next to him, rather than to his own advantage; and that there should be a compensation of Antony; but Cæsar 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 honor and assurance than ever, and affected to make no relations to the contrary, as still acquiring from his very dangers greater splendor than before, by the favor of God to him. So he prepared for the reception of Cæsar, as he was going out of Syria into Cilicia; 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, when he had obtained such especial friends, and put the army in array, and rode along with Cæsar, and had a hundred and fifty men, well appointed in all respects, after a rich and sumptuous manner, for the better reception of Cæsar; and he also made presents to the people with what 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 Cæsar 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 esteemed to be to one so far, that he had the honor of 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. It was by means of his assistance that he procured to the good offices he had formerly done them.

CHAP. VII.

How Herod slew Sallumus and Mariamne, and afterward Alexander and Costobarus, and his most intimate Friends, and at last the Sons of Babas also.

1. However, when he came into his kingdom again, he found his house all in disorder, and his wife, Mariamne, and her mother, Alexandra, very uneasy; for, as they supposed, what was easy to be supposed, that they were not pos
that he was in this temper with regard to Marianne, they thought he had too got as excellent an opportunity to exercise their hatred against her, and provoked Herod to wrath by the mere sight of her. And Marianne, as supposing that the king's love to her was but hypocritical, and rather pretended, as advantageous to himself, than real, she looked upon it as malicious. She also was grieved that he would manifest any kind of vigorous way of showing himself to come to any harm himself. She also re-collected what commands he had formerly given to Joseph, insomuch that she endeavoured to plant her keepers, and especially Sobeemas, as well as she could, in disfavour. And the first Sobeemas was faithful to Herod, and neglected none of the things he had given him in charge; but when the women, by kind words and good offices, affided to him, and got him affection, in over to these, he was by degrees overcome, and at length discovered to them all the king's in-junctions, and this on that account principally, that he did not so much as hope he would come back with the same conduct he had before, so that he thought he should both escape any danger from him, and supposed that he did hereby much gratify the women, who were likely not to be overlooked in the setting of the government, now that he would be able to make him abundant recompense, since they must either reign themselves, or be very near to him that should reign. He had a further grossed of hope also, that though Herod should have all the success he could desire from them, as for the government, he could not contradict hiswife in what she desired, for he knew that the king's fondness for his wife was inexpressible. These were the motives that drew Sobeemas to discover what injunctions had been made to him. So Marianne was greatly Cap- pleased to hear that there was no end of the dangers she was under from Herod, and was greatly uneasy at it, and wished he might obtain no fame, and especially not for nor for her husband, and feared it almost an insupportable task to live with him any longer; and this she afterward openly declared, with- out concealing her resentment.

2. And now Herod sailed home with joy, at the same time her mother and mother's sister had before, so went first of all, as was proper, to this wife, and told her, and her only, the good news, as preferring her before the rest, on account of his fondness for her, and the intimacy there had been between him, and saluted her; but so it happened, that as he told her of the good suc- cess he had had, she was so far from rejoicing at 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 her 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 insatisfaction. This much troubled him, to see that this surprising hatred of his wife to him 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 angry at her, and sometimes reconciled him- self to her; but by always changing one passion for another, it was still in great uncertainty. And his mother, and he entangled himself in love, and was frequently disposed to inflict pun-ishment on her for her insolence towards him; but being deeply in love with her in his soul, he was but able to quit of this woman. In short, as he would gladly have her punished, so was he afraid lest, one were he aware, he should, by putting her to death, bring a heavier punishment upon himself at the same time.

3. When Herod's sister and mother perceived

* Whereas Marianne is here represented as reproach- ing Herod with the murder of her father (Alexander,) as well as her brother (Aristobulus,) while it was her
that he had caused his father and his brother to be slain. And when he took this injury very unkindly, and was ready to use violence to her, in order to revenge his former punishment, she, observing that he was more than ordinarily disturbed, sent in to the king his cap-bearer, who had been prepared long beforehand for such a design, and bid him tell the king, how Mariamne had promised him to give him a love potion in preparing a love potion for him; and if he appear to be greatly concerned, and to ask what that love potion was to tell him, that she had done nothing to injure him, nor to injure himself, nor to injure the king, but that in case he did not appear to be much concerned at this potion, to let the thing drop, and that if he did so, no harm should thereby come to him. When she had given him these her cautions, he left her, and absented himself, in order to make such a speech. So he went in, after a composed manner, to gain credit to what he should say, and yet somewhat hastily, and said, that "Mariamne had given him presents, and presented him to the king, and when this moved the king, he said, that "this love potion was a composition that she had given him, whose effects he did not know, which was the reason of his resolving to give him this information, in order that he might be both safe for himself and for the king." When Herod heard what he said, and was in an ill disposition before, his indignation grew more violent; and he sent for Mariamne, and lashed her on certain occasions which he would not name, and for the most faithful to him, to be brought to torture about this potion, as well knowing it was not possible that any thing small or great could be done without him. And when the man was under the extreme necessity, he said not a word to her, but sent for his cap-bearer, and said he had been at all other times most faithful to him, and to his government, would not have betrayed what injunctions he had given him, unless he had had a nearer conversation than ordinary with him; and that she should be seized on and slain immediately; but he allowed his wife to take her trial; and got together those that were most faithful to him, and the fortresses belonging to the kingdom, and on his return, he clearly set forth this love potion and composition, which had been charged upon her by way of calumny only. However, he kept no temper in what he said, and was in too great a passion for judging well about this matter. Accordingly when the queen was at length satisfied that he was so resolved, they passed the sentence of death upon her: but when the sentence was passed upon her, this temper was suggested by himself, and by some others of the court, that she should not be thus hastily put to death, but be laid in prison in one of the fortresses belonging to the kingdom: but Salome and her party labored hard to have the woman put to death, and they prevailed with the king, and he conquered her. And then it was that last the multitude should be tumultuous if she were suffered to live; and thus was Mariamne led to execution.

8. When Alexander observed how things went, and that there were small hopes that she herself should escape the like treatment from Herod, she changed her behavior to quite the reverse of what might have been expected from her former conduct in the same circumstances; 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 pronounced 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 he had punished her for her insolent behavior, for that she had not made proper returns to him who had been their common benefactor." And when she had for some time acted after this hypocritical manner, and had been so out of her mind as to term herself an indecent and dissembling behavior, as was to be expected, was greatly condemned by the rest of the spectators, as it was principally by the poor women who were to them as a terror, for they knew not the word, nor was discomposed at her peerlessness, and only looked at her; yet did she, out of a great sense of soul, discover her concern for her mother's offense, and especially for her exposing herself to the thunder of her father's justice; but as for herself, she went to her death with an unshaken firmness of mind, and without changing the color 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 did Mariamne, a woman of an excellent character, both for chesity and greatness of soul; but she was not moderate, and she had too much kindness for her husband, so that she had all that she could say in the beauty of her body, and her majestic appearance in conversation; and thence arose the greatest part of the king's displeasure against her, and there were occasions where he was ready to cut her off, and to put the king, nor live so pleasantly with him, as she might otherwise have done; for while she was most indulgently used by the king, out of his fondness to her, and did not expect that he could do any harm to her, or had any thing in her nature that was liberty. Moreover, that which most afflicted her was, what he had done to her relations; and she ventured to speak of all they had suffered by him, and at last greatly provoked both the king's mother, and the king's mother's husband, that she was not subject to his moves; 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 afflictions for her were kindled in a more outrageous manner than before, whose old passion for her we have already described; for his love to her was not of a calm nature, nor such as we have already mentioned; for the crown of his kingdom, and its commencement was of an enthusiastic kind; nor was it by their long cohabitation, and free conversation together, brought under his power to manage; but at this time his love to Mariamne seemed to be 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 bestowed on him of every thing he could make use of to divert his mind from thinking of her, and contrive feasts and assemblies for that purpose, but nothing would suffice; he therefore laid aside the administration of public affairs, and was always in the field, and of his order, and 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 way, there arose a pestilential disease, that affected the greatest part of the multitude, and of his best and most esteemed friends, and made all men suspect that he was brought upon him by the anger of God, for the injustice that had been done to Mariamne. This misfortune was an occasion that he was forced to go into desert places, and there, under pretence of going a hunting, bitterly afflicted himself; yet had he not borne reading, which is here greatly to our right, or else we must, as before, either to the 5th of Joseph, 54.
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 Idumeans should make use of the Jewish customs, or be subject to them. He therefore sent to Cleopatra, and informed her that the Idumeans had been always under his progenitors, and that for the same reason it was no more just or reasonable that they should show respect for him of Antioy, for that he was ready to transfer his friendship to her; and this he did, not because he was better pleased to be under Cleopatra's government, but because he showed that he was, upon an unlimited power of Herod's, it would not be difficult for him to obtain himself the entire government over the Idumeans, and somewhat more also; for he raised his hopes still higher, as he saw that the Idumeans, the sons 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 of the sacred place, or, 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 the worship which they have been wont to pay unto God. Alexandra, therefore, discourse with those that had the keeping of these strongholds, that it was proper for them to deliver the same to her, and to Herod's sons, being of another nation and another language; and they were seized 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 said at the same time; and as that then had been in former times faithful [to Herod] they resolved to continue so more than ever, both because they hated Alexandra, and because they thought it a sort of impiety to deprive the country of the worship which he was yet alive, for they had been his old friends; and one of them, whose name was Achiaaus, was his cousin-german. They sent messengers, therefore, to acquaint him with Alexandra's design; so his nation under his power, for we observe have their shrine; yet was it still with difficulty, and after he had endured great pain, that he got clear of his distemper. He was still sore afflicted both in mind and body, and made very uneasy by this order of affairs, especially when he had formerly taken great pains to bring them to punishment, as being enemies to his government, but they were now forgiven by him, on account of the length of time since he had ordered them to be slain, because 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 the body of Herod into the city, and already placed their hopes on him. Now, the sons of Babas were of great dignity, and had power among the multitude, and were faithful to Antigonus, and were always raising calumnies against Herod, and encouraged the people to preserve the government to that royal family which held it by inheritance. Christianity. Now this Babas, who was one of the race of the Asmonaeans or Macabees, as the latter end by this section informs us, is related by the Jews, as Dr Heugely, the St. Paul, as to have been singularly ingenious in the Jewish way, that except the day following the tenth of Tisri, the great day of atonement, when he saw to have supposed all his sins entirely forgiven, he used every day of the whole year to offer a sacrifice for his sins of ignorance, or such as he supposed he had committed, but from a distinctly remember. It seems somewhat like 1 of Agrippa the Great, Antid. b. xix. ch. iii. sect. 3; and Job 1. 4, 5.
So those 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 Costobarus was appointed to hinder men from passing out at the gates, and to guard the city, that those citizens that were guilty, and of the higher condition, who were not to the king, might not get out of it, Costobarus being sensible that the sons of Babas were had in respect and honor by the whole multitude, and supposing that their preservation might be of some advantage to him after the government afterward, he set them by themselves, and concealed them in his own farm; and when the thing was suspected, he assured Herod upon oath that he really knew nothing of what had taken place, and an accusation was brought against him that he lay upon him; nay, after that, when the king had publicly proposed a reward of the discovery, and had put in practice all sorts of methods for searching out this matter, he would not confess it, but being persuaded that when he had at first denied it, if the men were found, he should not escape unpunished, he was forced to keep them secret, not only out of his good-will to them, but out of a necessitated act of dishonesty. Also, when the king knew the thing by his brother’s information, he sent men to the places where he had the intimation they were concealed, and ordered both them, and those that were accused as guilty, to be seized. And when their children that were there now were all at left of the kindred of Hyrcanus, and the kingdom was entirely in Herod’s own power, and there was nobody remaining of such dignity as could put a stop to what he did against the Jewish laws.

CHAPTER 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 Sebaeota and Cesarea, and other Edifices of Herod. § 1. On this account it was that Herod revolted from the laws of his country, and corrupted their ancient constitution, by the introduction of foreign practices, which constitution yet ought to have been maintained, notwithstanding; for we became guilty of great wickedness afterward, while those religious observances which used to lead the multitude to pietie, were now neglected: for, in the first place, he appointed a day for his birthday, in which the king was in honor of Caesar, and built a theatre at Jerusalem, as also a very great amphitheatre in the plain. Both of these were indeed costly works but opposite to the Jewish notions; for we have had no such shows divided down to us, 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 neighboring countries, and called some people from them to come together to witness also, and the rest of those that strove for the prizes in such games, were invited out of every land, both by the hopes of the rewards there to be bestowed, as 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 on land, but to those that played as musicians also, as is called Thymalici; and he spared no pains to increase 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 prieses in chariot races, when they were drawn by two, or three, or four pair of horses. He also imitated every thing, though ever so costly, the magnificence in his palace; but it was not out of an ambition that he might give most public demonstration of his grandeur. Inscriptions also of the great actions of Caesar, and trophies of those nations which he had conquered in his wars, and all the statues of those great men encompassed the theatre itself: nor was there any thing that could be subservient to his design, whether it were precious garments or precious stones set in order, which was not also exposed to sight in these places. He had also there a great preparation of wild beasts, and of lions themselves in great abundance, and of such other beasts as were either of uncommon strength, or of such a sort as were not warly disposed of; these were prepared either to fight one with another, or that men who were condemned to death were to fight with them. And truly foreigners were greatly surprised and delighted at the vastness of the expense he had expended, and at the things that were there seen; but to natural Jews, this was no better than a dissolution of those customs for which they had so great a veneration. It appeared also no better than an instance of barbarism, to throw so much power and money for the affording delight to the spectators; and it appeared an instance of no less impiety, to change their own laws for such foreign exercises: but, above all the rest, the trophies gave most disgust to the Jews, for as the king intended to be images, included within the armor that hung round about them, they were sorely displeased at them, because it was not the custom of their country to pay honors to such images.

2. Nor was Herod unsatisfied with the disturbance they were under; and as he thought it unserviceable to use violence with them, so he spoke to some of them by way of consolation and in order to free them from that superstitious fear they were under; 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, and think of bearing all the rest, yet would they never bear images of men in their city, meaning the trophies, because this was disagreeable to the laws of their country. Now when Herod saw them in such a disorder, in order to bring them easily change their resolution unless they received satisfaction in this point, he called to him 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 that the naked bodies were pieces of wood, now without any ornaments, became matter of great sport and laughter to them, because they had before always the ornaments or images themselves in derision.

3. When they saw what had been done they got clear of the multitude, and had dissipated the vehemence 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; for he had shown them a great deal of content, and his displeasure against him for the introduction of

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* These grand plays, and shows, and Thymalici or music, mourning, and change of races, when the chariots were drawn by two, three, or four pair of horses, &c., instituted by Herod in his theatres, were still, as we see here, looked on by the sober Jews as beastish sports, and tending to corrupt the manners of the Jewish nation, and to bring them in love with Paganish idolatry and Paganish conduct of life, but to the dissolution of the law of Moses, and to the utterly void, and justly condemned by them, as appear here and everywhere else in Josephus. Nor is the case of our modern masquerades, plays, operas, and the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, of any better tendency under Christianity.
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 took no notice of Herod, who, upon the change in their government, introduced such customs, and that in a violent manner, which they had been used to before. He indeed in presence of a king, but in reality one that showed himself an enemy to their whole nation; on which account ten men that were citizens [of Jerusalem] conspired together against him, and swore to one another, on account of the occasion, to do any thing in the attempt, and took daggers with them under their garments, [for the purpose of killing Herod.] Now there was a certain blind man among those conspirators, who had thus sworn one to another, on account of the occasion, to do any thing in the attempt, and took daggers with them under their garments, and was not indeed able to afford the least any assistance in the undertaking, but was ready to undergo any suffering with them, if so be they should come to any misfortune. But as he was a very great encourager 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 coming to them, they would fall upon him so unexpectedly; and supposing, however, that if they missed him, they should kill a great many of those that were about him; and this resolution they took, though they should die for it, in the interest of the people, and in the interest of those that had done to the multitude. These conspirators, therefore, standing thus prepared beforehand, went about their design with great alacrity; but there was one amongst them, a stammerer, that was appointed for such purposes, to fish out and inform him of any conspiracies that should be made against him, who found out the whole affair, and told the king of it, as he was about to go into the theatre. The king was not a little concerned to hear which he knew the greatest part of the people bare him, and on the disturbances that arose upon every occasion, he thought this plot against him not to be improbable. Accordingly, he retired into his palace, fearing the design that those that were about the conspiracy before him by their several names; and as, upon the guards falling upon them, they were caught in the very fact, and knew they could not escape, they prepared themselves for their execution. But the king, observing that many of them were so virtuous that they were not at all to recede from their resolute behavior; for they showed no shame for what they were about, nor denied it, but when they were seized, they showed their daggers, and professed, that as the conspiracy was directed against him, and that ungrateful and a pious action; 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. So they were obliged to observe that they did for him. This is what these men said, out of their undaunted courage in this conspiracy. So they were led away to execution by the king's guards that stood about him, and patiently underwent all the tortures inflicted on them till they died. Nor was it long before that spy who had discovered them was seized on by some of the people, out of the hatred they bore to him, and was not only slain but pulled to pieces with a fit limb and given to the dogs. This execution was seen by many of the citizens, yet would 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 what they had seen done; the authors of which fact were so terribly punished by the king, that their entire families were destroyed for this their rash attempt; yet did not the obstinacy of the women, and that ungrateful 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 compass the multitude, every way, lest such innovations should end in an open rebellion.

5. Since, therefore, 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 himself, he contrived to make Samaria a fortress for himself also against all the people, and called it Sebaste, supposing that this place would be a strong hold against the country, not inferior to the former. So he built another fortress for the whole nation; it was of solid masonry, he made it a place of refuge, while he was always inventing somewhat farther for his own security, and encompassing the whole nation with guards, that they might by no means get from under his power, nor fall into the hands of their enemies, in case of small commotion; and that if they did make any commotions he might know of it, while some of his spies might be upon them from the neighborhood, and might both be able to know what was done, and be able to prevent it. And when he went about building the wall of Samaria, he contrived to bring thither many of those that had been assisting to him in his wars, and settle them in this place, which was a city to whom he made free-citizens with the rest. This he did out of an ambitious design of building a temple, and out of a desire to make the city more eminent than it had been before, but prior to all things, to make it a place, on which he might once be for his own security, and a monument of his magnificence. He also changed its name, and called it Sebaste. Moreover, he parted the adjoining country, which was excelsior in its kind, among the base men he was, and to the care, he might, be in a happy condition, upon their first coming to inhabit it. Besides all which, he encompassed the city with a wall of great strength, and made use of the activity of the place for many things. But what was the most, he encompassed the place made now 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 without the walls, he made a small temple of the city, the temple, 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 the base men that inhabited the city, they filled them with decorations of all sorts also; and as to what was necessary to provide for his own security, he made the walls very strong, for that purpose, and made it, for the greatness of it, a city; and as to the elegance of the building, it was taken care of also, that he might leave monuments of the fineness of his taste, and of his excellence, to future ages.

CHAP. IX.
Concerning the Famine that happened in Judæa and Syria; and how Herod, after he had married another Wife, rebuilt 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 war by land, 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 quantity of fruits that it used to produce; and after this barrenness of the soil, that change of fortune had already induced distempers in the bodies of men, and a pestilential disease prevailed, one misery following upon the back of another; and the circumstances, that they were destitute both of methods of food and of means of provision of their own kind, for the temper, which began after a violent manner, the more lasting. The destruction of men also after such a manner deprived those that survived of all their courage, because they had no way to provide for remission, and if only there were a hope of they were in. When therefore the fruits of that year were spoiled, and whatsoever they had laid up beforehand was spent, there was no foundation of hope for relief remaining, but the misery, contrary to what they expected to improve upon them; and this not only in that year, while they had nothing for themselves left at the end of it, but what seed they had sown perished also, by reason of the calamity of the second year. This distress they were in, made them also, out of necessity, to eat many things that did not use to be eaten; nor was the king himself free from this distress any more than any other. But he, by his own just and due he used to have from the fruits of the ground, and having already expended what money he had, in his liberality to those whose cities he had built; nor had he any people that were worthy to stand in need then not to provide for of the 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.

5. In these circumstances he considered with himself how to procure some seasonable help; but this was a hard thing to be done, while their neighbors had no food to sell them, and their money also was gone, had it been possible to purchase, and their credit too was so great. However he thought it his best way, by all means, not to leave off his endeavors to assist his people; so he cut off the rich furniture that was in his palace, both of gold and silver, instead of that which did make a finest pleasure he had, or of those that were made with the most elaborate skill of the artificers, but sent the money to Petronius, who had been made prefect of Egypt by Caesar; and this was done not without his necessities, and as he was particularly a friend to Herod, and desires to have his subjects preserved, he gave leave to them in the first 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 what help they had. And Herod taking care the people should understand that this help came from himself, did the greatest part of that formerly hated, but gave them the greatest demonstration possible of his goodwill to them, and care of them; for in the first place, as for those who were able to provide

Pharaoh king of Egypt, and now from Petronius the prefect of Egypt, under Augustus the Roman emperor. See almost the like case, Antig. b. xix. ch. ii. sect. 6. It is also well worth noting that the two years were a flaccid year, and a year of Jubilee, for which Providence, during the thronery, used to provide a triple, or a double, year; by which means, when the Jews had forfeited that blessing, the greatest years of famine to them ever since the days of Ahab, 1 Kings xviii. xix. and the same according to Papiasus, who is here cited by Spanheim. See a full account of this expedition in Prideaux, at the years 53 and 34.

1 This Eilias Gallus seems to be no other than Elias Largus whom Dio speaks of; as conducting an expedition that was about this time made into Arabia Felix, according to Papiasus, who is here cited by Spanheim. See a full account of this expedition in Prideaux, at the years 53 and 34.
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 very many company of men; and these apart on their own, there were also of distinct magnitudes, 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, such as he said, to hinder him from 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 was a very fair and beautiful woman of that time; and when the people of Jerusalem began to speak much in her commendation, it happened that Herod was much affected with what was said of her; and when he saw the damsel he was smitten with her beauty, yet did he entirely reject the thoughts of using his authority to abuse her, as believing what was the truth, that by so doing he should be stigmatised, as it were, by a name that was so furtive. It was strong by nature, and fit for such a building. It is a sort of a moderate hill, raised to a farther height by the hand of man, till it was the semblance of a woman's breast. It is encompassed with circular towers, and hath a strait ascent up to it, which ascent is composed of steps of polished stones, in number two hundred. Within it are royal and very rich apartments, of a structure that young people thought it not out of his own inclinations, but by the commands and injunctions of others, in order to please Caesar and the Romans, as though he had not the Jewish customs so much in his eye as he had here. He was a man of a very博大 and solicius temper of his, and that submissive behavior and liberality which he exercised towards Caesar, and the most powerful men of Rome, obliged him to transgress the customs of his nation. He also despised the money from the temple, and by building cities after an extravaganter manner, and erecting temples; not in Judea indeed, for that would not have been borne, it being forbidden for us to pay any honor to images, or representations of animals, after the manner of the Greeks, but still he did thus in the country [properly] out of our bounds, and in the cities thereof. 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in length, not less than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth, into twenty fathoms deep, and as some were lesser, so were others bigger than these. An arch of stone, so as the sea-side was two hundred feet wide, the half 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, because the other half had upon it a wall, with several towers, the largest of which was named Drusus, and was a work of very great excellence, and had its name from Drusus, the son of Tiberius, who lived there. There were also a great number of arches where the mariners dwelt. There were also before them a quay or landing-place, which ran round the entire haven, and was a most agreeable walk, as 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 steepest 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 round turret, 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 were, as it were, the outer gate, which were also round, and were joined together. Now there were edifices all along the circular haven, made of the most polished stone, with a certain elevation, whereon was erected a temple, that was seen at a distance. And the church of the city, for that haven, and had in it two statues, the one of Rome, and the other of Caesar. The city itself was called Cesarea, which was also itself built of fine materials, and was of a structure, nay, the very subterraneous vaults and cellars, had no less of architecture bestowed on them than had the buildings above ground. Some of these vaults carried things at even distances to the city, and the water through these, and other obliquely, and bound all the rest together, that both the rain and the filth of the citizens were together carried off with ease, and the sea itself, upon the flux of the tide from without, came into the city, and you enter it all clean. Herod had also built therein a theatre of stone; and on the south quarter, behind the port, an amphitheatre also, capable of holding a vast number of men, and conveniently situated for a prospect to the sea. So that in this place was the most perfection, during which time the king did not fail to go on both with the work, and to pay the charges that were necessary.

CHAP. X.

How Herod sent his Sons to Rome; how also he was accused by Zenedorus, and the Gadarens, 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 Selase, [Sybaris] and Gortyn, and Socotissera and Aristobulus to Rome, to enjoy the company of Caesar, who, when they came therer, lodged at the house of Pollio, 

* Cesarea being here said to be rebuilt and adorned in twelve years, and soon afterward, in ten years, Antiq. b. xvi. ch. v. sect. 1, there must be a mistake in one of the places so to the true number, but in which of them it is hard positively to determine.

† This Pollio, with whom Herod's sons lived at Rome, was not Pollio the Pharisee, already mentioned of Josephus, ch. i. sect. 1, and again presently after this, ch.

and Auranitis, which he gave him on the occasion following: one Zenedorus had hired what was called the house of Lysanias, who, as he was not satisfied with its revenue, he was unwilling to let it, and the robbers that inhabited the Trachones, and so procured himself a large income; for the inhabitants of those places lived in a mad way, and pilaged the country of the Damascenes, while Zenedorus did nothing for them, for they took of the prey they acquired. Now, as the neighboring people were hereby great sufferers, they complained to Varro, who was then president of Syria, to come to Caesar about this injustice of Zenedorus. When these matters were laid before Caesar, he wrote back to Varro to destroy those nests of robbers, and to give the land to Herod, that so by his care the neighboring people might no longer be disturbed with these doings of the Trachones, for it was not an easy thing to restrain them, since this way of robbery had been their usual practice, and they had no other way to get their living, because they had neither any city of their own, nor lands in their possession, but only some receptacles and dens in the earth, and there they and their cattle lived in common together. However, they had made contrivances to get pools of upland water, and laid upon them themselves, and were able to make great resistance 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 place was very circuitous, and made very wide; but the ground over their habitations was not very high, but rather on a plain, while the rocks are altogether hard and unapproachable. Any one that attempts these roads is not straight, but have several revolutions. But when these men are hindered from their wicked preyings upon their neighbors, they can not only defend their own goods, but much that no sort of injustice comes amiss to them. But when Herod had received this grant from Caesar, and was come into this country, he procured skilful guides, and put a stop to their wicked robberies, and procured peace and quietness to the neighboring people.

2. Hereupon Zenedorus was grieved, in the first place, because his principality was taken away from him, and still more so, because he envied Herod; who, having gained it in so fair a manner, went to Rome to accuse him, but returned back again without success. Now Agrippa was about this time sent to succeed Caesar in the government of this country by the Ioniaic sea, upon whom Herod lit when he was wintering at Mount Myilene, for he had been his particular friend and companion, and then returned into Judea again. However, some of the Gadarens came to Agrippa, and accused Herod, whom he sent back bound to the king without giving them the hearing; but still the Arabians, who of old bare ill-will to Herod's government, were nettled, and at that time attempted to raise a sedition in his dominions, and to revolt; and this was an inef talensible occasion; for Zenedorus despairing already of success, as to his own affairs, prevented [his enemies, by selling to those Arabs a part of his principality, called Auranitis, for the value of fifty talents, at once, and sent the whole of the donations of Caesar, they contested the point with Herod, as unjustly deprived of what they had bought. Sometimes they did this by making incursions upon him, and sometimes by attempt x. sect. 4, but Ausinius Pollio the Roman, as Sanchme

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here observes.

The character of this Zenedorus is so like that of a famous robber of the same name in Strabo, and that about this very country, and about this very time also that I think Dr. Harden hardly need have put a perhaps to his determination that they were the same.
ing with 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 earnest, and averse. Herod had been in a great while pursued of these attempts, yet did not he indulge any severity to them, but by rational methods aimed to mitigate things, as not willing to give any handle for tumults. Herod had already reigned seventeen years, Cæsar came into Syria; at which time the greatest part of the inhabitants of Galilee cämored against Herod, as one that was heavy in his injunctions, and tyrannical. These rebellions he at last mainly surpassed 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 Cæsar's province. The Galileans were in, and destroyed themselves no small cry against him, and that the more boldly, because those that had been delivered up by Agrippa were not punished by Herod, who let them go, and did them no harm, for indeed he was a man in the world who spared almost inexorable in punishing crimes in his own family, but very generous in remitting the offences that were committed elsewhere. And while they accused Herod of injuries, and plundered, they themselves were of that sort as Herod was concerned, and was ready to make his defence. However, Cæsar gave him his right hand, and remitted nothing of his kindness to him, upon this account, only to his products; and indeed these things were alleged the first day, but the hearing proceeded no further; for as the Galileans saw the inclination of Cæsar and of his assessors, and expected, as they had reason to do, that he would be delivered according to the king's pleasure, they, some of them, out of a dread of the tortures 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 sea, and destroyed themselves of their own accord; which accidents seemed a sufficient condemnation of the rashness and crimes they had been guilty of: whereupon Cæsar made no longer delay, but cleared Herod from all charges; and he was acquitted here more happy accident there was, which was a further advantage to Herod at this time; for Zenodorus's belly burst, and a great quantity of blood issued from him in his sickness, and he thereby departed this life at Antipatris; and Herod stowed his country, which was no small one, upon Herod; it lay between Trachon and Galilee, and contained Úlatha, and Panæas, and the country round about. He also made him one of the procurators of Syria, and commanded that they should do every thing with his approbation; and, in short, he arrived at that pitch of felicity, that whereas there were but two men that governed the Galileans, now there were three, first Agrippa, who was his principal favorite; Cæsar preferred no one to Herod besides Agrippa, and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod besides Cæsar. And when he had accusation against him for the life of Cæsar, he made a tetrarchy* for his brother Pharcoras, while he did himself bestow upon him a revenue of a hundred talents out of his own kingdom, that in case he came to any harm himself, his brother might be in safety, and that his sons might not have dominions over him. So when he had conducted Cæsar to the sea, and was returned home, he built him a most beautiful temple of the whitest stone. In Zenodorus's country, near the place called Panium. This is a very fine cave in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth, and the caverns are very deep, and full of still water; over it hangs a vast mountain; and under the caverns rise the springs of the river Jordan. Herod built a palace there, a very remarkable one, still further, by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Cæsar.

4. At which time Herod released to his subjects the third part of their taxes, under pretence in describing them, they had paid them out of a false good-will, which he now wanted, for they were uneasy at him, because of the innovations he had introduced in their practices, of the disuse of the earthy, and the enjoyment of their own customs; and the people everywhere talked against him, like those that were still more provoked and disturbed at his precedent: against which discontents he greatly guarded himself, and mixed out his measures of two ways; to disturb him, and enjoined them to be always at work, nor did he permit the citizens either to meet together, or to walk, or to eat together, but watched every thing they did, and when any were found out, he spent himself in his measures, and there was said that there were brought to the city of Hyrcania, both openly and secretly, and there were put to death; and there were spies set everywhere, both in the city and in the roads, who were to inform him of those things. Another is reported, that he did not himself neglect this part of caution, but that he would oftentimes himself take the habit of a private man, and mix amongst 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 acquire some under his scheme of government, he prosecuted them all manner of ways, both in the rest of the province, and in the cities. Cæsar, so that they should be obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him, and at the same time compelled them to swear that they would bear him good-will, and continue certainly so to do, in his management of the government and indeed a great part of them, either to please him, or out of fear of him, yielded to what he required of them; but for such as were of a more open and generous disposition, and had indignation at the force he used to them, he secured them to himself by the interest of the Cæsars. He endeavored also to persuade Pollio the Pharseis, and Samæas, and the greatest part of their scholars, to take the oath; but these would neither submit so to do, nor were they punished to death, but so Cæsars of the kingdom, that are too beseare to Pollio. The Esæenses also, as we call a sect of ours, were excluded from this impostion. These men live the same kind of life as do those among the multitude, in the night-time, and make trial what opinion they had of the government. However, it is but fit to set down here the reasons wherefore Herod had these Esæenses in such honor, and thought higher of them than their manner was requisite; nor will this account be insuitable to the nature of this history, as it will show the opinion men had of these Esæenses.

5. Now there was one of these Esæenses, whose name was Manæham who had this testimony, that he had lived the life of Cæsar in an excellent manner, but had the foreknowledge of future events given him by God also. This man was once seen Herod when he was a child, and going to school, and saluted him as king of the Jews, but he, thinking that either he did not know, or that he was in jest, put him in mind that he was but a private man; but Manæham smiled to himself, and clapped him on his backside with always implies somewhat less extent of dominion and power than belong to a kingdom and to a king.
his hand, and said, "However that be, thou wilt be king; and wilt begin thy reign happily, for thou wilt do that which I command thee." And he commanded, that when they come to Jerusalem, they should go to the temple, and they should do the will of God, and they should not commit sin.

**BOOK XV.**

**CHAP. XI.**

How Herod rebuilt the Temple, and raised it higher, and made it more magnificent than it was before; as also concerning that Tower which he called Antonia.

1. And now Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign, and after the acts already mentioned, undertook a very great work, that is, to build himself the temple of God, and make it larger and compass, and to raise it to a most magnificent altitude, and to give it the most glorious form, and to provide for all his actions according 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, he gathered together the people first by making a speech to them, 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 so ignorant in the most difficult times about the needs of our necessities, nor have the buildings I have made been so proper to preserve me as yourselves from injuries; and I imagine that, with God's assistance, I have advanced the nation of the Jews to a degree of happiness which they never had before; and for the particular edifices belonging to your own country, and your own cities, that we have lately acquired, what we have done for them, and the temples and other buildings that we have erected, 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 as to that undertaking which I 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 were taken into captivity in this temple to God Almighty, yet did they 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 neglect, for the temple was herein, for it was not their 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 few 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 edifice, nor could raise it to its ancient altitude; but since I am now king, I will indeed, if God be willing, 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, and well regarded by, the Romans, who, if I may so say, are as a father to me, I will do my endeavor to correct that imperfection, which hath arisen from the necessity of our affairs, and the slavery we have been under formerly, and to make it thankful for the 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 this was 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 pull down a 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 want of the undertaking to be such as could hardly be accomplished. But when he perceived their 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 as he promised them this beforehand, so did he not break with them, but got ready a thousand wagons, that were to bring stones for the building, and chose out ten thousand of the most skillful workmen, and brought a thousand sculptural garments for as many of the priests, and had some of them taught the art of stonemasons, 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.

1 Some of our modern students in architecture have made a strange blunder. In the time of Josephus, the third of their temples the second temple, followed so long by later Christians, seems to be without any solid founda- tion. Josephus tells us that the Jews are, in the prophecy of Hagigah, t. 5—9, which they expound of the Messiah's coming to the second or Zarobubel's temple, of which they suppose this of Herod's to be only the site, that south part, in which he meant I think, of his coming to the fourth and last temple, or to that future largest and most glorious one described by Es-rael. Whence I take the former notion, how general, because, to be a great mistake. See Lit. Accomp. of Papeg. p 84.
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, and each of their length five cubits, their height was 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 adorned with those that did round about for a great many furlongs, but chiefly to 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, of which they were adorned with embroidered vails, with their flowers of purple, and pillars interwoven: and over these, but under the crownwork, was spread out a gold crown for its branches hanging down from a great height, the largeness and fine workmanship of which was a surprising sight to the spectators, to see what vast materials there were. And with what great skill the workmanship was done. He also the thrones were joined and fitted to the temple itself with embroidered vails, and a large wall to both cloisters, which wall was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky ascents, that declined by degrees towards the east parts of the temple, and came to an elevated level. This hill it was 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, the two king and the bottom, 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 a great height, and till both the cloisters, the square edifice, and its altitude, were immense, and till the vastness of the stones in the front were plain view visible on the outside, yet so the thrones were fastened together with iron, and preserved the joints immovable for all future times. When this work [for the foundation] was done in this manner, and joined together as part of the hill itself to the very top of it, they fastened it into one deep central surface, and filled up the hollow places which were about the wall, and made it a level on the external upper surface, and a smooth level also. This hill was walled all round, and in compass four furlongs, [the distance of] each angle containing in length a furlong: but within this wall, 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 middle 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 spoils taken from barbarous nations: all these had been fastened to the temple by Herod, with the addition of those he had taken from the Armagnians.

4. Now on the north side [of the temple] was built a citadel, whose walls were square, and strong; and the pillars from the main gate to the temple itself was built by the kings of the Astmonian 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

And that this which had fallen down was designed to be raised up again under Nero, under whom Agrippa made that preparation. But what Josephus says presently, that Solomon was the first king of the Jews, 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 Vespasian was the president of Syria, when he once came to Jerusalem, and had been most magnificently 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 in the country, he wrote about them to Tiberius Caesar, who granted his request; and this their power over the meridian vestments continued with the Jews till the death of king Agrippa, but after that, when Titus, the president of Syria, and Cuspius Fadus, who was procurator of Judea, enjoined the Jews to reposite those vestments in the Tower of Antonia, for that they ought to give them in the power, as they had given them. He even the Jews sent ambassadors to Claudius Caesar, to intercede with him for them, upon whose coming, king Agrippa, jun. being then at Rome, asked for, and obtained, the power over them from the emperor, who gave them to Vitellius, who was then commander in Syria, to give it them accordingly. Before that time, they were kept under the seal of the high priest, and of the treasurers of the temple; which treasurers were done by men of the Romish nation, and by the Roman captain of the temple guards, and viewed their own seal, and received the vestments; and again, when the festival was over, they brought them to the same place, and showed the emperor the vestments, and the Jews corresponded with his seal, and reposited them there. And that these things were so, the affections that happened to us afterward [about them] are sufficient evidence: but for the tower itself, and the walled in building of it, it is more firmly than before, in order to secure and guard the temple, he gratified Antonius, who was his friend, and the Roman ruler, and then gave it the name of the Tower of Antonia.
BOOK XV.—CHAP. XI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWELVE YEARS.—FROM THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS.

CHAP. 1.

A Law of Herod about Thieves. Salome and Phereor assignate Alexander and Aristobulus upon their Return from Rome, for whom yet Herod provides Wines.

1. At king Herod was very zealous in the administration of his entire government, and to do justice unto every case, he made this law, to wit: that all who were born in the city and country, and otherwise in the city and country, should be judged in the court where the laws are written, and the enemies and poor should be ejected out of his kingdom; and that if any should be born by the enemies, or by persons who were at enmity with the king, he should not be admitted to the kingdom of Herod, unless he had been in a foreign country, and that he should be judged according to the laws of his country.

2. Now at this time it was that he sailed to Italy, as very desirous to meet with Caesar, and to see his sons who lived at Rome: and Caesar was not only very obliging to him in other respects, but did deliver him his sons again, that he might take care of them, as if they had 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 became conspicuous among them all, as adorned with great blessings of God, and having the countenance of persons of royal

sacrifices and burnt-offerings to God. Into some of these did king Herod enter, for he was forbidden, because he was not a priest. However, he took care of the cloisters, 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 glad, and 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, every one according to his ability: the number of which sacrifices is not possible to be set down, for it cannot be that we should truly relate it: for at the same time with this celebration for the work, the king and the people celebrated the day of the king’s inauguration, which he kept in an old custom as a festival, and it now coincided with the other, which coincidence of them both made the festival more 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 subterraneous ascent to the temple, in order to guard against another death at the eastern gate of the temple, in a place where he had been often in danger.

8. This tradition which Josephus here mentions as delivered down from fathers to their children, of this particular remarkable circumstance relating to the building of Herod’s temple, is a demonstration that such its building was a known thing in Judea in his time. He was born, but forty-six years after it is related to have been finished, and might himself have seen and spoken with some of the builders themselves, and with a great number of those that had seen it building. This doubt therefore about the truth of this history of the pulling down and rebuilding this temple by Herod, which some weak people have indulged, was not then much greater than it soon may be, whether or not our St. Paul’s church in London was burnt down in the fire of London, A. D. 1666, and rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren a little after ward.
dignity. So they soon appeared to be the objects of envy to Salome, the king's sister, and to such as had raised calumny against Mariamme: for they were suspected, 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 motive to raise calumnies against them also. To this end, it is said, they were not pleased with the farmer's custom, because he had put their mother to death, as if it were not allowable to pietly to appear to converse with their mother's murderer. Now by carrying these stories, that had been invented for the sake of the fact but were only built on probabilities as to the present accusation, they were able to do them mischief, and to make Herod take away that kindness from his sons which he had before borne to them, for they did not visit him as if he was the king at that time in condition to prefer the natural affection of a father before all the suspicions and calumnies his sons lay under; so he respected them as he ought to do, and married them to a power, and left in, not with the want in an age suitable thereto. To Aristobulus he gave for his wife Berenice, Salome's daughter, and to Alexander, Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

CHAP. II.

How Herod twice sailed to Agrippa; and how, upon the Complaint of the Jews in Ionia against the Greeks, Agrippa confirmed the Laws of the Jews to them.

1. When Herod had despatched these affairs, and he understood that Marcus Agrippa had sailed to Italy into Asia, he made haste to him, and besought him to come to him into his kingdom, and to partake of what he might justly expect from one that had been his guest, and was his friend. This request he greatly pressed, and to it Agrippa agreed, and came into Judæa; yet whereupon Herod omitted nothing that might please him. He entertained him in his new-built cities, and showed him the edifices he had built, and provided all sorts of the best and most costly dishes for his table, and that at the bazaar and Cæsarea, about that port that he had built, and at the fortresses which he had erected at great expenses, Alexandria, and Herodium, and Hyracania. He also conducted him to the city Jerusalem, and the people met him in their festival garments, and received him with acclamations. Agrippa also offered a hecatomb of sacrifices to God, and feasted the people, without omitting any of the greatest dainties that could be given. He also took so much pleasure there, that he abode many days with them, and would willingly have staid longer, but that the season of the year made him make haste again, and the 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 present, many presents; but when Herod, when he had passed the winter in his own dominions, made haste to get to him again in the spring, when he knew he designed to go to a campaign at the Bosporus. So when he had sailed by Rhodes, and by Cos, he touched at Lesbos, as thinking he should have over-agrippa there, but he was taken short by a north wind, which hindered his ship from going to the shore; so he continued many days at Chios, and there he kindly treated a great many that came to him, and obliged them by giving them royal gifts. And when he saw that the portico of the city was fallen down, which, as it was overthrown in the Mithridatic war, was never since rebuilt, he resolved 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 what was more than sufficient to build a new house of building, and ornamented it. He also looked that the city, but he rebuild it quickly, that so the city might recover its proper ornaments. And when the high winds were laid, he sailed to Mytilene, and thence to Byzantium; and when he had brought the Romans over the Cæsarean rocks, he made all the haste possible to overtake him, and came up with him about Siphnos, in Pontus. He was seen sailing by the shipsmen most unexpectedly, but appeared to be a very large and fine vessel, so that 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 young age after his father, and had left the government of his own dominions, and thought it more worth his while to come to him. Accordingly, Herod was all in all to Agrippa in the management of the war, and he furnished him with large sums of money, and counselled him as to particular matters. He was also a pleasant companion for him when he relaxed himself, and a joint partaker with him in all things: in troubles, because of his kindness, and in successes, because of the respect shown him for his sake. Now, as soon as those affairs of Pontus were finished, for whose sake Agrippa was sent thither, they did not think fit to retire by sea, but passed through Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, and then travelled over the Great Phrygia, and came to Ephesos, and then they sailed from Ephesos to Samos. And indeed the king bestowed a great many benefits on every city he came to, so as to make them need of them; for as 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 and judge, and made the laws of him, and he brought things so about, that the petitioners failed in none of their suits to him, Agrippa being himself of a good disposition, and of great generosity, and ready to grant all such requests as were made to him; so that even the Greeks were provided they were not to the detriment of others. The inclination of the king was of great weight also, and still excited Agrippa, who was himself ready to do good; for he made a reconciliation between the people of Ionia, who were very angry, and paid what money the people of Chios owed Cæsar's procurators, and discharged them of their tributes; and helped all others according as their several necessities required.
in itself a privilege to be envied, so it is for
the advantage of those that grant it to us; for if
the Divinity delights in being honored, he must
delight in those that permit him to be honored:
and where there are none of our customs which are
human, but all tending to piety, and devoted to
the preservation of justice; nor do we conceal
these injunctions of ours, by which we govern our
lives, they being memorials of piety, and of a
friendly conversation and of a regular way of
living. On the seventh day we set apart from labor; it is dedicate
to the learning of our customs and laws, was
thinking it proper to reflect on them, as well as
on any [good] thing else, in order to our exalpiing
of sin. If any of those who are present were
observed, he will find they are good in them-
selves, 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 honor they give
to the length of time they have religiously en-
joyed them, and observed them. Now our ad-
versaries take these our privileges away, in the
way of injustice: they violently seize upon that
money of ours, which is deserved to God, and called
sacred money, and this openly, after a sacril-
gious manner; and they impose tributes upon us,
and bring us before tribunals on holy days, and
then require of us what the contracts require it, or for their own advan-
tage, but because they would put an affront on
our religion, of which they are conscious as well
as we, and have indulged themselves in an uns-
just, and to the injury of us, their festivals, which they celebrated in honor
of those they suppose to be gods? I know very
well that they would choose to suffer anything
whatsoever, rather than a dissolution of any of the
things, as the Agricola says, that are usual among
many of them: either to go to war on that account, as very solicitous not to trans-
gress in those matters: and indeed we take an
estimate of that happiness which all mankind do
never by but means. But it is true, that there are
not so great as an instance of impatience, profanely
to dissolve the religious solemnities of any others,
as to be negligent in the observation of their own.
But I consider the one of these practices: is there any
people, or city, or community of men, to whom
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 favors they
have granted? No one is certainly so mad: for
there are no men but such as have been partakers
of their favors, both public and private; and
indeed those that take away what you have grant-
ed, have no assurance; but our religion, and
their own greats made them by you, may be
taken from them also; which grants of yours can
yet never be sufficiently valued; for if they con-
side the old governments, under kings, whether
with you, or under the government, from which a
number of benefits which this government hath
bestowed on them in order to their happiness,
this is instead of all the rest, that they appear to
be so no longer in a state of slavery, but of free-
dom. For by my opinion, in which we are in the best circumstances, are not such as
deserve to be envied, for we are indeed in a
proper state by your means, but this is only
equal in common with others; and it is no more
things than this, which in the name of religion,
in the battles on land, nor in the management
to, and to the meditation on the law of Moses. The
like to which we meet with elsewhere in Josephus also
against Apion, b. 1 sect. 29.
of the city; and what need I say anything of how great weight those soldiers were at that juncture? or how many and how great presents they were victorious by Caesar? And truly I ought, before now to have mentioned the epistles which Caesar wrote to the senate, and how Antipater had honors, and the freedom of the city of Rome, bestowed upon him, for these are demonstrative that we have not deserved these favors by our own deserts, and do on that account petition thee for thy confirmation of them, from whom we had reason to hope for them, though thou dost favor them, 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, with what kindness thou camest into our country, and thou offeredst them the most excellent sacrifices to God, and honored him with remarkable vows, and how thou gavest the people a feast, and acceptedst of their own hospitalite presents to thee. We ought to esteem all these kind offices.

4. When Nicolaus had made his speech, there was no opposition made to it by the Greeks, for this was not an inquiry made, as in a court of justice, but an intercession to prevent violence to be done to the Jews; and, indeed, nor did the Greeks make any defence of themselves, or deny what it was supposed they had done. Their pretence was no more than this, that while the Jews inhabited in their country, they were subjection to them [in no manner], because in their worship, but they demonstrated their generosity in this, that though they worshipped according to their own institutions, they did nothing that obtruded on them. So when Agrippa perceived 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 grant the Jews whatsoever they should ask him, if only their requests were directed to him in themselves just; and that if they requested any thing further, he should not scruple to grant it then, provided it was no way to the detriment of the Roman government; but that, while their request was not such, and if 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's offering them the least injury." And when he had made 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 took this in a very obliging manner, and saluted him with him, and embraced him in his arms; after which he went away from Lesbos; 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, and landed at Cesarea in a few days; and as having favorable winds, from whence he went to Jerusalem, and there gathered all the people together to an assembly, not a few being there out of the country also. So he came to them, and gave them a particular account of all his journey, and 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 good fortune he had met with, and how he had administered the government, and had not neglected any thing which was for their advantage; and as he was very joyful, he now remitted to them the fourth part of their taxes for the last year. Accordingly, they were very pleased with his favor 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 heinously.

1. But now the affairs in Herod's family were in more disorder, and became more severe upon him, by the hatred of Salome to the young Alexander. For it is said, that when Alexander was succeeded as it were by inheritance [from their mother Mariamne:] and as she had fully succeeded against their mother, so she proceeded to that degree of madness and insolence as to endeavor that none of her posterity might be ingrafted, who might have it in their power to revenge her death. The young men had also somewhat of a cold and uneasy disposition towards their father, occasioned by the remembrance of what their mother had done, and as by that they had a strong affection of dominion. The old grudge was also renewed; and they cast reproaches on Salome and Pheroras, who required the young men with malicious designs, and actually laid it to their charge for them, that none through 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 unexpectantly violent and rude towards them; while they declared their minds in that undaunted manner: but the others did not take that method, but made use of calumnies after a subtle and a sly manner, still provoking the young men, and imitating that their behavior was more to turn to the offering violence to their father; for inasmuch as they were not ashamed of the pretended crimes of their mother, nor thought she suffered justly, nor by this support, but as the men of the same family, it was evident that they thought they ought to be avenged on their father; and it was by disparaging him with their own hands. At length it came to this, that the king was afraid of the quarrel; and as there was no way of his settling it, he began to turn his eyes to the offering violence to their father; for inasmuch as they were not ashamed of the pretended crimes of their mother, nor thought she suffered justly, nor by this support, but as the men of the same family, it was evident that they thought they ought to be avenged on their father; and it was by disparaging him with their own hands. At length it came to this, that the king was afraid of the quarrel; and as there was no way of his settling it, he began to turn his eyes to the offering violence to their father; for inasmuch as they were not ashamed of the pretended crimes of their mother, nor thought she suffered justly, nor by this support, but as the men of the same family, it was evident that they thought they ought to be avenged on their father; and it was by disparaging him with their own hands.

2. These disorders increased greatly, and the king came to know about it, and he had a fit opportunity for that increase; but as soon as Herod was returned, and had made the aforementioned speech to the multitude, Pheroras and Salome let fall words immediately, as if he were in great danger, and as if the young men openly threatened that they would not spare him any longer, but revenge their mother's death upon him. They also added another circumstance, that their hopes were fixed on Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, that they should be able by his means to come to Caesar, and accuse their father. Upon hearing such things, Herod was immediately disturbed; and indeed was the more astonished, because the same things were related to him by some others also. He then called to mind his former calamity
BOOK XVI.—CHAP. IV.

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 supposing, that his future troubles would soon be heavier and greater than those that were past, he was in great confusion of mind; for Divine Providence had in reality conferred upon him a great many occupations, which were burdensome to him, and was about to exceed beyond his hopes, but the troubles he had at home were such as he never expected to have met with, and rendered him unfortunate; nay, both sorts came upon him to such a degree as no one could have believed or imagined; whether, upon the comparison of both, he ought to have exchanged so great a success of outward good things, for so great misfortunes at home, or while he might not be disposed to avoid the calamities relating to his family, though he had, for a compensation, never been possessed of the admired grandeur of a kingdom.

As he was thus disturbed and afflicted, in order for the better to judge and to begin court another of his sons, that was born to him when he was a private man: his name was Antipater; yet did he not then indulge him as he did afterward, when he was quite overcome by him, for he would not do everything by force, and, but rather with a design of depressing the insolence of the sons of Marisamine, and managing this elevation of his, so that it might be for a warning to them, for this bold behavior of theirs (but which he would not be so grave as to once persuaded, that the succession to the kingdome did not appertain to them alone, or must of necessity come to them. So he introduced Antipater as their antagonist, and imagined that he said a good promise and doing every thing by force without, and that after this was done to the young men, there might be a proper season for expecting those to be of a better disposition: but the event proved otherwise than he intended, for the young man thought he did them a greater injury; and as Antipater was a shrewd man, when he had once obtained this degree of freedom, and began to expect greater things than he had before thought, he, for his head, and that was, to disfigure his breath, and not at all to yield to them the pre-eminence, but to keep close to his father, who was already alienated from them by the calamities he had heard about them; and he did so, and with ease, and by way his zeal against them should advise him to persevere, that he might be continually more and more severe against them. Accordingly, all the reports that were spread abroad came from him, while he disguised himself in the disguise of those discoveries proceeding from him, for he rather chose to make use of those persons for his assistants that were unsuspected, and such as might be believed to speak truth by reason of the good will they bare to the king; and according to what he were already not a few who cultivated a friendship with Antipater, in hopes of gaining some who, and these are the men who most of all persuaded Herod, because they appeared to him, not to his father, when he was about to act against these, and while these joint accusations, from various foundations, supported one another's veracity, the young men themselves afforded farther occasions to Antipater also: for they were observed to show themselves in account of the number so far offered them, and had their mother in their mouths; and among their friends they ventured to re-

proach their father, as not acting justly by them; all which things were with an evil intention reserved in memory by Antipater against a proper opportunity; and when they were told to Herod, with aggravations, increased the disorder so much, that it brought a great tumult into the family; for while the king was very angry at imputations that were laid upon the sons of Marisamine, and was obnoxious to them, he still increased the honor that he had bestowed on Antipater; and was at last so overcome by his persuasions, that he brought his mother to court also. He also wrote frequently to Caesar in favor of him, and made his son Antipater known to his particular care. And when Agrippa was returning to Rome, after he had finished his ten years' government in Asia, Herod sailed from Judea; and when he met with him, he had none with him but Antipater, whom he delivered to Agrippa, that he might take him along with him, together with many presents, that so he might become Caesar's friend, insomuch, that things already looked so mightily in favor of his son, that the young men were entirely rejected from any hopes of the kingdom.

CHAP. IV.

How, during Antipater's Abode at Rome, Herod brought Alexander and Aristobulus before Casar, and accused them of the Attempt to take Place of himself before Casar, and Reconciliation to his Father.

1. AND now what happened during Antipater's absence augmented the honor to which he had been promoted, and his apparent eminence above his brethren, for he had made a great figure in Rome, because Herod had sent frequent recommendations of him to all his friends there: only he was grieved that he was not at home, nor had proper opportunities of perpetually commending his son to his breast; and his son should alter his mind, and entertain a more favorable opinion of the sons of Marisamine; and as he had this in his mind, he did not desist from his purpose, but continually sent from Rome any such stories as he hoped might grieve and irritate his father against his brethren, under pretense indeed of a deep concern for his preservation; but in truth, such as his malicious mind dictated, in order to purchase a greater hope of the succession, which he thought would be in itself: and thus he did till he had excited such a degree of anger in Herod, that he was already become very ill-disposed towards the young men: but still, while he delayed to exercise so violent a diuersity against them, 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 Caesar, and not indulge himself in any such crimes as might be heinous enough to be suspected of impiety: but he was going up to Rome, it happened that he made such haste as to meet with Caesar at the city Aquileia; so when he came to the speech of Caesar, he asked for a time to hear this great cause, whereby he thought himself most eligible, and presented his sons there, and accused them of their mad actions, and of their attempts against him: that "They were enemies to his life: and by all the efforts he could make, to the utmost of his endeavors to show their hatred to their own father, and would take away his life, and so obtain his kingdom after the most barbarous manners;" and

3. though what he here says belonged distinctly to Alexander the elder brother, I mean his being brought to Rome, here he justly extorted to both the brothers and that not only in our copies, but in that of Zonaras also; nor is there reason to doubt but that were it with the solemn hearing by Augustus, although the defence was made by Alexander alone, who was the eldest brother and one that could speak very well.
that he had power from Cæsar to dispose of it, not by necessity, but by choice, to him who shall exercise the greatest piety towards him, while these my sons are not so desirous of ruling, as they are, upon a disappointment thereof, to expose their 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; that whereas he had a long time borne this misfortune, he was now compelled to lay it before him in a pool of guilt; by what language, while he himself wants to know what severity they have ever suffered from him, or what hardships he hath ever laid upon them to make them his friends; if they can think it just that he should not be lord of that kingdom, which he in a long time and with great danger had gained, and not allow him to keep it and to dispose of it to him who should deserve it best; and at this, the other men propose as a reward for the piety of such as will hereafter imitate the care he hath taken of it, and that such a one may gain so great a re- guilt as that is: and that it is an impious thing for them to meddle with that which is before mankind, and that for he who hath ever the kingdom in his view, at the same time reckons upon procuring the death of his father, because otherwise he cannot come at the government; that as for himself, he had purchased all that he was able, and what was agreeable to such as are subject to the royal authority, and the sons of a king; what ornaments they wanted, with servants and delicate fare; and had married them into the more noble houses. And his mother also, the sister’s daughter, but Alexander to the daugh- ter of king Archelaus; and what was the greatest favor of all, when their crimes were so very bad, and he was unable to mischief such things; yet had he not made use of it against them, but had brought them before Cæsar their common bene- factor, and had not used the severity which, either as a father who had been impiosely ab- used, or as a king who had been insulted treacherously, he might have done, he made them stand upon the level with him in judgment; that, however, it was necessary that all this should not be passed over without punishment, nor him- self and his sons and his associates, but that not for their own advantage to see the light of the sun after what they have done, although they should escape at this time, since they had done the vilest things, and would certainly suffer the greatest punishments that ever were known among mankind.”

2. These were the accusations which Herod laid with great vehemence against his sons before Cæsar. Now, the young men, both while he was present, and when he was absent, thought what they said, and were in confusion. Now, as to themselves, they knew in their own consciousness they were innocent, but because they were accused by their father, they were sensible, as a truth was, that it was hard for them to make their apology, since, though they were at liberty to speak their minds freely as the occasion required, and might with force and earnestness refute the accusation, yet they knew not how to do so. There was therefore a difficulty how they should be able to speak; and tears, and at length a deep groan, followed, while they were afraid, that if they said nothing, they should seem to be in this difficulty from necessity of guilt: and they who were the defence ready, by reason of their youth, and the disorder they were under; yet was not Cæsar un- surprising, when he looked upon them in the con- fusion they were in, that their delay to make their defence did not arise from any conscious- ness of great enormities, but from their unskil- lfulness and modesty. They were also commi- nated by those that were there in particular, and they moved their father’s affections in earnest till he had much ado to conceal them.

3. But when they saw there was a kind dispo- sition arises both in him and in Cæsar, and that every one of the rest did either shed tears, or at least did all grieve with them, the one of them, whose name was Alexander, called to his father, and attempted to answer his accusation, and said, “O father, the benevolence thou hast showed to us, is evident, even in this very judicial pro- cedure; for hadst thou had any pernicious inten- tions about us, thou hadst not produced us here before thee, but perhaps, thou wouldst have been afraid of thy power, both as a king, and as a father to punish the guilty; but by thus bringing us to Rome, and making Cæsar himself a witness to our innocence, what doth he not declare, from his heart, to save us for no one that hath a design to slay a man will bring him to the temples, and to the altar; yet are our circumstances still worse, for we cannot endure to live ourselves any longer, if we believed that we had injured so to say; in- deed, no, perhaps it would be worse for us to live with this suspicion upon us, that we have injured him, than to die without such guilt; and if our open defence may be taken to be true, we all shall be executed; though both Cæsar and I are escaping the danger we are in; but if this calamity so prevails, it is more than enough for us that we have seen the sun this day; which why should we see, if this suspicion be fixed upon us? Now it is not enough for us all to be secure; we are about to reign; and to say farther, that this evil pro- ceeds from the case of our unhappy mother. This is abundantly sufficient to produce our misfortune out of the former; but consider well, whether she were a young man, and may not be said of them all pro- miscuously? for nothing can hinder him that reigns, if he have children, and their mother be with child. Therefore, if it be the case, and they are all his sons, as intemperance in treachery to him; but a suspicion is not sufficient to prove such an impious practice. Now let any man say, whether we have actually and insolently attempted any action, that we are guilty of, we are sometimes pretended by way of calumny, when they were never done; for a royal family that is at variance with itself is a terrible thing; and that which thou callst a reward of piety,0 nothing but some very wicked action, a foundation of hope as makes them leave no sort of mischief untied; nor does any one lay any wicked practices to our charge; but as to cal- umnies by hearsay, how can be put an end to them? and was it not an insult to him that it was we who were accused? Have we talked with too great freedom? yes; but not against thee, for that would be unjust, but against those that never conceal any thing that is spoken against thee, such is our mother?” Has it ever happened, of us to love our mother? yes; but not because her son is dead, but because she was evil spoken of by those who had no reason so to do. Are we des- troyed of that dominion which we know our father to have, why should we be? If we already have royal honors, as we have, should not we labor in vain? And if we have them not, yet are we not in hopes of them? Or supposing that we had killed thee, could we ex- ecute it upon a man who was so kind to us? And they who would defend their lives, the earth would let us tread upon it, nor the sea let us sail upon it, after such an action as that: may the religion of all your subjects, and the piety of the whole nation, have prohibited parti- culars from assuming the government, and from entering into that most holy temple which was built by thee. But suppose we had made light

* Since some prejudiced men have indulged a wild suspicion, as we have supposed already, Antiq. b. xv. ch. 12 sect. 7, that Josephus’s history of Herod’s re
BOOK XVI—CHAP. V.

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 seest at last days they were with Caesar. Herod made him a present of three hundred talents, 

joined at this reconciliation. And by the power of the state. For the people of Rome: and Caesar made him a present of half the revenues of the copper mines in Cyprus, and committed the care of the other half to him. And he honours him with other graces, and encourages him, and as to his own kingdom, he left it in his own power to appoint which of his sons he pleased for his successor, or to distribute it in parts to every one, that the dignity might be divided among 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 kindred himself."

8. After this Herod returned to Judea again, but during his absence no small part of his dominions about Trachon had revolted, whom yet the commanders he left there had vanquished, and committed to submission again. Now, as Herod was sailing with his sons, and was come over against Cilicia, to [the island] Eleusis, which fast now changed its name for Sebaste, he met with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who received him kindly and uprightly, and he was heartily sorry, for that was spread abroad the king hated, for the very incredibility of the calumny, and the commencements of the flower of youth, the beauty of body, which were in the young men, pleased for assistance: and the more so on the account, that Alexander had made their defence with dexterity and prudence; and, they did not themselves any longer continue in their former course. The relations which had been brought, with tears and cast downwards to the ground, beg for peace, and the king himself appeared not to have had foundation enough to build such an accusation upon, he hearing the story, led them away, and committed them. Indeed he wanted some apology for making the accusation; but Caesar, after some delay, said, that "although the young men were thoroughly innocent of that for which they were calumniated, in the king's name, they had done nothing that they had not demeaned themselves towards their father so as to prevent that suspicion which was spread abroad concerning them." He also exhorted Herod to lay all such suspicions aside, and to be reconciled to his sons; but, as he had not just to give any credit to such reports concerning his own children; and that this remoteness on both sides might still heal those breaches that had happened between them, and might improve their good-will to one another, whereas those on both sides, excusing the harshness of their suspicions, might resolve to bear a greater degree of affection towards each other than they had before. After Caesar had given them this advice, he proceeded to the business he had therefore was disposed to fall down to make intercession to their father, he took them up, and embraced them, as they were in tears, and took each of them distinctly in his arms, till not one of these that were present, whether free-man or slave, but was deeply affected with what they saw. 5. Then did they return thanks to Caesar, and went away together; and with them was the scribe, with a hyperbolical pretext that he was rebuilding the temple is no better than a fable, it may not be difficult to answer the occasion of the speech of Alexander before his father Herod, in his and his brother's vindication, which mentions the temple as finished, he shall have a body to have been built by Herod, see John ii. 20. See also another speech of Herod's own

CHAP. V.

How Herod celebrated the Games that were to return every fifth Year, upon the Building of Cæsarea; and how he build and adorned many other Places after a magnificent Manner; and did many other Actions glorious.

1. About this time it was that Cæsarea Sebaste, which he had built, was finished. The entire building being accomplished in the tenth year, the solemnity of it fell into the twenty-sixth year of Herod's reign, and into the hundred and thirty-second of his own life, being accordingly a great festival, and most sumptuous to the young men 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 Auguste, in those 155 years they held the govern ment, were not able to perform so great a work, less the sumner of God, as this was" Antiq. xvii. ch. vi. sect 3
preparations made presently, in order to its dedication, for he had appointed a contestation in music, and games to be performed naked. He had also given 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 commanded a combat to Carthage, and ordered it to be celebrated every fifth year. He also sent a sort of ornaments for it out of his own furniture, that it might want nothing to make it decent: nay, Julia, Cesar's wife, sent a great part of the furniture, and the dishes, from Rome, to assure that he had no want of anything. The sum of them all was estimated at five hundred talents. Now when a great multitudine was come to that city, to see the shows, as well as the ambassadors whom other nations had sent to narrate the transactions, and relations, and takes notice of his severe and unremitting disposition there, he will be forced to allow that he was brutal, and a stranger to all humanity, insomuch that those who suppose his inclining to such apparitions and spectacles, to be at contravention with himself; but I am myself of another opinion, and imagine that the occasion of both these sorts of actions was one and the same; for he was a lover of each of them, and was become by that passion, he was induced to be magnificent, wherever there appeared any hopes of a future memorial, or of reputation at present, and as his expenses were beyond his abilities, he thought it not easy thing to amend his offences, for that it was inconvenient 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 as an emperor he had been the archetypal of his language, and would not confess himself to be his slave, or but seemed to think of any innovation in his government, he was not able to contain himself, but prosecuted his very kindred, and the sons of his old friends, for the recovery of his revenues; and this wickedness he undertook out of a desire that he might be himself alone honored. Now for this my assertion about that passion of his, we have the greatest evidence, by what he himself did declare, and also by his friends; for with what honors he paid his respects to them who were his superiors, the same did he desire to be paid to himself; and what he thought the most excellent present, he thought to have the like presented to himself. But now the Jewish nation is by their law a stranger to all such things, and accustomed to prefer rigid and gloomy forms; for which reason that nation was not at all favorable to him, because it was out of their power to flatter the king's ambition with statues or temples, or any other such performances. This seems to me to have been at least one of the reasons why he did not make the city of his own courtiers and counsellors, and of his benevolent actions, as to foreigners and those that had no relation to him.

CHAP. VI.

An Embassage of the Jews in Creuse and Asia.

Cesar, concerning the Complains they had to make against the Greeks: with Copies of the Embassy. | Cesar and Agrippa wrote to the Cities for them.

1. Now the cities ill treated the Jews in Asia, and all those also of the same nation which he celebrated the more afterward, he built Nicopolis Actium, and appointed public shows to be there exhibited every fifth year.
lived in Libya, which comes to Cyrene, while the former kings had given them equal privileges were given by the Senate, but the Greeks afforded them at this time, and that to Jewry to demand their sacred money, and to do them mischief on other particular occasions. When therefore they were thus afflicted, and found no end of the burdensome treatment taken from the Greeks, they sent ambassadors to Caesar on those accounts; who gave them the same privileges as they had before and seen; letters to the same purpose to the governors of the provinces, copies of which I have made and added to the ancient favorable dispositions, the Roman emperors had towards us.

2. "Cæsar Augustus, high priest, and tribune of the people, ords thus: Since the nation of the Jews, as the believers in one God, not only at this time, but in time past also, and chiefly Hyrcanus the high priest, under my father Cæsar the emperor, it seemed good to me and my counsellors, according to the counsel of the Jews, to give liberty to make use of their own customs, according to the law of their forefathers, as they made use of them under Hyrcanus, the high priest of Almighty God; and that their sacred money might be sent, to the care of the receivers at Jerusalem; and that they be not obliged to go before any judge on the Sabbath day, nor on the day of the preparation for it, after the seventh day, or on the sabbatical years; and that their holy books, or their sacred money, whether it be out of the synagogue, or public school, shall to be treated as a sacrificial person, and his goods shall be brought to the public treasury of the Romans. And I give orders that the testimonial which they have given me, on account of my regard to that piety which I exercise toward all mankind, and out of regard to Cæsar Augustus, the man formerly been the name of Cæsar Augustus, and that he be sent decree, be proposed in that most eminent place which has been consecrated to me, by the community of Asia at Ancyra. And if any one transgress any part of what is above decreed, he shall be deemed the punished, Rome, that is inscribed upon a pillar in the temple of Cæsar.

3. "Cæsar to Norbanus Flaccus, sendeth greeting: Let those Jews, how many soever they be, who have been used according to their ancient custom, to this present time, and in the same manner, be treated in the same freely." These were the decrees of Cæsar.

4. Agrippa also did himself write after the manner following, on behalf of the Jews: "Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, rendereth greeting: I will to the care of the sacred money that is carried to the temple at Jerusalem be left to the Jews of Asia, to do with it according to their ancient custom; and that such as steal that sacred money of the Jews, and fly to a sanctuary, shall be taken thence and delivered to the Jews, by the same law that sacrilegious persons are taken thence. I have also written to Sylvanus the praetor, that no one compel the Jews to come before the praetor in the same way.

5. Marcus Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Cyrene, sendeth greeting: The Jews of Cyrene have interceded with me for the permission which Augustus sent to Flaccus, the then praetor of Libya, and to the other procurators of that province, that the sacred money may be sent to Jerusalem freely, as Augustus here calls Julius Cæsar his father, though by birth he was only his adoptive son, on account of his adoption by him. See Antig. b. xiv. ch. xiv. sect. 4.

† This is authentic evidence, that the Jews, in the days of Augustus, began to prepare for the celebration of the Passover at Philæ; and that the exclusive privilege of the elders did, it seems, then require of them.

The remaining part of this chapter is a remarkable one, as distinctly distinguishing natural justice, religion, and have been their custom from their forefathers, they complaining that they are abused by certain informers and under pretense of taxes, which were not due, are hounded from security 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. "Caicus Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, to the magistrates of the Sardians, sendeth greeting: Cæsar hath written to me of the aforesaid decree not to forbid the Jews, how many soever they be, from assembling together according to the custom of their forefathers, nor from sending their money to Jerusalem; I have therefore written to you, that you should let the Jews do as Cæsar and I would have you act accordingly."

7. Nor did Julian Antonius, the proconsul, write otherwise: "To the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians sendeth greeting: As we are paid to God; and it frequent, on the 12th of January, the Jews that dwell in Asia demonstrated to me, that Augustus and Agrippa had permitted them to use their own laws and customs, and to offer those their first-fruits which every one of them is subject to on account 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 by my own authority, but if any one of them should not take notice, that 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." But I have been 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 the same liberty as formerly been the case. These decrees, so prohibited by those governors we were subject 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 from a pure manner, benevolent and friendly to all men: on which account we have reason to expect the like return from others, and to inform them that they ought not to esteem difference of positive institutions as sufficient cause of alienation, but [join with us] in the pursuit of virtue and probity, for this belongs to all men in common, and of itself alone is sufficient for the preservation of human life. I now return to the things of the Sabbath-day."

CHAP. VII.

How, upon Herod's going down into David's Sepulcher, the Sedition in his Family greatly increased.

1. As for Herod, he had spent vast sums about the cities, both without and within his own city, and morality, from positive institutions in all countries, and 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, whereas our Josephus seems at this time near to the end of his days, 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.
kingdom: and as he had before heard that Hyrcanus, who had been king before him, had opened David's sepulchre, and taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, and that there was a much greater number left behind, and indeed enough to suffice all his wants, he had a great wish to make the same attempt; and at this time he started that sepulchre by night, and went into it, and endangered that it should not be at all known in the city, but took only its most faithful friends with him. As for any money, he in the meantime sold all his goods, but sold for the most part for the sole purpose of buying back the body of the body of David and Solomon, where two of his guards were slain, by a flame that burst out upon those that went in, as the report was. So he was terribly affrighted, and went out and built a propitiatory monument of that fright he had been in, and this of white stone, at the mouth of the sepulchre, and that at a great expense also. And even Nicollaus his historiographer makes mention of this monument built by him, and says it was placed nine stadia away down into the sepulchre, as knowing that action to be of ill repute; and many other things he treats of in the same manner in his book; for he wrote in Herod's lifetime, and under his reign, and under his rule, and under his power, and taught to put a touching upon nothing but what tended to his glory, and openly excusing many of his notorious crimes, and very diligently concealing them. And as he was desirous to put handsome colors on the image of Marianne and their sons, which were barbarous actions in the king, he tells falsehoods about the inconstancy of Marianne, and the treacherous designs of his sons upon him; and thus he proceeded in his whole work, making use of many false stories to fill the place of what he had done, but earnestly apologizing for his unjust oaths. Indeed a man, as I said, may have a great deal to say by way of excuse for Nicollaus; 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 Amoniacan kings, and on that account have an honorable place, which is the priesthood, we think it necessary to say anything about them, and accordingly we have described their actions after an unblemished and upright manner. And although we reverence many of Herod's posterity, who still reign, yet do we pay a greater regard to them than to them, and since we think it sometimes happens that we incur their displeasure by so doing.

3. And indeed Herod's troubles in his family seem to be augmented by reason of this attempt he made upon David's sepulchre. The 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 he was the cause of the cause made, he sincerely believed that the cause of all 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 one strove to exceed another in calamities. However, Antipater used stratagems 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 they might make him believe, and forward his attempts against them, by which means he, after various man

It is well worth our observation, how careful Josephus was as to the discovery of truth in Herod's history, since he would not follow Nicollaus of Damascus himself, so great a historian, where there was great reason to suspect that he flattered Herod; which impartiality in history Josephus bore so excellently, forpers, circumvented his father, who believed that all he did was for his preservation. Herod also recommended Ptolemy, who was a great director 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 even in the end, he was found so angry against any other persons, as they thought it might be to their own advantage: but still the sons of Marianne were in a worse and worse condition perpetually, and while they were thrust out of their own country, but still further yet by birth were the noblest, they could not bear the diabolon. And for the women, Glaphyra, Alexander's wife, the daughter of Archelaus of Gadara, both became the father to her husband, and became Glaphyra, and deceased to behave herself somewhat insolently towards Salome's daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, which equality of hers to herself Glaphyra 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 jealousies, for he had married the daughter of his wife to such a degree of madness, that he 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 for this period a very advantageous favor to his son, because he had bestowed many favors upon 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 minister in his favor, and esteemed him not self unhappy on that account. So upon Phero-

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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 said that the young men used to mention Maria when they were by themselves; and that they hated their father, and were continually threatening, that if they had once got the kingdom, they would make Herod's sons by his former wives country schoolmasters, for that the present education which was given them, and their diligence in learning, fitted them for such a situation; that when ever they saw them adorn themselves with their mother's clothes, they threatened, that instead of their present gaudy apparel, they should be clothed in sackcloth and ashes, so that they should not see the light of the sun. These stories were presently carried by Salome to the king, who was troubled to hear them, and endeavored to make up matters; but these suspicions were very frequent, and more uneasy. He believed every body against every body, however, upon his rebuking his sons, and hearing the defence they made for themselves, he was easier for a while, though a little afterward much worse accidents came upon him.

4. For Pheroras came to Alexander, the husband of Glaphyra, who was the daughter of Archelaus, as we have already told you, and said, the king and queen were enamoured of Glaphyra, 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 obliging kindness to her, which were very frequent, for the worse, which came from those suspicions he had on account of that word which fell from Pheroras: nor could he conceal his grief at the thing, nor his sorrow at what Pheroras had said. Upon which Herod, though his disorder than ever; and not bearing such a false calumny, which was to his shame, was much disturbed at it; and often did he lament the wickedness of his lord, and how good he had been to them, and knew requisites they had made him. So he sent for Pheroras, and reproached him, and said, "Thou villain of all men! art thou come to that unassailable and extravagant degree of insolence, and have dared to reproach me, 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 such a baseInfosition, and so destroy me. And who is there, if he had not a good genius at his elbow, as hath my son, that would bear such a suspicion of his father, but would revenge himself upon him? Dost thou suppose that thou hast only dropped a word, for him to think of, and not rather hast put a sword into 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 such as this, and that he should remain such an insipid wretch as thou art could either devise in their mind, or declare in their words. Begone, thou that art such a plague to thy brethren, to thyself, and to all men, that the very scence of thins go along with thee; while I still overcome my relations by kindness, and am so far from avenging myself of them as they deserve, that I bestow greater benefits upon them than they are to have in the end.

5. Thus did the king speak. Whereupon Pheroras, who was caught in the very act of his vil lainy, said, that "it was Salome who was the fram er of this plot, and that the words came from her. But as soon as she heard that, for she was at hand, she cried out, like one that would be believed, that no such thing ever came out 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 Her od, 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 while she was the only person who persuaded the king's 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 denia to be believed; for the same childless women declared at the same time her dissimulation in these proceedings; but Pheroras was caught between them, and had nothing plausible to offer to the king, while in his own case she could say she had said what was charged upon him, but was not believed when he said he had heard it from Salome; so the confusion among them was increased, and their quarrelsome words one to another.

6. There was a man named Obodas, king of Arabia, an inactive 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 hand-to-mouth. This Syllerus, upon some occasion coming to Herod, who had been with 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 in favor with her brother, she looked upon Syllerus 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 other. Now, a woman was not allowed to marry the king, and laughed at the indecency of it; whereupon Herod inquired about it farther of Pheror as, and desired him to observe them at supper, how their behavior was one toward another; and told him, that he would ask her, if she came from their heads and their eyes, they both were evidently in love. After this, Syllerus the Arab, being suspected, went away, but came again in two or three months afterwards, as it were on that very design, and spake to Herod about it, and desired that Salome might be given him to wife: for that his affinity might not be disadvantageous to his affairs, by a union with Arabia, the government of which country was already in his hands. And it was understood the king would have given him his consent, had not the consent been by the Arabs. Then did Pheroras reproach Salome for her inconstancy, as did the women much more, and said, that Syllerus had debauched her. As for that damsel, whom the king had betrothed to his brother Pheroras, but he had not taken her, as I have before related, because he was enamoured of his former wife, Salome desired of Herod she might be given to
her son by Cestobarbus; which match he was very willing to, but was dissuaded from it by Phorbas, who pleaded that this young man was unworthy of the honor, as that he was not of the same age as her younger son; that her former son had been slain by him, and that it was more just that his son, who was to be his successor in the tetrarchy, should have her; so he beggar his par- don, and persuaded him to do so. Accordingly, the queen, in consideration of this espousals, was disposed of to this young man, the son of Phorbas, the king giving for her portion a hundred talents.

CHAPTER VIII.

How Herod took up Alexander, and bound him; whom yet Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, re- ceived for 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 eunuchs 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 a third, who slights and abandons the most principal affairs of the government; and there was one told the king, that these eunuchs were corrupted by Alexander the king's son, with great sums of money: and when the king heard this, he desired Antipater, he had been in a criminal conversation with them; they confessed it, but said they knew of no farther mischief of his against his father; but that when they were more severely tortured, and were in the utmost extremity of fear, that in order to confess what they knew, they colored his hair black, and endeavored 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, once was the king's deputy, he should quickly have the first place in that kingdom under him, for that he was now ready to take the kingdom, not only as his birthright, but by the preparations he had made for obtaining it. He was a great worker of the people, and by that many of his friends were of his side, and those ill men neither, ready both to do and to suffer whatsoever should come on that account.

2. In 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, inasmuch that on both accounts he was provoked, and bitterly afraid lest some more heavy plot was laid against him than he should be then able to escape from; whereupon he did not now make an open search, but sent about spies to watch such as he suspected, for he was now overrun with suspicion and hatred from all about him, and indulging the abundance of those suspicions, in order to his preservation, he continued to suspect those that were guiltless; nor did he set any bounds to himself, but supposing that those who stood with him were to be his spiers to hunt out, they went to him very frightful; and for those that did not use to come to him, it seemed enough to name them [to make them suspect], and he thought himself safer when they were destroyed; and at last his domestics were come to that pass, that being no way secure of escaping themselves, they fell to accusing one another, and imagining that he who first accused another, was most likely to save himself; yet, when any had over-thrown 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 enormities by this means, and were more caught by the same means, in the same way. Thus these men contrived to make use of this opportunity as an instrument and a snare against their enemies; yet when they tried it, it was not so. At length, Herod, knowing which they laid for others; and the king some repented of what he had done, because he had no clear evidence of the guilt of those whom he had slain; and yet what was still more severe in him, he used this means not to make use of his own, in order to leave of 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 injunction was, that [when they were there] he had less freedom of acting, or to give them time, and himself the opportunity. For at this time it was that he espied Andromachus and Gassellus, men who had of old been his friends, and been very useful to him in the affairs of his sons, and been of advantage to him in his family, they were ambassadors and had been tutors to his sons, and had in a manner the first degree of freedom with him. He espied Andromachus, because his son Demetrias was his son in law, and he also knew he was not very industrious, because he knew that he wished him well, which arose from his having been with him in his youth, when he was at school, and absent at Rome. These he espied out of his palace, and was with a little delay to have them some by him; but that he might not seem to take such liciery against men of so great reputation, he contented himself with depriving them of their dignity, and of their power to hinder his wicked proceed-ings.

4. Now it was Antipater who was the cause of all this; who, when he knew what a mad and licentious way of acting his father was in, and had been a great while one of his counsellors, he heard him on, and thought he should bring him to do somewhat to purpose, when every one that could oppose him was taken away. When, therefore, Andromachus and his friends were not so much esteemed, and as they had no such scruples, and as they were not with the king, any longer, the king, after the first place examined by torture all whom he thought to be faithful to Alexander, whether they knew of any of his attempts against him; but these died, the king did not say anything to his better, which made the king more jealous [after discoveries] when he could not find out what evil proceedings he suspected them of. As for Antipater, he was very aggressive to raise a calumny against those that were really innocent, as if their denial was only their constancy and fidelity [to Alexander,] and therefore provoked Herod to discover, by the torture of great numbers what attempts were still concealed. Now there was no question of a man who was not tortured, who said, that he knew that the young man had often said, that when he was commanded as a tall man in his body, and a skillful marksman, and that in his commendable exercizes he was excelled by none; but this was utterly in nature, though good in themselves, were not advantageous to him, because his father was grieved at them, and envied them to them; and that when he walked along with his father he was not desirous of depress and shorten himself, that he might not appear too tall, and that when he shot at anything as he was hunting, when his father was by, he missed his mark on purpose, for he knew how ambitious his father was, and being superior in such excursion. So when the men was tormented about this saying, and had done given
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his body after it, he added, that he had his bro-
ther Aristobulus for his assistance; and contrived to lie 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 them. The young man was 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 disturbance and arraignment, came to Jerusalem on purpose to compose their differences; and when he found Herod in such a temper, he thought it wholly unseasonable to re-
prove him, or to successfully press the business; and after this he came, to beg the young man, and say, 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; for he had so many 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, however, added, that he should go to Rome to beg the king for him; so he went desirous to have some stronger mark of his son a wickedness, and was very solicitous about it, that he might not appear to have condemned him to be put in prison; for he thought it would be the more against the canons of Alexander's friends, and put not a few of them to death, without getting any of the things out of them which he suspected. And while Herod was very busy about this matter, and the palace was in very violent expectation of some sort, when he was in the utmost agony, confessed that Alexander had sent to his friends at Rome, and desired that he might be quickly invited thither by Caesar, and that he could discover a plot against Alexander, and that he now would not go. So, for this reason, he had left the young man, was invited by Caesar, and was properly on his account, the king abated of his harshness, and took occasion, from his ap-
pearance to have acted justly hitherto, to come by degrees to put on the affection of a father, and the parts of a father. And when his name was on both sides to be trusted; on the other hand, the persons refuted the calumnies that were laid on the young man, he was thrown into a passion; but when Archelaus joined in the accusation, he was dissolved into tears and sorrow after an affec-
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As for Alexander, he was the more guilty, because he had his daughter and his whole kingdom; for he wrote four letters, and sent them to his father, to bring in any more persons, for he had plotted against him; and that he had for his partners Pherora and the most faithful of his friends; and that Saron came in to him by night, and that she lay with him whether he would, or no; and that all men were come to be of one mind, to make away with him as soon as they could, and so get clear of the continual fear they were in from him. Among those were accused Poltemy and Saporas, who were both the sons of one to the king. And what more can be said, but that those who before were the most intimate friends, were become wild beasts to one another, as if certain madness had fallen upon them; while there was no regard, no appearance of the same miseries; and a melancholy solitude rendered the kingdom deformed, and quite the reverse to that happy state it was formerly in: Herod's own life also was entirely perished; and because he could trust nobody, he was sorely punished by the expectation of farther misery, for he often fancied in his imagination, that his sons had fallen upon him, or stood by him with a sword in his hand; and thus was his mind night and day intent upon this thing, and revolved it over and over, no otherwise than if he were un-
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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 disturbance and arraignment, came to Jerusalem on purpose to compose their differences; and when he found Herod in such a temper, he thought it wholly unseasonable to re-
prove him, or to successfully press the business; and after this he came, to beg the young man, and say, 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; for he had so many 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, however, added, that he should go to Rome to beg the king for him; so he went desirous to have some stronger mark of his son a wickedness, and was very solicitous about it, that he might not appear to have condemned him to be put in prison; for he thought it would be the more against the canons of Alexander's friends, and put not a few of them to death, without getting any of the things out of them which he suspected. And while Herod was very busy about this matter, and the palace was in very violent expectation of some sort, when he was in the utmost agony, confessed that Alexander had sent to his friends at Rome, and desired that he might be quickly invited thither by Caesar, and that he could discover a plot against Alexander, and that he now would not go. So, for this reason, he had left the young man, was invited by Caesar, and was properly on his account, the king abated of his harshness, and took occasion, from his ap-
pearance to have acted justly hitherto, to come by degrees to put on the affection of a father, and the parts of a father. And when his name was on both sides to be trusted; on the other hand, the persons refuted the calumnies that were laid on the young man, he was thrown into a passion; but when Archelaus joined in the accusation, he was dissolved into tears and sorrow after an affec-
tionate manner. Accordingly, he said, that he would not dissolve his son's marriage, and be-
came not so angry as before for his offences. So when Archelaus had brought him to a more mo-
derate 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 be-
tween him and his brother; so when he saw that Archelaus had the greatest power with Her-

As for Alexander, he was the more guilty, because he had his daughter and his whole kingdom; for he wrote four letters, and sent them to his father, to bring in any more persons, for he had plotted against him; and that he had for his partners Pherora and the most faithful of his friends; and that Saron came in to him by night, and that she lay with him whether he would, or no; and that all men were come to be of one mind, to make away with him as soon as they could, and so get clear of the continual fear they were in from him. Among those were accused Poltemy and Saporas, who were both the sons of one to the king. And what more can be said, but that those who before were the most intimate friends, were become wild beasts to one another, as if certain madness had fallen upon them; while there was no regard, no appearance of the same miseries; and a melancholy solitude rendered the kingdom deformed, and quite the reverse to that happy state it was formerly in: Herod's own life also was entirely perished; and because he could trust nobody, he was sorely punished by the expectation of farther misery, for he often fancied in his imagination, that his sons had fallen upon him, or stood by him with a sword in his hand; and thus was his mind night and day intent upon this thing, and revolved it over and over, no otherwise than if he were un-
der a distraction. And this was the sad condi-
tion Herod was now in.
CHAP. IX.
Concerning the Revolt of the Trachonitae: how Sylla 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 inhuman Sidonius, after Caesar 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 their impotency, the great number of their inhabitants, and their great importunity, 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 neighbors, which procured Herod a greater revenue than he expected; for he was a man of money was past, without Sylla's performing any part of his agreement, and he was gone to Rome, Herod demanded the payment of the money, and that the robbers that were in Arabia should be punished, and, by the persuasion of Saturninus and Volumnius, executed the judgment himself upon those that were refractory. He took an army that he had, and led it into Arabia; and in three days' time, by forced marches, the Arabians were surprised, and a great battle, wherein a few of Herod's soldiers, and Nacebus, the captain of the Arabians, and about twenty of his soldiers fell, while the rest betook themselves to flight. So when he had brought off the Arabians, he retired to Idumea in Trachonitis, and thereby restrained the robbers that were there. He also sent an account to the captains that were at Phoenicia, and demonstrated that he had done nothing but what was useful to the republic. The Trachonites, which, upon an exact inquiry, they found to be no more than what was true.

3. However, messengers were hastened away to Sylla, and it is related, that when Sylla heard of this, he sent a force of soldiers to Herod. And when on the return of these, he heard of their having been done, and, as is usual, aggravated every thing. Now Sylla had already insinuated himself into the knowledge of Caesar, and was then about the palace; and as soon as he heard of these things, he changed his habit into black, and went in, and told Caesar, that "Africa was afflicted with war, and that all his kingdom was in great confusion, upon Herod's laying it waste with his army: and he said, with tears in his eyes, that he had sent ambassadors to principal men among the Arabians had been destroyed, and that their captain Nacebus, his familiar friend and kinsman, was slain; and that the riches that were at Repea were carried off; and that Obodas, when he was requested, would put all his revenues and his state of body render him sad for war; on which account neither he, nor the Arabian army, were present." When Sylla said so, and added invidiously, that "he would not himself have done that, nor had not the power; and rend every thing under Herod's dominion with impunity; then did he discourse about these robberies to Saturninus and Volumnius, and required that they should be punished; upon which occasion they studied how to wet Herod's wrath, and when to punish their robberies, and became more numerous; and made great disturbances, laying waste the countries and villages that belonged to Herod's kingdom, and killing those men whom they caught, till they entertained the pretense to cast her now for a real war, for the robbers were now become about a thousand. At which Herod was sore displeased, and required the robbers, as well as the money which he had lent Obodas, by Sylla, which was sixty talents: and when the time of payment was now past, he desired to have it paid him; but Sylla, who had laid Obodas aside, and managed all by himself, denied that the robbers were not his, and put the payment of the money; about which there was a hearing before Saturninus and Volumnius, who were then the presidents of Syria. At last, he, by their means, agreed, that within thirty days' time Herod should deliver up the robbers, or at least that each of them should deliver up the other's subjects reciprocal. Now, as to Herod, there was not one of the others' subjects found in his kingdom, either as doing any injustice, or on any other account; but it was proved that the Arabians had the robbers amongst them.

2. When the day appointed for payment of the
BOOK XVI.—CHAP. X.

The confidencio of his being quite gone with which Caesar's favor used to inspire him; for Caesar would not admit so much as an embassy from him to make an apology for him: and when they came again, he sent them away without success. So he was cast into sadness and fear; and Sylleus's circumstances grieved him exceedingly. He was now before the conference with Caesar, and was present at Rome, at Samos, sometimes aspiring higher. Now it came to pass that Obodas was dead: and Enea, whose name was afterwards changed to Aetas, took the government, for Sylleus did not already come to the inheritance of his principality, that he might himself take it; with which design he gave much money to the courtiers, and promised much money to Caesar in the present. Aetas did not send to him first before he took the kingdom. Ere he sent an epistle and presents to Caesar, and a golden crown; of the weight of many talents. Now that epistle accused Sylleus as having been a wicked servant, and having killed Obodas by poison; and that, while he was alive, he had governed him as he pleased; and had also debauched the wives of the Arabians; and had borrowed money, in order to obtain the dominion for himself. But he did not admit so much as an embassy, but sent his ambassadors back, without receiving any of his presents; but in the meantime the affairs of Judea and Arabia became worse and worse, partly because of the anarchy that followed in the kingdom, for they were, nobody had power to govern them, for of the two kings, the one was not yet confirmed in his kingdom, and so had not authority sufficient to restrain the evil doers; and as for Herod, Caesar was at the same time afraid, and anxious to avenged himself, and so he was compelled to bear all the injuries that were offered him. At length, when he saw no end of the mischief which surrounded him, he resolved to send ambassadors to Rome to negotiate with them, and to mend the breach that had been caused, to mitigate Caesar, and to address themselves to Caesar himself: and the ambassador he sent thither was Nicolaus of Damascus.

CHAP. X.

How Eugecles falsely accused Herod's Sons; and how their Father bound them, and sent them to Caesar about them. Of Sylleus, and how he was accused by Nicolaus.

1. The disorders about Herod's family and children about this time grew much worse; for it now appeared certain, nor was it unforeseen before, and more extreme, that the greatest, and most insupportable misfortunes possible to his kingdom. Its progress and augmentation at this time arose on the occasion following: One Eugecles, a Lacedemonian, (a person of note there, but a man of a perfecting mind,) being in his ways of voluptuousness and flattery, as to indulge both, and yet seem to indulge neither of them,) came in his travels to Herod, and made him presents, but so that he received more presents than he gave. He was at all lengths seasons for insinuating himself into his friendship, that he became one of the most intimate of the king's friends. He had his lodging in Antipater's house; but he had not only access, but livewell conversations with Alexander, as pretending to him that he was in great favor with Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia; whence he pretended much respect to Glymphe, and, in an occasion then, cultivated a friendship with them all, but a solicitude attending to what was said and done, that he might be furnished with calamities to please them all. In short, he behaved himself so as to every body in his conversation, as to

2. This Aetas was now become so established a name for the kings of Arabia (at Paphos, and Damascus,) that when the crown came to this house he changed his appear to be his particular friend, and he made others believe that his being anywhere was for that person's advantage. He did not, to him also the affairs 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 tolerable, since his father was not already come to the inheritance of his principality, that he might himself take it; with which design he gave much money to the courtiers, and promised much money to Caesar in the present. Aetas did not send to him first before he took the kingdom. Ere he sent an epistle and presents to Caesar, and a golden crown; of the weight of many talents. Now that epistle accused Sylleus as having been a wicked servant, and having killed Obodas by poison; and that, while he was alive, he had governed him as he pleased; and had also debauched the wives of the Arabians; and had borrowed money, in order to obtain the dominion for himself. But he did not admit so much as an embassy, but sent his ambassadors back, without receiving any of his presents; but in the meantime the affairs of Judea and Arabia became worse and worse, partly because of the anarchy that followed in the kingdom, for they were, nobody had power to govern them, for of the two kings, the one was not yet confirmed in his kingdom, and so had not authority sufficient to restrain the evil doers; and as for Herod, Caesar was at the same time afraid, and anxious to avenged himself, and so he was compelled to bear all the injuries that were offered him. At length, when he saw no end of the mischief which surrounded him, he resolved to send ambassadors to Rome to negotiate with them, and to mend the breach that had been caused, to mitigate Caesar, and to address themselves to Caesar himself: and the ambassador he sent thither was Nicolaus of Damascus.

2. But as for the kingdom of the Jews, he was not now in the temper he was in formerly towards Alexander and Archelaus; and was in the same concern 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, though they did not. Herod was troubled; he did not know what he was said, and put questions, and gave ear to every one that would but speak, if they could but say any thing against them, till at length he heard that Euarus, of Cos, was a conspirator with Alexander; which thing to Herod was the most agreeable and sweetest news imaginable.

3. But still a greater misfortune came upon the young men, while the calamities against them were continually increased, and, as a man may think, one would think they were not able to labor and to lay some grievous thing to their charge, which might appear to be for the king's preservation. There were two guards of Herod's body who were in great esteem for their strength and tallness, Judas and Tyrannus: these men had been cast off by Herod, who was displeased at them; these now used to ride along with Alexander, and for their skill in their exercises were in great esteem with him, and had great presents and other gifts bestowed upon a certain time. Now the king, having an immediate suspicion of these men, had them tortured; who endured the torture courageously for a long time, but at last confessed the name to Aetas, as Haveramp had justly observed See Antig. b. xiii. ch. xv. sect. 2.
that Alexander would have persuaded them to kill Herod, when he was in pursuit of the wild beasts; and that he was at some distance from his horse, and was run through with his own spear, for that he had once such a misfortune formerly. They also showed where there was money hidden in the soil underground, and these convicted the king's chief hunter, that he had given the young men the royal hunting spears, and weapons to Alexander's dependants, at Alexander's command.

4. At this time, the commander of the garrison of Alexandrium was caught and tortured; for he was accused to have promised to receive the young men into his fortress, and to supply them with that money of the king which was laid up in that fortress. But as he did not know anything of it himself; but his son came in, and said it was so, and delivered up the writing, which, so far as could be guessed, was in Alexander's hand. Its contents were these: "When we have finished, by God's help, the thing we have so desired to do, we will come to you; but do your endeavors, as you have promised, to receive us into your fortress." After this writing was produced, Herod had no doubt about the treacherous design against him. But Alexander said, that Diophantus, the scribe, had imitated his hand, and that the paper was maliciously drawn up by Antipater; for Diophantus appeared to be very cunning in such practices; and as he was afterward suspected of forging other papers, he was put to death for it.

5. So the king produced those that had been tortured before the multitude at Jericho, in order to make them accuse the young men which accused many of the people to stone to death; and when they were going to kill Alexander, and Aristobulus likewise, the king would not permit them to do so, but restrained the multitude, by the name of Solomon and Pharaoh. However, the young men were put under a guard, and kept in custody, that nobody might come at them; and all that they did or said was watched; and the reproach and fear they were in was little or nothing different from those of the heaviest criminals; and one of them, who was Aristobulus, was so deeply affected, that he brought Salome, who was his aunt, and his mother-in-law, to lament with him for his calamities, and to hate him who had taken his sister in marriage; and when he said to her, "Art thou in danger of destruction also, while the report goes that thou hast disclosed before-hand our affairs to Syllaeus, whom thou wast in hopes of being married to him?" she immediately wrote to her brother: upon this he was out of patience, and gave command to bind him; and enjoined them both, now they were kept separate one from the other, to write down all the ill things they had done, and then to bring the writings to him. So when this was enjoined them, they wrote this, that they had no treacherous designs, nor made any preparation with their father; but that they had intended to fly away; and that the distress they were in, their lives being now uncertain and tedious to them.

6. About this time there came an ambassador from the Idumæans, whose name was Melsa: he was one of the principal rulers under him. So Herod being desirous to show Archelaus's ill-will to him, called for Alexander as he was in his bonds, and asked him again concerning his flight, whether and how they had resolved to retire? Alexander replied, "To Archelaus, who had promised to send them away to Rome; but that they had no wicked nor mischievous designs against their father; and that the misfortunes which had happened upon them was true; and that their desire was, that he might have examined Tyrius and Joppas more strictly; but that they had been suddenly slain by the means of Aesopus. And I, Archelaus, had no enmity against them; but that they were sold to a great consternation of Herod, and the young men fell into tears. This was so miserable a spectacle to those present, that, for a great while they were not able to say or do any thing; but at length, thinking that Alexander, and his wife were conscious of his actions? He replied, "How is it possible that she, whom I love better than my own soul, and by whom I have had children, and who have not done anything against me, should have been accused to have conspired to receive me into his fortress." After this writing was produced, Herod had no doubt about the treacherous design against him. But Alexander said, that Diophantus, the scribe, had imitated his hand, and that the paper was maliciously drawn up by Antipater; for Diophantus appeared to be very cunning in such practices; and as he was afterward suspected of forging other papers, he was put to death for it.

7. When this was said, Herod commanded that both Alexander and Melsa should be carried to Olympia, Archelaus was to be brought to him, that he might be asked, whether she did not know somewhat of Alexander's treacherous designs against Herod? Now as soon as they were come to her, and she saw Alexander in bonds, she bent herself, and her eyes were turned to the right and left, and she said, "Herod, bade his see, whether his wife was conscious of his actions? He replied, "How is it possible that she, whom I love better than my own soul, and by whom I have had children, and who have not done anything against me, should have been accused to have conspired to receive me into his fortress." After this writing was produced, Herod had no doubt about the treacherous design against him. But Alexander said, that Diophantus, the scribe, had imitated his hand, and that the paper was maliciously drawn up by Antipater; for Diophantus appeared to be very cunning in such practices; and as he was afterward suspected of forging other papers, he was put to death for it.

8. When these ambassadors were come to Rome, they had a fit opportunity of delivering the letter, which was written to Archelaus, immediately after they were reconciled to Herod; for the circumstances of Archelaus's embassage had been as follows: as soon as he was come to Rome, and was about the court, he did not first of all set about what he longed to do, but thought it fit also to accuse Syllaeus. Now the Arabsians, even before he came to talk with them, were quarrelling one with another; and some of them left Syllaeus's party, and, joining themselves to Nicobasus, in great numbers. And he was so wicked that they had been done; and produced to him evident demonstrations of the slaughter of a great number of Obodas's friends by Syllaeus; for when these men were slain, they had sent to him letters whereby they could convict him. When Nicobasus saw such an opportunity afforded him, he made use of it, in order to gain his own point afterward, and endeavored immediately to make 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 desired to accuse Syllaeus, there would be an occasion of obtaining that which was desired. So when the cause was ready for a hearing, and the day was appointed, Nicobasus, while Aratus's
ambassadors were present, accused Sylla, and said, that "he suspected him to the destruction of the king [Obedas], and of many others of the Arabsians; that he had borrowed money for so good design; and he proved that he had been quite in adultery, and had run into debts, but Rome's women also." And he added, that "above all the rest, he had alienated Caesar from Herod; and that all that he had said about the actions of Herod were falsehoods." When Nicolaus was accused of this topic, Caesar stopped him from going on, and desired him only to speak to this affair of Herod's; and to show that "he had not led an army into Arabia, but slain two thousand five hundred men there, nor taken prisoners, nor any of the things accused of him." He asked his answer to this: "I shall principally demonstrate, that I am nothing at all, or but a very little, of those impostations are true, of which those hast been informed, for had they been true, thou mightst have delivered me, and not Caesar." At this strange assertion Caesar was very attentive; and Nicolaus said, that there was a debt due to Herod of five hundred talents, and a bond, wherein it was written, that if the time of payment was not set, the creditors were to make a seizure out of any part of his country. As for the pretended army, he said, it was no army, but a party sent out to require the just payment of the money; that this was not sent immediately, after the time of payment, but that Sylla had frequented before came Se- lassius and Volumius, the presidents of Syria; and that at last he had sworn at Berytus, by thy fortune, that he would certainly pay the money within the time. But Caesar replied, that he would send for them, but that Sylla had fled to Seleucia, and had adduced another government to him, now he was old, and in ill state with relation to his sons, so he admitted Artemis's ambassadors; and after he had just reproved him for his rashness, he, not tarrying till he had received the kingdom from him, he accepted the presents, and confirmed him in his government.

CHAP. XI.

How Herod, by Permission from Caesar, accused his Sons before an Assembly of Judges at Berytus; and what Taro suffered for using a boundless and military Liberty of Speech. Concerning also the Death of the young Men, and their Burial at Alexandria.

1. So Caesar was now reconciled to Herod, and wrote thus to him, that "he was grieved for him on account of his sons; and that in case they had been guilty of any great insult to posterity crimes against him, it would behave him to punish them as paricides, for which he gave him power accordingly; but if they had only contrived to fly away, he would have him give them an admonition, and receive them, and receive that which they had committed. He also advised him to get an assembly together, and to appoint some place near Berytus, which is a city belonging to the Romans, and to take the presidents of Syria, and Archelaus, king of the Nabonians, and as many more as he thought to be illustrous, for their friendship to him, and the dignities they were to determine what should be done by their approbation. Those were the directions that Caesar gave him. The letter of the latter was brought to him, and immediately was very glad of Caesar's reconciliation to him, and very glad also, that he had a complete authority given him over his sons. And it strangely came about, that whereas before, in his adversity, though he had indeed showed himself severe, yet had he not been very rash, nor hasty in procuring the destruction of his sons, he now, in his prosperity, took advantage of the state in which he was, and the freedom he now had, to exercise his hatred against them, after an unheard of manner, because of his sons having this inscription: The happy epitaph of A. "

8 This oath, by the fortuna of Caesar, was put to Ptolemaeus, bishop of Berytus, by the Roman governors, to try whether he were a Christian, as they were then examined who refused to swear that oath. Martyr. Pulpit. sect. 9.

9 What Josephus relates Augustus to have said, that Berytus was only belonging to the Romans, is confirmed by Stephanius's note here. "It was (says he) a colony placed there by Augustus." Whereas Ulpian De cons. bel. L. T. X. The colony of Berytus was Deemed famous by the benefice of Casar. And itself is, that among the coins of Augustus, we meet with some having this inscription: The happy epitaph of A. "

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agree so well together when they are out of the sight of the multitude; for when they are alone by themselves, they act in concert, and profess that they will never leave off their friendship, but will fight against those from whom they conceal their designs." And thus did she search out these things, and get a perfect knowledge of them, and then told her brother of them, who, to whom she 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 calumny. For there was a certain sect of men that were Jews, who valued very highly upon the exact skill they had in the law of their fathers, and made men believe they were highly favored by God, by whom this set of women were inspired. These are those that are called the sect of the Pharisees, who were in a capacity of greatly opposing kings. A cunning sect they were, and soon elevated to a pitch of open fighting, and doing mischief. Accordingly, when all the people saw the Jews gave assurance of their good-will to Cæsar, 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, Phæra's wife paid their fines for them. In fine, they were ready to requite the kindness of others, 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 posterity. And it appeared, at last, that the kingdom should come to her and Phæras, and to their children. These predictions were not concealed from Salome, but were told the king; as also how they had perverted some persons about the palace itself, so the king slew such of the Pharisees as were principally accused, and Ba-gas, the eunuch, and one Carus, who exceeded all men of that time in comeliness, and one that was his catamite. He slew also those of his own family, conspired against the Phari-siety of the Pharisees' foretold; and for Bagas, 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 no power, and would enable Bagas to marry, and to have children of his own body begotten.

CHAP. III.
Concerning the Enmity between Herod and Phæra, and Herod sent Antipater to Caesar; and of the Death of Phæras.

§ 1. When Herod had punished those Pharisees who had been convicted of the foregoing crimes, he gathered an assembly together of his friends, and accused Phæra's wife; and ascribing the abuses of the virgins to the impudence of that woman, brought an accusation against her for the dishonor she had brought upon them; that she had studiously introduced a quarrel between him and his brother, and, by her arts, had brought them into a state of war, both by her words and by means that the fines which he had laid had not been paid, and the offenders had escaped punishment by her means; and that nothing which had of late been done had been done without her: for which reason Phæra would do well, if he would do his own accord, and by his own command, and not at my entreaty, or as following my opinion, but his wife away, as one that will still be the worst of war between them and me. And now, Phæra, if thou valuest thy relation to me, set this thy 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 Phæra, "These words were pressed hard by the former words," that "as he would not do so unjust a thing as to renounce his brotherly re-
lation to him, so would he not leave off his affection for his wife; that he would rather choose to die than to live, and that she was so dear unto him." Hereupon Herod put off his anger against Phæra on these accounts although he himself thereby underwent a very uneasy punishment. However, he forbade Antipater and his mother, for that they have any conversation with Phæra, and bade them to take care to avoid the assemblies of the women: which they promised to do; but still got together when occasion served, and both Phæras and Antipater were brought before Herod, and accused also, that Antipater had criminal conversation with Phæra's wife, and that they were brought together by Antipater's mother. But Antipater had now 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 was sent, and the most noble presents along with him; as also his testament, wherein Antipater was appointed to be his successor; and that if Antipater should die, or be put to death, his daughter should succeed. And, together with Antipater, there went to Rome Syllaus the Arab, although he had done nothing of all that Caesar had enjoined. Antipater also accused him of not having treated him as he had been formerly accused by Herod. Syllaus was also accused by Aretas, that without his consent he had slain many of the chief of the Arabians at Petra; and particularly Sohemenus, a man that deserved not this. And they had also the Fabatus, a servant of Caesar. These were the things of which Syllaus was accused, and that on the occasion following: there was one Corinthius, belonging to Herod, of the guards of the king's body-guard; and that he had slain Fabatus, a servant of Caesar. Syllaus 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 Syllaus had himself told Herod of it, he infiltrated the king of it; who caught Corinthius, and put him to the torture, and thereby got out of him the whole conspiracy. He also caught two other Arabians, who were discovered by him; and one the head and the other a friend to Syllaus, who both were by the king brought to the torture, and confessed that they were come to encourage Corithius not to fail of doing what he had undertak
BOOK XVI.—CHAP. XI.

and by degrees used an unbounded military freedom of speech, nor was he so well disciplined as to accommodate himself to the time; so Herod was greatly disturbed, and seeming to be rather reproached by this speech, than to be hearing what was for his advantage, while he learned hereby, that both the soldiers absconded the thing he was about, and the officers had indignation at it, he gave orders that all whom Tero had named, and Tero himself, should be bound and kept in prison.

5. When this was over, one Trypho, who was the king's barber, took the opportunity, and accused Tero, that Tero would often have persuaded him, that what he was troubled in with a razor, to cut his throat, for that by this means he should be among the chief of Alexander's friends, and receive great rewards from him. And the king gave order that Tero and his son, and the barber, should be tortured, which was done accordingly, but while Tero bore up himself, his son seeing his father already in a sad case, and had no hope of any purpose to a conclusion, He also laid the consequence of his terrible sufferings, said, that "if the king would free him and his father from these torments, for what he should say, he would tell the truth." And when the king had given his word to do so, they made an agreement made, that Tero should lay violent hands on the king, because it was easy for him to come when he was alone; and that if, when he had done the thing, he should suffer death for it, as was such an occasion; to his father's unutterable griefiness done in favor of Alexander." This was what Tero's son said, and thereby freed his father from the distress he was in; but uncertain it came whether he had been thus forced to speak what was true, or whether he was of his own device in order to procure his own and his father's deliverance from their miseries.

6. As for Herod, if he had before any doubt about the slaugther of his son, there was now no longer any room left in his soul for it; but he had busied away whatsoever might afford him the least suggestion of reasoning better about his matter, so he already made haste to bring his army together, and to order them to kill him on the spot, for Tero's son, and other passion that governed him, was a demonstration of insufferable impiety; he was also guilty of so great a crime in his elder age; nor will the delays that he made, and the length of time it was for which the thing was done appealed at all to his excision; 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 it is a thing that frequently happens; but he did it upon deliberation, and after frequent attempts, and as frequent puttings off, to undertake it at last, and accomplish it, was the action of a murderous mind, and such as was not easily moved from that which is evil: and this temper he showed in what he did afterward, when he did not spare those that seemed to be the best beloved of his friends that were left, wherein, though the justice of the punishment caused those that perished to be worthy of 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.
BOOK XVII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FOURTEEN YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS TO THE BANISHMENT OF AHELCHAUS.

CHAPTER I.

How Antipater was hated by all the Nation of the Jews for the Slaughter of his Brother, and under that Reason, he got into peculiar Favor with his friends at Rome, by giving them many Presents; as he did also with Saturninus, the President of Syria, and the Governors who were under him; and concerning Herod, Women and Children.

1. When Antipater had thus taken off his brethren, and had brought his father into the highest degree of impiety, 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, yet did he find it a very hard thing, and almost impracticable, to come at the kingdom, because the hatred of the nation against him on that account was great; and that he was very ancient presence, besides this very disagreeable circumstance, the affair of the soldiery grieved him still more, who were alienated from him, from which yet these kings derived all the safety which they had, whether in war or in peace, and therefore their great destruction deserved it; and all this danger was drawn upon him by his destruction of his brethren. However, he governed the nation jointly with his father, being indeed lord and king to all: and he was for that very reason trusted, and the more firmly depended on, for which he ought himself to have been put to death, as appearing to have betrayed his brethren out of his concern for the preservation of his father and not regretting out of his ill-will to them, and before them, to his father himself; and this was the accused state he was in. Now, all Antipater’s contrivances tended to make his way to take off Herod, that he might have nobody to accuse him in from the fear of his brethren being his rivals as to the government, 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 had against his brother were occasioned by the hatred he bore his father. But at this time he was more than ever set upon the execution of his attempts against Herod, because, if he were once dead, the government would now be firmly secured to his own person. And being set upon, he suffered to live any longer, he should be in danger, upon a discovery of that wickedness of which he had been the contriver, 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 surprise men with his good deeds, 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 Saturninus, the president of Syria. He also hoped to gain the favor of Saturninus’ brother with the large presents he bestowed on him; as also, he used the same art to [Sallome] the king’s sister, who had married one of Herod’s chief friends. And, when he counterfeited friendship to those with whom he conversed, he was 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 deluded; especially while she had already used all possible caution in preveting his pernicious designs. Although Antipater’s uncle by the mother’s side was married to her daughter, and this by his own contrivance and management, while she had before been married to Aristobulus, and while Salome’s other daughter by that husband was married to the son of Calles; yet that marriage was so long before, that even those who knew how wide it was, in her discovering his designs, as her former kindred to him could not prevent her hatred of him. Now Herod had compelled Salome, while she was in love with Syllæus the Arabian, and he was once married to her, to go for a mess for him, to which match was by her submitted to at the instance of Julia, who persuaded Salome not to refuse it, lest she should herself be their open enemy, since Herod had sworn that he would never be friends with Salome, if she would not accept Alexæa for her husband; so she submitted to Julia as being Cæsar’s wife, and besides that, she advised her to nothing but what was very much for her own advantage. At this time, also, a woman by name Pænæa, and by another name, a daughter, who had been Alexander’s wife, to her father, returning the portion he had had with her out of his own estate, that there might be no dispute between them as to it. 2. Now Herod brought up his sons to the care of great care; for Alexander had two sons by Gephyra, and Aristobulus had three sons by Bernice, Salome’s daughter, and two daughters; and Herod himself was once married to him, and presented the children before him, and deplored the hard fortune of his own sons, he prayed that no such ill-fortune would befall these who were their children, but that they might improve in virtue, and grow to be men, and might make him amends for his care of their education. He also caused them to be betrothed against them should come to the proper age of marriage: the elder of Alexander’s sons to Phæroras’s daughter, and Antipater’s daughter to Aristobulus’ eldest son. He also allotted one of Aristobulus’ daughter’s daughters to Antipater’s son, and Aristobulus’ other daughter to Herod, a son of his own, who was born to him by the high priest, and presented to him by the women that was among us to have many wives at the same time. Now, the king made these espousals for the children, out of commodisation of them now they were fatherless, as endeavoring to render Antipater a great help to his father, and might make him amends for his care of their education. But Antipater did not fail to bear the same temper of mind to his brothers’ children which he had borne to his brothers themselves: and his father’s concern about them provoked his indignation against them, upon this supposal, that they would become greater than ever his brothers had been; while Archelaus, a king, would support his daughter’s sons, and Phæroras, a tetrarch, would look after one of the daughters as a wife to his son. What provoked him also was this that all the multitude would so commodise these fatherless children, and so hate him, [for making them fatherless] that all would come out, since the king’s blessing and favor was turned towards his brethren. He contrived, therefore, to overturn his father’s settlements, as thinking it a terrible thing that they should be so related to him, and be so powerful withal. So Herod yielded to him, and changed his resolution at his entreaty: and the determination now was, that Antipater himself should marry Aristobulus’ daughter, and Antipater’s son should marry Phæroras’ daughter. So the espousals for the marriage were changed after this manner, even without the king’s real approbation.
at his desire Nicolaus of Damascus, being the king's friend, and always conversant with him, and acquainted with whatsoever he did, and with the circumstances of his affairs, proceeded to what remained, and explained all that concerned the affair by a formal evidence, which had not been done, had he not desired them by his virtuous concern about him; for that he had made provision for every thing that was fit to be foreseen beforehand, as to giving him his wisest advice, and as to the author of the labor of his own hands, he had not grudged any such pains for him. And that it was almost impossible that he who had delivered his father from so many treacherous contrivances laid against him, should be himself in a plot against him, and so lose all the reputation he had gained for his virtue, by his wickedness which succeeded it, and this while he had nothing to prohibit him, his success was already appointed his successor, to enjoy the spoils. He was present; and that there was no likelihood that a person who had the one half of that authority without any danger, and with a good character, should be afraid of the other half, and this when it was doubtful whether he could obtain it or not; and when he saw the sad example of his brethren before him, and was both the informer and the accuser against them, at a time when they had been otherwise all well, he was discovered; nay, was the author of the punishment inflicted upon them, when it appeared evidently that they were guilty of a wicked attempt against their father; and that even the contentions themselves, as he had already observed, were not that he had ever managed affairs out of the sincere affection to his father. And as to what he had done at Rome, Cæsar was a witness thereto; who yet was no more to be imposed upon than God himself; of whose opinions his letters sent thither are sufficient evidence; and that it was not reasonable to prefer the calumnies of such as proposed to raise disturbances before those letters; the greatest part of which calumnies had been raised at first only to lay the blame upon his enemies to force them, which they had not been able to do if he had been there. Moreover, he showed the weakness of the evidence of his enemies, which was commonly false; because the distinction between usury and usurers naturally obliges them to say many things in order to please those that govern them. He also offered himself to the torture.

5. Hereupon there was a change observed in the assembly, while they greatly pitied Antipater, who, by weeping and putting on a countenance suitable to his sad case, made them commiserate the same; insomuch that his very enemies were moved to compassion; and it appeared plainly that Herod himself was affected in his own mind, although he was not willing it should be taken notice of. Then did Nicolaus begin to prosecute what the king had begun, and the behavior of his former relations to the evidence which arose from the tortures, or from the testimonies. "He principally and largely cried up the king's virtues, which he had exhibited in the maintenance and education of his sons, while they were young; and who, and the advice and encouragement which he gave thereby, but still fell from one misfortune to another. Although he owned that he was not so much surprised with that thoughtless behavior of his sons, who were not young, and were beside him; and who, without any advice of censors, who were the occasion of their lapsing out of their minds all the righteous dictates of nature, and this out of a desire of coming 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 the most enraged serpents, yet could not be satisfied with the most envenomed serpents; whereas even those creatures admit of some mitigation, and will not bite their benefactors, while Antipater hath not let the misfortunes of his brethren be any hindrance to him, but he hath gone to the most barbarity notwithstanding. Yet was 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 of the part of the punishment undergone upon their detection. Nor do we say this as accusing thee for being so zealous in thy anger against them, but are astonished at thy endeavors to imitate their profligate behavior, and we desire thereby, that thou didst not set thus for the safety of thy father, but for the destruction of thy brethren, that by such outside hatred of their impiety, thou mightest be believed a lover of thy father, and they might get the power enough to do mischief with the greatest impunity, which design thy actions indeed demonstrate. It is true, thou tookest thy brethren off, because thou didst convict them of those wicked design, but no more as to justice to those who were their partners; and 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 doing them good, by advantage of laying plots to kill thy father, and so to enjoy double pleasure, which is truly worthy of thy evil disposition, which thou hast openly shown against thy brethren; on which account thou didst receive no advantage, as having been employed to expel, nor was that behavior unworthy of thee. But if thy intention were otherwise, thou art worse than they; while thou didst contrive to hide thy treachery against thy father, thou didst hate them, not as plotters against thy father, for in that case thou hadst not thyself fallen upon the like crime, but as successors of his dominions and more worthy of that succession than thyself. Thou wouldst kill thy father's sons, lest thy lies be against them might be detected: and lest thou shouldst suffer what punishment thou hadst deserved, thou hadst a mind to exact that punishment of thy unhappy father, and didst devise such a thing as if the world never yet saw. For thou, who art his son, didst 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 openly declared thee his successor, while thou wast not forbidden to taste the sweeteness of authority already, and hast the firm hope of what was future by thy father's determination, and the security of a wise and just king, for certain thou didst not measure those things according to thy father's various disposition, but according to thy own thoughts and inclinations; and want desires to take the part that remained away from thy father's sons, and hast the 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 closest benefactors, and invited them to assist thee and guard thee, and didst hedge thyself in on all sides by the artsifices of both men and women, against an old man; as though that mind of thine was
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 they bar and search out these things, and get a perfect knowledge of them, and then told her brother of them, who understood also of himself a great deal of what she said, but still durst not depend upon it, because the stories he had of his sister's calamities. For there was a certain sect of men that were Jews, who valued themselves highly upon the exact skill they had in the law of their fathers, and made men believe they were highly favored of God, or whom the notions of women were inveigled. These are those that are called the sect of the Pharisees, who were in a capacity of greatly opposing kings. A cunning sect they were, and soon elevated to a pitch of open 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, Caesar's wrath was pacified for them. In order to requisite which kindess of hers, since they were believed to have the foreknowledge of things to come by divine inspirations, they foretold how God had decreed that Herod should die, and that his posterity should be deprived of it; but that the kingdom should come to her and Pheroras, and to their children. These predictions were not concealed from Salome, but were told the king; as also kings, who desired no innovations about the palace itself: so the king slew such of the Pharisees as were principally accused, and Bagoas, the eunuch, and one Carus, who exceeded all in the unhealthy concubinage, but there was no end to his unrighteousness; he slew also those of his own family who had consented to what the Pharisees foretold; and for Bagoas, he had been puff'd up by them as though he should be named the father and do.benefactor of him who, by the sentence, was foretold to be their appointed king; for that this king would have all things in his power, and would enable Bagoas to marry, and to have children of his own body begotten.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Enmity between Herod and Pheroras; how Herod sent Antipater to Caesar; and of the Death of Pheroras.

1. WHEN Herod had punished those Pharisees who had been convicted of the foregoing crimes, he gathered an assembly together of his friends, and accused Pheroras's wife; and ascribing the abuses of the virgins to the impudence of that woman, brought an accusation against her for the dishonor 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 war, both by her words and actions; that the fines which he had laid had not been paid, and the offenders had escaped punishment by her means; and whatever thing which had later been done had been done without her: for which reason Pheroras would do well, if he would, of his own accord, and by his own command, and not at my entreaty, or as following my opinion, put to death his nephew, and thus he would not be called to him; yet did not Herod so retain his hatred to Pheroras, but remitted of his purpose [not to see him,] which he before had, and that for such great causes as have been already mentioned; but rather in order to do it, that he might have thereby a chance to destroy her, and this without being sent for: and when he was dead, he took care of his funeral, and had his body brought to Jerusalem, and buried there, and appointed a solemn mourning for him. This without saying (as before) that it was by Antipater's misfortunes, although he had already sailed for Rome, now going about to punish him for the murder of his brethren. I will ex-
plain the history of this matter very distinctly, that it may be for a warning to mankind, that they take care of conducting their whole lives by the rules of virtue.

CHAP. IV.

Phæroas's Wife is accused by his freed-men as guilty of poisoning him; and how Herod, upon the Manner of the Matter by the Poison; but so that it had been prepared for himself by his son Antipater; and, upon an Inquiry by Torture, he discovered the dangerous Designs of Antipater.

1. As soon as Phæroas was dead, and his husband was no longer, one of Phæroas's freed-men, who were much esteemed by him, came to Herod and entreated him not to leave the murder of his brother without avenging it, but to examine into such an unreasonable and unhappy death. "And when Herod had comforted him, and had promised to give him a reward, he told him of it; that this potion was brought out of Arabia by a woman, under pretence indeed as a love potion, for that was its name, but in reality to kill Phæroas; for that the Arabian women are skilful in making love potions: and the women to whom they ascribe this, was confessedly a most intimate friend of one of Syllæus's mistresses, and that both the mother and the sister of Phæroas's wife had been at the places where she was; and he had been to sell them this potion, and had come back and brought it with them the day before that of his supper." Hereupon the king was provoked, and put the woman to death; and the other were free with them; and as the fact did not yet appear, because none of them would confess it, at length one of them, under the utmost agonies, said so much more but this, that "she prayed that God would send the like again upon Antipa-
ter's mother, who had been the occasion of these miseries to all of them."

This prayer induced Herod to increase the woman's tortures, till thereby all was discovered: "the sinner met me through the prayer of a woman, and the prayer of what he had said to his son along unto Phæroas's woman." (Now what Herod had charged Antipater to conceal, was the gift of a hundred talents to him, to not have any conversation with Phæroas, and not to come near to his father; and that he complained to his mother how very long his father lived; and that he was himself almost as old man, insomuch, that if the kingdom should once come to him, it would not afford him any profit; and that there were a great many of his brothers, or brothers' children, bringing up, that might have hopes of the kingdom, as well as himself, all which made his own heart fear; for if he should himself not live, Herod had ordained that the government should be conferred, not on his son, but rather on a brother. He also had accused the king of great barbarity, and of the slaughtering of his son, and that it was out of the fear he was under, lest he should do the like to him, that made him contrive this his journey to Rome, and Phæroas contrive to go to his own tetrarchy." These confessions agreed with what his sister had told him, and tended greatly to corroborate her testimony, and to free her from the sus-

picion of her unfaithfulness to him. So the king having satisfied himself of the spite which Doria, Antipater's mother, as well as himself, bore to him, took away from her all her fine ornaments, which were worth many talents, and then sent her away, and entered into friendship with Phæroas's widow. But he who most of all irritated the king against his son, was one Antipater, the procurator of Antipater the king's son, who, when he was tortured, among other things said, that Antipater had prepared a deadly potion and given it to Phæroas; with his desire that he would give it to his father during his absence, and when he was too remote to have the least suspicion cast upon him thereto relating: that Antiphilius and Herodias had sent him to Thæane to take them out of Egypt, and that it was sent to Phæroas by Thæonion, the brother of the mother of Antipater the king's son, and by that means came to Phæroas's wife, her husband having given it her heretofore, and she did not learn it; for she had kept it; and as she was running to fetch it, she threw herself down from the horse-top, yet did she not kill herself, because she fell upon her feet; by which means, when the king had been put to death, he rather comforted her than did her any harm; and the domestics pardoned, upon condition of their concealing nothing of the truth from him, but had threatened her with the utmost miseries if she proved ungrateful, [and concealed any thing:] so she promised to serve them as she was able; and that she would tell 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 Antiphilus; and that his brother, who was so for the procuring it, and that when Thæonion brought it us, he kept it upon Phæroas's committing it to her; and that it was prepared by Antipater for thee. When therefore, Phæroas's sister was sent to him, and took care of him, and when he saw the kindness thou hadst for him, his mind was overborne thereby. So he called me to him, and said to me; 'O woman! Antipater hath circumvented me in this affair of his father and my brother, by persuading me to have a murderous intention to him, and procuring a potion to be subservient thereto; do thou, therefore, go and fetch my potion, (since my brother appears to have nothing at all to do with it,) and bring it to me which I have formerly, and I do not expect to live long myself, and that I may not defile my forefather by the murder of a brother,) and burn it before my face: that accordingly she brought it to him, and burnt it before his face; and that accordingly she burnt it before his face; and that she burnt the greatest part of the potion; but that a little of it was left, that if the king, after Phæroas's death, should treat her ill, she might poison herself, and thereby get clear of her miseries." Upon her saying thus, she brought out the potion, and the box in which it was, before them all. Nay, there was another brother of Antiphilus, and his mother also, who, by the extreme pain and our strange misery, and the same thing, and owned the box, in order to be that which had been brought out of Egypt.] The high priest's daughter also, who was the king's wife, was accused to have been conscious of all this; which he greatly desired; and had reason to desire it; if he should himself not live, Herod had ordained that the government should be conferred, not on his son, but rather on a brother. He also had accused the king of great barbarity, and of the slaughtering of his son, and that it was out of the fear he was under, lest he should do the like to him, that made him contrive this his journey to Rome, and Phæroas contrive to go to his own tetrarchy."
3. While this was doing, Bathylus, also Antipater's freed-man, came from Rome, and, upon the tortures, was found to have brought another potion, to give it into the hands of Antipater's mother, and of her sisters, that if the former potion d.'t operate upon the king, this at least might succeed. At last, a letter came from Herod's friends at Rome, by the approbation and at the suggestion of Antipater, to accuse Archelaus and Philip, as if they calamitised their father on account of the slaughter of Alexander and Aristobulus, and as if they involved their creditors, and as if, because they were sent for, (for their father had already recalled them,) they concluded they were themselves also to be destroyed. Their letters had been procured by great rewards, by Antipater's friends; but Antipater himself wrote to his father about them, and said the heaviest things to their charge; yet did he entirely excuse them of any guilt, and said, they were but young men, and so imputed their words to their youth. But he said, that he had himself been very busy in the affair relating to Syileus, and in getting interest among the great men; and that on account had brought splendid accusations against them within, which cost him two hundred talents. Now, one may wonder how it came about, that while so many accusations were laid against him in Judaea during seven months before this time, he was not made accessory to 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 any advantages.

CHAPTER 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 Quintillus Varus, who was then President of Syria; and how he was bound till Caesar should be informed of his Cause.

1. Now Herod, upon Antipater's writing to him, that having done all that he was to do, and this in the manner he was to do it, he would suddenly come to him, concealed his anger against him, and wrote back to him, and bade him not delay his journey, lest any harm should befall himself in his absence. And as he said also to make some little complaint about his mother, and promised that he would lay those complaints aside when he should return. He withah expressed himself in this petition for him, as fearing lest he should have some accidents upon his journey to him, and lest, when he lived at Rome, he should lay plots for the kingdom, and, moreover, do somewhat against himself. This letter Antipater met with in 66, and had received an account of Phereclus's death before at Tarsus. This last news affected him deeply; not out of any affection for Phereclus, but because he was dead without having murdered his father, which greatly grieved him; and when he was at Celendris in Cilicia, he began to deliberate with himself about his sailing home, as being much grieved with the execution of his mother. Now, some of his friends advised him that he should tarry a while somewhere, in expectation of further information. But others advised him to sail home without delay; for that if he were once come thither, he would soon put an end to all accusations, and that nothing afforded any where he more to do without his absent presence. He was persuaded by these last, and sailed on, and landed at the haven called Sebastus, which Herod had built at vast expenses in honor of Caesar, and called Sebastus. And now was 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 curses, while they supposed he was come to receive his punishment for the murder of his brethren.

2. Now Quintillus Varus was at this time at Jerusalem. He had sent to succeed Saturninus, as president of Syria, and was come as an assessor to Herod, who had desired his advice in his present affairs; and as they were sitting together, Antipater came upon them, without knowing any thing of the matter; he came into the palace clothed in purple. The porters indeed received him in, but excluded his friends. And now he was in great disorder, and presently understood who Antipater was; and therefore, in great fear, he absolv'd his father he was represented by him, who called him a murderer of his brethren, and a plotter of destruction against himself, and told him that Varus should be his auditor and his judge the very next day; so he found, that his misfortune he now heard of was already upon him, with the greatness of which he went away in conclusion: upon which his mother and his wife met him (who was the daughter of Pilate, the procurator of Palestine, under Herod,) from whom he learned all circumstances which concerned him, and then prepared himself for his trial.

3. On the next day Varus and the king sat to judge him; and both their friends were also called in, as also the king's relations, with his sister Salome, and as many as could discover any thing, and such as had been tortured; and besides these some slaves of Antipater's mother, who were raised up a little before his coming, and brought with them a written letter the sum of which was this: that "He should not come back, because all was come to his father's knowledge; and that Caesar was the only means to prevent both these to come into his father's hands." Then did Antipater fall down at his father's feet, and besought him "not to prejudice his case, but that he might be first heard 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 misfortune; and because Antipater fell upon him in his misfortunes, he said tenaciously and with much vehemence and assertion of what education he had given them; and what reasonable supplies of wealth he had afforded them, according to their own desires; and which favours had hindered them from being vigorous, 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 hard enough to attempt such things; that he had by his testament in writing the inheritance of the guilt of the crime, 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 talents for his yearly income, and had received the power of life and death in 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 if not, he had brought him groundless accusations 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 now abjured from all that was criminal, by honouring him with his power and with his goodness.

4. When Herod had thus spoken, he fell a weeping, and was not able to say any more; but
at his desire Nicolaus of Damascus, being the king's friend, and always conversant with him, and acquainted with whatsoever he did, and with the circumstances of his affairs, proceeded to what remained, and explained all that concerned the did, almost literally and in order of the facts. Upon which Antipater, in order to make his legal defence, turned himself to his father, and "enlarged upon the many indications he had given of his good-will to him; and instance in the while how much trouble he had been had not been done, had he not deserved them by his virtuous concern about him; for that he had made provision for every thing that was fit to be foreseen beforehand, as to giving him his wisest advice; and it was by him that the labor of his own hands, he had not grudged any such pains for him. And that it was almost impossible that he who had delivered his father from so many treacherous contrivances laid against him, should be in a plot against him, and so lose all the reputation he had gained for his virtue, by his wickedness which succeeded it, and this while he had nothing to prohibit him, who was already appointed his successor, to set himself against his father; and that there was no likelihood that a person who had the one half of that authority without any danger, and with a good character, should work against the other with infamy and danger, and this when it did not appear he could obtain it or not; and when he saw the sad example of his brethren before him, and was both the information and the accuser against them, at a time when he might not think them have been discovered; nay, was the author of the punishment inflicted upon them, when it appeared evidently that they were guilty of a wicked attempt against their father; and that even the contentions they had been in with him, which were known to his enemies to forge them, which they had not been able to do it he had been there. Moreover, he showed the weakness of the evidence obtained by torture, which was commonly false; because all the circumstances naturally obliges them to say many things in order to please those that govern them. He also offered himself to the torture."

5. Hereupon there was a change observed in the assembly, while they himself pitied Antipater, who, by weeping and putting on a countenance suitable to his sad case, made them commiserate the same; insomuch that his very enemies were moved to commiseration; but were pained that Herod himself was affected in his own mind, although he was not willing it should be taken notice of. Then did Nicolaus begin to prosecute what the king had begun, and the whole, at his bidding, increased the accusation by the evidence which arose from the tortures, or from the testimonies. "He principally and largely cried up the king's virtues, which he had exhibited in the maintenance and education of his sons, while he was still a young man, thereof, but still fell from one misfortune to another. Although he owned that he was not so much surprised with that thoughtless behavior of his former sons, who were but young, as were the sayings and counsellors, who were the occasion of their whipping out of their minds all the righteous dictates of nature, and this out of a desire of comple-
not sufficient of itself to support so great a hatred as thou barest to him. And here thou appeared after the tortures of freemen, of domestics of men and women, which have been examined on thy account, and after the information, his ill-will to his father did not seem, by making haste to contradict the truth; and hast thought on ways not only to take thy father out of the world, but to demand that written law which is against thee, and the virtue of Varus, and the nature of justice. For if any argument, which he adduced, were true, thou. wouldst have been found guilty in thy own conscience, which would have put into thy heart to have spoken the truth; but that thy tortures may be esteemed the discoverers of truth. Will not thou, O Varus! deliver the king from the injuries of his kindred? Wilt not thou destroy this wicked wild beast, which hath pretended 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 do so by tother to him all this? For thou art sensible, that this accusers is a great injury both to nature and to common life, and that the intention of parcide is not inferior to its perpetration: and he who does not punish it, is he himself truly injured.

6. Nicolaus added farther what belonged to Antipater's mother, and whatsoever she said: being straitened like a woman; as also about the predictions and the sacrifices relating to the king; and whatsoever she had done last in his favor, and his amours among Phero's women; the examination upon torture; and whatsoever concerned the testimonies of the witnesses, which were many and of various kinds; some present, some before, and others were sudden answers, which farther declared and confirmed the foregoing evidence. For these men who were acquainted with Antipater's practices, but had concealed them out of fear, when they saw that he had been accused of the accusations of the former witnesses, and that he his good fortunes, which had supported him hitherto, had now evidently betrayed him into the hands of his enemies, who were now insatiable in their hatred to him; and to save himself from the danger of death, he sought to gain the favor of his father; 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 contrivances, and his non-observance of his father's commands, 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 turn. Now, there were a great number who for a long time beforehand had seen all this; and especially such as were naturally disposed to judge of matters by the rules of virtue; because they were used to determine about affairs without passion, but had been restrained from making any open complaints before; these, upon the leave now given them, produced all they knew before the public. The demonstrations also of these wicked facts could now way be disproved; because things, which were of the nature of the accusator, neither speak out of favor to Herod, nor were they obliged to keep back what they had to say, out of suspicion of any danger they were in; but they spoke what they knew, because they thought such actions, which they knew, that Antipater made 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 those by a great number of persons who were related to the king; and the same was sent to the king, and to his mother. Antipater, who used generally to be very shrewd in his lies and impudence, was not able to say one word to the contrary. When Nicolaus 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 wherein he might appear that he was not guilty of the crimes he was accused of; for that, as he was himself a man of such a character, as Antipater's witness was, Antipater must be 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, for testimonials of his innocency; desiring that God would judge between him and his accusers; and being in fear, that he had not laid any plot against his father. This being the usual method of all men constitute of virtue, that when they set about any wicked undertakings, they fall to work according to the method of the accusers; and were not accused of being of such a nature, 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, they endeavor to overthrow the evidence 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 this account so ready to die, no other advantage to expect from legal proofs, by which he might disprove the accusations laid against him, he impudently abused the majesty of God, and ascribed it to his power, that he had not been brought hither; and besides, he delivered them all what difficulties he had ever undergone in his bold acting for his father's preservation.

7. So when Varus, upon asking Antipater what he had to say for himself, found that he had nothing toVentiate, 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 when it was brought, and one that was condemned was to die was given him by the king; and he so drank it. When Varus got up and departed out of the court, and went away the day following to Antioch, where his usual residence was, because that was the palace of the Syrian people; the son of Herod, who had 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 also generally supposed, that whatsoever Herod did after what was known to have been said to Varus, was his own voluntarion. 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, explain these discourses to Caesar. Now, at this very time there was seized a letter of Antiphius, 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, Antipater, my letter, and hazarded my own life; for thou knowest that I am in danger from two families, if I be discovered. I wish thee good success in thy affair. These were the contents of this letter: but the king made no inquiry about the other letters, neither did he appear, and Antiphius's slave, who brought that letter which had been read, desired that he had received the other. But, while the king was in doubt about it, one of Herod's friends, seeing a means if dead, that his equal a sentence of death was a name by doubting of the cloth, (for he had two costs on,) he guessed that the letter might be within that doubing, which accordingly proved to be true. So they took out the letter, and its contents were that Antipater was near death, and that Antipater desired to have 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 readest, I know that Herod will punish Salome. Now, when Antipater sent a tenfold letter of Salome's to her lady was composed by Antipater, in the name of Salome, as to its meaning, but in the words of Acme. The
letter was this: "Acme to king Herod. I have done my endeavor that nothing that is done against thee should be concealed from thee. So upon my sending a letter of Salome written to my lady against thee, I have written out a copy, and sent it to thee, with hasard to myself, but for thy advantage. The reason why she wrote it was this, that she had a mind to be married to the king's distress, for the prey of some things, that I may not come into danger of my life." Now Acme had written to Antipater himself, and informed him that, in compliance with his command, she had both herself written to Herod, and had had laid such plot entirely against him, and had herself sent a copy of an epistle, as coming from Salome to her lady. Now, Acme was a Jewess by birth, and a servant to Cesar's wife; and this out of her friends for Antipater, the son of his sister also, and at that corrupt by him with a large present of money, to assist in his pernicious designs against his father and his aunt.

8. Hereupon Herod was so amazed at the prodigious wickedness of Antipater, that he was ready to have ordered him to be slain immediately, as a turbulent person in the most important concerns, and as one that laid a plot not only against himself, but his sister also, and at that corrupt Cesar's own domestics. Salome also provoked him to it, bewailing her breast, and bidding him kill her, if he could produce any credible testimony that she had acted in such manner, and that he might set him about this matter, and bid him contradict it if he could, and not suppress any thing he had to say for himself; and when he had not one word to say, he asked him, since he was every way as guilty as he, to hasten his execution no farther delay, but discover his associates in these his wicked designs. So he laid all upon Antiphasus; but discovered nobody else. Hereupon Herod was in such great grief, that he was read to deliver himself into Antipater, and to give an account of these his wicked contrivances. But he soon became afraid, lest he might there, by the assistance of his friends, escape the danger he was in: so he kept himself bound as before, and sent more ambassadors and letters to Rome to accuse his son, and an account of what assistance Acme had given him in his wicked designs, with copies of the epistles before mentioned.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Disease that Herod fell into, and the Stedfastness of the Jews, and the Punishment of the Sted fosters.

§ 1. Now Herod's ambassadors made haste to Rome; but sent, as instructed beforehand, what answers they were to make to the questions put to them. They also carried the epistles with them. But Herod now fell into a distemper, and made his will, and bequeathed his kingdom to [Antipas] his youngest son; and this out of that hatred to Archelaus and Philip, which the calamities of Antipater had raised against them. He said he was tired of the multitude of the people, and gave five hundred to Julius, Cesar's wife, to Cesar's children, and friends, and freed-men. He also distributed among his sons and their sons, his money, his revenues, and his lands. He also made them all to the same effect, that they continued faithfully to him in all his circumstances, and was never so rash as to do him any harm: and as he despaired of recovering, for he was about the seventieth year of his age, he grew fierce, and indulged the bitterest maledictions upon all occasions; the cause whereof was this, that he thought himself despised, and that the nation was pleased with his misfortunes; besides which, he resented a sedition which some of the lower sort of men excited against him, of occasion of which was as follows:

2. There was one Judas, the son of Saraphis, and Matthias, the son of Margalothus, two of the most eloquent men among the Jews, and the most celebrated interpreters of the Jewish law; 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 distress was increased, and several young men that they would pull down all those 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 the performance of any such actions of righteousness, for that proof of Herod's rashness in making such things as the law had forbidden, that his other misfortunes, and this distress also, which was so unusual among mankind, and with which he was now afflicted, for Herod had caused such things to be made, 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 men, when they perceived that the king was induced to erect the golden eagle, alleging, that "although they should incur any danger, which might bring them to their deaths, the virtue of the action now proposed to them would appear much more advantageous to them than the plagues which they would die for the preservation and observation 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 be an example for all posterity that life would never be forgotten to posterity; since that common calamity of dying cannot be avoided by our living so as to escape any such dangers; that therefore it is a right thing for those who are rich and in a virtuous condition, to wait for that fatal hour by such a behavior as may carry them out of the world with praise and honor; and that this will alleviate death to a great degree, thus to come at it by the performance of such actions, which bring us into danger of it; and, at the same time, leave that reputation behind them to their children and to all their relations, whether they be men or women, which will be of great advantage to them afterward."
asked them if they had been so bold as to pull down what he had dedicated to God? "Yes, (said they,) what was contrived, we contrived, and what hath been performed, we performed it, and that with such a virtuous courage as becomes men; for we have given our assistance to those things which are dedicated to the majesty of God, and we have provided for what we have learned by hearing the law; and it ought not to be wondered at, if we esteem those laws which make men to come to him, were taught by him, and left behind him, more worthy of observation than thy commands. Accordingly, we will undergo death, and all form of punishment which thou canst inflict upon us, and as the sea is to us, as we are conscious to ourselves that we shall die, not for any unrighteous actions, but for our love to religion."

And thus they all said, and their courage was still equal to their professions. Nor was the case so equal to that with which they readily set about this undertaking. And when the king had ordered them to be bound, he sent them to Jericho, and called together the principal men among the Jews; and when he came, he made them assemble in the theatre, and because he could not himself stand, he lay upon a couch, and enumerated the many labors that he had long endured on their account, and his building of the temple, and while the Asmonians, during the hundred and twenty-five years of their government, had not been able to perform any so great a work for the honor of God as that was; that he had also adorned it with very great dedications, and that he had hoped that he had left himself a memorial, and procured himself a reputation after his death. He then cried out, that these men had not abstained from the law, even in his lifetime, but that, in the very daytime, in the sight of the multitude, they had abused him to that degree, as to fall upon what he had dedicated, and in that way of abuse had pulled it down to the ground, and had insulted, indeed, that they did it to afront him; but if any one consider the thing truly, they will find that they were guilty of sacrilege against God therein."

4. But the people, on account of Harold's barbarous and for fear they should be so cruel as to inflict punishment on them, said, "What was done, was done without their approbation, and that it seemed to them that the actors might well be punished for what they had done." But the king cried out, that the thing was not done by them, but by others [of the assembly] but he deprived Matthias of the high priesthood, as in part an occasion of this action, and made Joazer, who was Matthias's wife's brother, high priest in his stead. Now it happened, that during the time of this high priest of Matthias, there was another person made high priest for a single day, that very day which the Jews observed as a fast. The occasion was this: the king called the high priest, on the night before that day, when the fast was to be celebrated, seemed in a dream 7 to have conversation with his wife; and because he could not officiate himself on that account, Joseph, the high priest, did not meddle with the priests, that were sent to call them. And now the king was in a wild rage against them all, the innocent as well as those that had afforded ground for accusations; and when they were come, he ordered them all to be sent to the hippodrome; and sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexis, and spoke thus to them: "I shall die in a little time, so great are my pains; which death ought to be cheerful by all men, but without such mourning as men usually expect at a king's death. For that he was not unquaintly wise, and would not see that his life would be a thing very desirable, and exceedingly acceptable to them; because during his lifetime when contradicted thereby, seem to me of weight enough to deserve that so great a man as Rolando should spend his time in endeavors at their vindication."

7 This fact, that one Joseph was made high priest for a single day, on occasion of the action here described, that befall Matthias, the real high priest, in his sleep, the fact that he did the great day of expiation, is stated to both in the Mishna and Talmud, as Dr. Hudson here informs us. And indeed, from this fact, thus fully attested, we may confute that pretended rule in the Talmud here mentioned, and endeavored to be excused by Reland, that the high priest was not suffered to sleep the night before the great day of expiation; which watchkeeping we may determine for the many important duties he was to perform on that solemn day, to dispose him duly to perform them. Nor do such Talmudical ales, when unsupported by better evidence, much less
they were ready to revolt from him: and to abuse the donations he had dedicated to the gods; that it was therefore their business to resolve to afford him some alleviation of his great sorrows on this occasion; for that, if they do not refuse him their consent in what he desires, he shall have greater means for evil, and such as never any king had before him; for then the whole nation would mourn from their very soul, which otherwise would be done in sport and mockery only. He desired therefore that as soon as they saw him, he should turn up the ghost, they should place soldiers round the hippodrome, while they do not know that he is dead: and that they shall not declare his death to the multitude till this is done, but that they shall give orders to his friends to say that he was struck with darts; and that this slaughter of them all will cause that he shall not miss to rejoice on a double account: that as he is dying, they will make him secure that his will shall be executed in what he charges them to do; and that he shall have the honor of a memorable mourning at his funeral. So he deplored his condition, with tears in his eyes, and obtained them by the kindness due from them, as of his kindred, and by the faith they conceived in the God, and begetting them of the son, nor would hinder him of this honorable mourning at his funeral." So they promised him not to transgress his commands.

55 Now, one may easily discover the tenor of this man's mind, which not only took pleasure in doing what he had done formerly against his relations, out of the love of life, but by those commands of his which savored of no humanity, he increased their hatred, and parting out of this life, that the whole nation should be put into mourning, and indeed made desolate of their dearest kindred, when he gave order that one out of every family should be slain. The king, therefore, who was his son, but own brother to Archelaus, by the name of a tetrarchy, and bequested Jannia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis, to Salome his sister, with five hundred thousand [drachm] of silver that the king had received in drachmas of coin, money, besides both reams of gold and silver, and garments exceeding costly, to Julius, Caesar's wife; and to certain others, five millions. When he had done these things, he died, the fifth day after he had caused Antipater to be slain; having reigned since he had procured Antigonus to be slain, thirty-four years: but since he had been declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven. A man he was of great barbarity towards all men, and bequathed to his family what was above the consideration of what was right: yet was he favored by fortune as much as any man ever was, for from a private man he became a king: and though he were encompassed with ten thousand dangers, he got clear of them all, and continued his life to a very old age. But then, as to the affairs of his family and children, in which, indeed, according to his own opinion, he was also happily endowed, because he was able to conquer his enemies, yet, in my opinion, he was herein very unfortunate. 2. But then Salome and Alexas, before the king's death was made known, dismissed those that were shut up in the 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 esteemed by the nation a great benefit. And now 1 the king's death was made public, when they found that it was not to have his kingdom confirmed to him at Rome: ch. 15, sect. 5, and Of the War, b. ii. ch. ii. sect. 1, which influence is perhaps all that Josephus intended by the words before us. 1These numbers of years for Herod's reign, 34, and 37, are the very same with those Of the War, b. i. ch. xxvii. sect. 6, and are among the principal chronological characters belonging to the reign or death of Herod. See Harm of the Evag. p. 150—153

CHAP. VIII.
Concerning Herod's Death, and Testament, and Burial.

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 tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and granted the kingdom to Archelaus. He also gave Galatia to Ponnus, and the other parts of the empire to his son, Mark; and made Archelaus king of Syria, and Philip, who was his son, but own brother to Archelaus, by the name of a tetrarchy, and bequested Jannion, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis, to Salome his sister, with five hundred thousand [drachmae] of silver that the king had received in drachmas of coin, money, besides both reams of gold and silver, and garments exceeding costly, to Julius, Caesar's wife; and to certain others, five millions. When he had done these things, he died, the fifth day after he had caused Antipater to be slain; having reigned since he had procured Antigonus to be slain, thirty-four years: but since he had been declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven. A man he was of great barbarity towards all men, and bequathed to his family what was above the consideration of what was right: yet was he favored by fortune as much as any man ever was, for from a private man he became a king: and though he were encompassed with ten thousand dangers, he got clear of them all, and continued his life to a very old age. But then, as to the affairs of his family and children, in which, indeed, according to his own opinion, he was also happily endowed, because he was able to conquer his enemies, yet, in my opinion, he was herein very unfortunate.
soldierly together in the amphitheatre at Jericho; and the first thing they did was, they read Herod's letter, written to the soldiery, thanking them for their fidelity and good-will to him, and exhorting them to adorn his son Archelaus, whom he had appointed for their king, like 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 Cæsar had inspected it; and Horus, who had the present care of the kingdom, said to Archelaus, as king, and the soldiery came by bands, and their commanders with them, and promised the same good-will to him, and readiness to serve him, which they had exhibited to Herod, and to be constant to God to be constant to him.

3. After this was over, they prepared for his funeral, it being Archelaus's care that the procession to his father's sepulchre should be very sumptuous. And set out all his ornaments to adorn the pomp of the funeral. The 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 his clothing itself: he had a crown upon his head, and above it a crown of gold; he also had a sceptre in his right hand. About the bier were his sons and his numerous relations; next to these was the soldiery, distinguished according to the several countries and provinces; and they were put into the following order: first of all went his guards; then the band of Thracians; and after them the Germans; and next the band of Galatians; every one in their habiliments. Archelaus seated himself behind the head of the whole army in the same manner as they used to go out to war, and as they used to be put in array by their master-masters and centurions; these were followed by five hundred of his domestic cavalry. So they went right furlonge 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 keep the mourning till the seventh day; for so many days are appointed for it by the law of our fathers. And when he had given a treat to the multitudes, and left off his mourning, he went up into the temple; he had also acclamation given him, which passed over to him, as he went, every one striving with 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 surrounded by the multitude, and declared "with what joy he received their acclamations, 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 whom he treated with such kindness; and promised he would endeavor not to be behindhand with them in rewarding their sincerity in his service, after a suitable manner; but that he should abstain at present from the names of kings, and that he should have the honor of that dignity, if Cæsar should confirm and settle that testament which his father had made; and that it was on this account, that when the army would have put their hands at Jericho, he would not accept of that honor, 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 he would not want the ability of rewarding their kindness to him; and that it should be his endeavor, as to 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 days of those that enter upon such governments, declare the intentions of those that accept them; and so by how 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 lament that he would cease them 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 death which Herod had inflicted on them, and what was publicly sold and bought. So 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 pledge of the interest of the multitude in his government. Hereupon he went and offered sacrifice to God, and then betook himself to feast 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 of the tribe of the Gadarenes made a tumult. They lamented Matthias, and those that were slain with him by Herod, who had not any respect paid them by a funeral mourning, out of the fear men were in of that man; they were in such confusion and confusion, that they took the golden eagle. The people made a great clamor and lamentation hereupon, and cast out some reproaches against the king also, as if that tended to alleviate the miseries of the deceased. The king was now at Mount Sion, where he maintained the whole army in the same manner as they used to go out to war, and as they used to be put in array by their master-masters and centurions; these were followed by five hundred of his domestic cavalry. So they went right furlonge to Herodium; for there by his own command he was to be buried. And thus did Herod end his life. Now Archelaus paid him so much respect, as to keep the mourning till the seventh day; for so many days are appointed for it by the law of our fathers. And when he had given a treat to the multitudes, and left off his mourning, he went up into the temple; he had also acclamation given him, which passed over to him, as he went, every one striving with 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 surrounded by the multitude, and declared "with what joy he received their acclamations, 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 whom he treated with such kindness; and promised he would endeavor not to be behindhand with them in rewarding their sincerity in his service, after a suitable manner; but that he should abstain at present from the names of kings, and that he should have the honor of that dignity, if Cæsar should confirm and settle that testament which his father had made; and that it was on this account, that when the army would have put their hands at Jericho, he would not accept of that honor, 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 he would not want the ability of rewarding their kindness to him; and that it should be his endeavor, as to 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 days of those that enter upon such governments, declare the intentions of those that accept them; and so by how 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 lament that he would cease them 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 death which Herod had inflicted on them, and what was publicly sold and bought. So 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 pledge of the interest of the multitude in his government. Hereupon he went and offered sacrifice to God, and then betook himself to feast with his friends.

2. So when the king had suggested these things, and instructed his general in what he was to say, he let him go away to the people: but that he thought a clamor would and would not give him leave to speak, and put him in danger of his life. And as many more as were desirous to venture upon saying openly any thing which might re-
such a thing, yet did the present pleasure they took in the punishment of those they deemed their enemies, outweigh all such considerations; and although Archelaus sent many to speak to them, yet they treated them not as any argument by him, but as persons that came of their own accord to beseech them; and would not let one of them speak. The addition also was made by such as were in a great passion; and it was evident that they were proceeding further in treacherous practices, by the multitude's running so fast upon the noise.

3. Now, upon the approach of that feast of unleavened bread, which the law of their fathers had appointed for the Jews at this time, which feast is called the Passover, and is a memorial of their deliverance out of Egypt, (when they offer sacrifices with great alacrity; and when they are required to slay more sacrifices in number than at any other festival, and when an innumerable multitude came thither out of the country, nay, from beyond its limits also, in order to worship God;) the seditious lamented Judas and Matthias, those teachers of the laws, and kept together in the temple, and had plenty of them that were with promises, that they would not ashamed to beg it. And as Archelaus was afraid lest some terrible thing should spring up by means of these men's madness, he sent a regiment of armed men, and with them a captain of guard, to be esteemed the ambassador of Archelaus to the seditious, before the whole multitude should be infected with the like madness; and gave them this charge, that if they found any more openly seditious than others, and more busy in attempting, to bring any into hatred, it was to him. But those that were seditious on account of those teachers of the law, irritated the people by the noise and clamors they used to encourage the people in their designs; so they made an assembly in the temple, and to Archelaus, and stoned the greatest part of them, although some of them ran away wounded, and their captain among them; and when they had thus done, they returned to the sacrifices which were already in their hands. Now Archelaus thought there was no way to preserve the entire government, but by cutting off those who made this attempt upon it; so he sent out the whole army upon them, and sent the horsemen to prevent them, and to assist those that were within the temple, and to kill such as ran away from the footmen when they thought themselves out of danger, which horsemen slew three thousand men, while the seditious were but thirty. And Archelaus did Archelaus order proclamation to be made to them all, that they should retire to their own homes; so they went away, and left the festival out of fear of somewhat worse which would follow, although they had been so offensive to the inhabitants of their own instruction. So Archelaus went down to the sea with his mother, and took with him Nicodimus and Pilate, and many others of his friends, and left Philip, his brother, and go- vernor, to manage the care of things not relating to family and to the public. There went out also with him Salome, Herod's sister, who took with her her children, and many of her kindred were with her; which knew the severe part of the affairs of the kingdom, and did not pretend, to assist Archelaus in gaining the kingdom, but in reality to oppose him, and chiefly to make loud complaints of what he had done in the temple. But Sabineus, Cesar's steward for Syria and Judea, to preserve Herod's effects, met with Archelaus at Cesarea; but Varus (president of Syria) came at that time, and restrained him from meddling with them, for he was there as sent for by Archelaus, by the means of Ptolemy. And Sabineus, out of regard to Varus, did neither seize upon any of the castles that were among the Jews, nor did he send up the treasures in them, but permitted Archelaus to have them until Cesar should deal with him as he pleased; so that, upon this his promise, he tarried still at Cesarea. But after Archelaus was sailed for Rome, and Varus was removed to Antioch, Sabineus went to Rome, and seized on the king's palace. He also sent for the keepers of the garrisons, and for all those that had the charge of Herod's effects, and declared publicly, that he should require them to give an account of what they had; and the men were made, in the manner be pleased; but those who kept them did not neglect what Archelaus had given them in command, but continued to keep all things in the manner that had been enjoined them; and their pretence was, that they kept them all for Cesar.

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 and her sons, and with the promise of the government; and that he was a much honester and fitter man than Archelaus for that authority; since Herod had, in his former testament, deemed him the worthiest to be made king, which ought not to be done, since he had done anything against the testament. Antipas also brought with him his mother, and Ptolemy the brother of Nicodimus, one that had been Herod's most honored friend, and was now zealous for Antipas; but it was Irenus the orator, and one who had the care of the public accounts for seigniory, who 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 he was his father's elder brother and had been declared king by his father's last will, he would not submit so to do. And when he was come to Rome, all his relations revolted to him, not out of their good-will to him, but out of their hatred to Archelaus; though indeed they were most of all desirous of gaining 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, who was so devotedly devoted to the kingdom for him. Sabinus also, by letters, accused Archelaus to Cesar.

5. Now, when Archelaus had sent in his papers to Cesar, who in his letter showed that he had treated his father's testament, with the account of Herod's money, and with Ptolemy, who brought Herod's seal, he so expected the event; but when Cesar had read these papers, and Varus's and Sabineus's letters, with the account of the money, and what were the annual revenues of the kingdom, and understood that Antipas had also sent letters to lay claim to the kingdom, he summoned his friends together, and to know their own affairs and Antipas's, the son of Agrippus, 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 Antipas was a very orator, and a bitter enemy to Archelaus, spoke first to this purpose: that "it was ridiculous in Archelaus to plead now to have the kingdom given him, since he had in reality taken already the power over it to himself, before Cesar had granted it to him: and appealed to those bold actions of his, in destroying so many at the Jewish festival, and, if the men had acted unjustly, it was but fit the punishing of them should have been executed without the consent 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 Caesar, by usurping that authority before it was determined for him by Caesar, but, if he owned himself to be a private person, his case was much worse, since he who was putting in for the kingdom, could by no means expect to have that power granted him, of which he had already deprived Caesar [by taking it to himself.] He also touched sharply upon him, and appealed to his courage in the company of the army, and that he was 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 public occasion, and indeed doing such things, than which he could devise no greater if he had been already settled in the kingdom by Caesar. He also ascribed to him the releasing of the prisoners that were in the hippoclone, and many other things, that either had been certainly done by him, or were believed to be done, and easily might be believed to have been done, because they were of such a nature, as to be usually done by young men, and by such as, out of a desire of rising on the preceding occasion, or out of the desire to do such things, than which he could devise no greater if he had been already settled in the kingdom by Caesar. 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 thence the multitude took the handle of his conduct. He charged Archelaus cosectively with the murder of 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 manner of an actor on the stage, but every night making mirth for having gotten the government, he would appear to be the same Archelaus with regard to Caesar, if he granted him the kingdom, which he hath been to his father, as if he had then danger and singing as though an enemy of his were fallen, and not as though a man were carried to his funeral, that was so nearly related, and had been so great a benefactor to him. But he said that the greatness of the act was such, that because of the belief of Caesar to obtain the government by his grant, he had before acted in all things as he could have acted if Caesar himself, who ruled all, had fixed him firmly in the government. And when he was presented to the people in mourning, was the bloody slaughter of those about the temple, and the impiety of it, as done at the festival; and how they were also like sacrifices themselves, some of whom were foreigners, and others from all other countries. The whole temple was full of dead bodies; and all this was done, not by an alien, but by one who pretended to the lawful title of a king, that he might complete the wicked tyranny which his nation which, had insinuated, and which is hated by all men. On which account his father never so much as dreamed of making him his successor in the kingdom, when he was of a sound mind, because he knew his disposition; and in his former and more authentic testament, he appointed his antagonist Antipas to succeed; but that Archelaus was called by his father to that dignity, when he was in a dying condition, both of body and mind, while Antipas was called upon when he was recovered in his testament, and of such strength of body as made him capable of managing his own affairs; and if his father had the like notion of him formerly that he hath now showed, yet hath he given a sufficient specimen what a king he is like. For when he habed [in the ]power of Caesar of that power of disposing 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 had confirmed what he had said by producing many witnesses from among Archelaus's own relations, he made an end of his pleading. But Antipater stood up, and pleaded for Archelaus, and said, "That what had been 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 those, who are the authors of such things, are not only wicked in all their injury, but do it on themselves, but in forcing other persons to arrange themselves upon them. Now, it is evident that what these did in way of opposition was done under pretense indeed against Archelaus, but in reality against Caesar, who indeed was the real commander, and in that he attacked and slew those who were sent by Archelaus, and who came only to put a stop to their doing. They had no regard, either to God or to the festival, whom Antipater yet is not yet accounted for his own, as he is to his indulgence of an enmity to Archelaus, or to his hatred of virtue and justice. For as to those who begin such tumults, and first set about such unrighteous actions, they are the men who force those that punish them to besiege themselves, arms 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 assassins, for nothing which is here accused of injustice has been done by Archelaus, but by its authors; nor are those things evil in themselves, but so represented only in order to do harm to Archelaus. Such are these men's inclinations to do an injury to a man that he of his own accord has chosen, and that he has acquainted with them, and that hath ever lived in friendship with them; for that stage to this testament, was made by the king when he was of a greater mind, and so ought not to be accounted more than his former testament: and that for this reason, because Caesar is therein left to be the judge and disposer of all therein contained; and for Caesar, he will not, to be sure, at all imitate the Hellenistic ways, nor any thing that Beelzebub or Herod's whole life, had on all occasions been joint partakers of power with him, and yet did zealously endeavor to injure his determination, while they have not themselves had the same respect that they had for the power of Caesar will not therefore disdain the testament of a man whom he had entirely supported, of his friend and confederate, and that which is committed to him in trust, to ratify; nor will Caesar's will be altered, inasmuch as the king of kings, by Herod's will, adheres to the augmentation of his power, and uncontroverted through all the habitable world, initiates the wickedness of these men in condemning a king as a madman, and as having lost his reason, while he hath bequeathed the succession to the child of that kingdom; it is evident that Caesar'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 Caesar's determination."
fell into a distemper, and died of it; and letters came from Varus, the president of Syriza, which informed Caesar of the revolt of the Jews; for, after Archelaus was taken, the Jews, in our tumult. So Varus, since he was there himself, brought the authors of the disturbance to punishment; and when he had restrained them for the most part from this sedition, which was a great deal too hard to be stopped, he took one legion of his army to Jerusalem to keep the Jews quiet, who were now very fond of innovation. Yet did not this at all avail to put an end to that their sedition; for after Varus was gone away, and the tumult became greater, and greatly distressed the Jews, relying on the forces that were left there, that they would by their multitude protect him: for he made use of all, and used all too grossly against them, despising the Jews and giving them so great a disturbance, that at length they rebelled; for he used force in seizing the citadels, and zealously pressed on the search after the king's money, in then on altars. Now Sabine was a worshiper of the love of gain, and his extraordinary covetousness.

2. But on the approach of Pentecost, which is a festival of ours, so called from the days of our forfathers, a great many ten thousands of men gave an assembly under the pretended pretense of the festival, but out of their indignation at the madness of Sabinus, and at the injuries he offered them. A great number there was of Galileans, and Idumeans, and many men from Jericho, which was a great city, most of them on the southern, on the east quarter; but the third band held the western part of the city where the king's palace was. Their work tended entirely to besiege the Romans, and to enclose them on their number, and of their resolutions, who had little regard to their lives, but were very desirous not to be overcome, while they thought it a point of prudence to overcome their enemies. They were determined, and promised, that if Varus, and, as he used to do, was very pressing with him, and entreated him to come quickly to his assistance, because the forces he had left were in imminent danger, and would probably be taken. But while he did himself get up to the highest tower of the fortress Phasaelus, which had been built in honor of Phasaelus, king Herod's brother, and called so when the Parthians had brought him to his death. So Sabine, upon the signal to the Romans to fall upon the Jews, although he did not himself venture so much as to come down to his friends, and thought he might expect that they would readily die, on account of his avarice. However, the Romans ventured to make a sally out of the place, and a terrible battle ensued; wherein, though it is true the Romans beat their adversaries, yet, for all that, they were still continued, and they cast stones at the Romans, partly with their bands and partly with slings, as being much used to those exercises. And the archers also in array did the Romans a great deal of mischief; because they used their hands to an exceeding great extent, and because the others were at an utter loss what to do; for when they tried to shoot their arrows against the Jews upwards, those arrows could not reach them, insomuch that the Jews were easily too hard for them, and they would do so to the Romans, who were greatly distressed by what was done, set fire to the cloisters so privately, that those who were gotten upon them did not perceive it. This fire breasted, with combustible matter, caught hold immediately on the roof of the cloisters; so the wood, which was full of pitch and wax, and whose gold was laid on it with silver, was set on fire so instantly, and those vast works, which were of the highest value and esteem, were destroyed utterly, while those that were on the roof unexpectedly perished at the same time; for, as the roof tumbled down, they held them down with it, and others of them were killed by their enemies who encompassed them. There was a great number more, who, out of despair of saving their lives, and out of astonishment at the misery that happened, 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 were not all encompassed, they were all unarm'd men, and their courage failing them; their wild fury being now not able to help them, because they were destitute of armor; inasmuch, that, of those that went up to the top of the roof, not one was left, who were so unarm'd, as were the Romans, and Sabine got openly four hundred talents.

3. But this calamity of the Jews' friends, who fell in this battle, grieved them, as did also this plundering of the money dedicated to God in the temple. Accordingly, that bode of them which continued best together, and was the most warlike, encompassed the palace, and threatened to set fire to it, and kill all that were in it. Yet still they commanded them to go out presently, and they would not; they promised, that if they did not hurt them, nor Sabine neither; at which time the greatest part of the king's troops deserted to them, while Rufus and Gratus, who had three thousand of the most warlike of Herod's subjects, were the only men who joined with them, who, when they went over to the Romans. There was also a band of horsemen under the command of Rufus, which itself went over to the Romans also. However, the Jews went on with the siege, and dug mines under the palace walls, and besought those that were gone over to the other side, not to be their hindrance, now they had such a proper opportunity for the recovery of their country's ancient liberty; yet they were still desirous of going away with his soldiers, but was not able to trust himself with the enemy; on account of what mischief he had already done them; and he took this great [pretended] lenity of theirs for a sign that they were disposed to comply with them: and so, because he expected that Varus was coming, he still bore the siege.

4. Now, at this time there were ten thousand other disorders in Judaea, which were like tumults; 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 whose time there were 18,000 workmen continually employed in rebuilding and repairing that temple, as Josephus informs us, Antig. b. xx. ch. i. sect. 7. See the note on that place.
particular, two thousand of Herod's old soldiers, who were always discontented, 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 mountainous parts, by the military skill of those who had joined him, and the zeal of his followers, he was there, and saved what he could.

5. There was also Judas, the son of that Exe-kius who had been head of the robbers; which Exe-kius was a very strong man, and had with great skill and courage been caught at the destruction of Thebes in Judea. This Judas having got together a multitude of men of a profligate character about Sephoris in Galilee, made an assault upon the palace there, and seized upon all the weapons that were laid up there, and seized the same 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 against 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 extra-ordinary valor in doing injuries.

6. This Exe-kius, 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 had great things committed to his care. The king had had them kept at the disposal of such persons, and he 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 not only ruled over the royal palace at Jericho, and plundered what was left in it. He also set fire to many others of the king's houses in several places of the country, and utterly destroyed them, and ejected those that had been with him to take what was left in 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 Peran, who were a disordered body of men, and fought rather in a bold than in a regular manner; they were got together as were those belonging to Simon. And thus did a great and wild fury spread itself over the nation, because they had no king to keep the multitude in good order, and because those foreigners, who came to reduce the seditions to sobriety, did, on the contrary, set them more in a flame, because of the injuries they offered them, and the various management of their affairs.

7. At this time, also Alcimus, a person neither eminent by the dignity of his progenitors, nor for any great wealth he was possessed of, but one that had in all respects been a shepherd only, and was not known by any body; yet because he was tall and strong, and had otherwise the strength of his hands, he was so bold as to 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 nothing to escape it. For he lost his life in the last day of the month of Nisan, in the seventh year of the reign of Tiberius, the Roman governor. 

*Unless this Judas, the son of Exe-kius, be the same with that Thaddeus, mentioned Acts v. 36, Josephus must have omitted him; for that other Thaddeus, whom he afterwards mentions, is the Roman governor, but, ch. vi. sect. 1, is much too late to correspond to him that is mentioned in the Acts. The names Thaddeus, Zabul, and Judas, are but little. See above, p. 385. See also his annals at A. M. 4601. However, since Josephus does not pretend to reckon up the heads sign. He had also four brethren, who were tall and strong, and were believed to be superior to others in the strength of their hands and therefore were encouraged to him at great things, and thought that strength of theirs would support them in retaining the kingdom. Each of these had band of men of his own; 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 distrust on his own men. And it was not 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; he was also called king, and had no king but he. He also, as well as his brethren, slew a great many, both of the Romans and of the king's forces, and managed matters with the like hatred to each of Ptolemy: The king's ministers, because of the licentious conduct they had been allowed under Herod's government; and they fell upon the Romans, because of the injuries they had so lately received from them. But in process of time this remained more cruel to all the soldiers than before, nor could any one escape from one or other of these seditions, since they slew some out of the hopes of gain, and others from a mere custom of slaying men. They once attacked a company of Jews, and killed seven hundred and forty-two of them, and burned the village of Arius, the centurion, who commanded the company, and shot forty of the best of his foot-soldiers; but the rest of them were affrighted at their slaughers, and made their escape. And they betook themselves by the 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 time, and of those that were expelled the Romans; but did not their own nation also a great deal of mischief. Yet were they afterward subdued; one of them in a fight with Gratus; another with Ptolemy; Archelaus also took the eldest of them prisoner, while the last of them was so dejected at the others' misfortune, and saw so plainly that he had no way now left to save himself, his army being worn away with sickness and continual fighting, that he took to flight, and left to Archelaus, upon his promise and oath to God [to preserve his life.] But these things came to pass a good while afterward.

8. And now Judea was full of robberies; and, as the seditions of the seditions lit upon any one to head them, he was created a king immediately, in order to do mischief to the public. They were in some small measure indeed, and in small matters, hurtful to the Romans: but the murders they committed upon their own people lasted a long while.

9. As soon as Varus was once informed of the state of Judea by Sabinus writing to him, he was afraid to take any great care of the two other legions, for there were three 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 and other men had in view, to assist those that were then besieged in Judea. He also gave order, that all that were sent out for this expedition, should make haste to Ptolemais. The citizens of Berytus also gave him fine yachts, and got ready for his fleet, by means of all those ten thousand disorders in Judea, which he tells us were them abroad, see sect. 4 and 8, the Theda- days of the Acts might be the head of one of those seditions, though not particularly named by him. Thus he treated us here, sect. 5, of the Phasael, sect. 6, and of the two mothers, sect. 7 and 13: sect. 7, that certain of the seditions came and burned the royal palace at Amathus, or Bethshemesh, upon the river Jordan. Perhaps their leader who is not named by Josephus, might be this Thaddeus.
An Embassage of the Jews to Caesar, and how Caesar confirmed Herod's Testament.

11. So when Varus had settled these affairs, and had placed the former legion at Jerusalem, he returned back to Antioch; but as for Varus he had new sources of trouble come upon him at Rome, on the occasions following: for an embassage of the Jews was come to Rome, Varus having permitted the nation to send it, that they might petition for the liberty of their nation and their own laws. Now, the number of the ambassadors that were sent by the authority of the nation was fifty, to which they joined above eight thousand of the Jews that were at Rome already. Hereupon Cesar gave them a hearing; but as for the chief men among the Romans, in the temple of Apollo, which he had built at a vast charge; whither the ambassadors came, and a multitude of the Jews that were their friends accompanied them, as did also Archelaus and his friends; but as for the several kinsmen which Archelaus had, they would not join themselves with him, out of their hatred to him; and yet they thought it too gross a thing for them to refuse him; and his own people, and these against him, as supposing it would be a disgrace to them in Cesar's opinion to think of thus acting in opposition to a man of their own kindred. Philip also was come hither out of Syria, by the persuasion of Varus, with this purpose, intention, to assist his brother [Archelaus] for Varus was his great friend; but still so, that if there should any change happen in the form of government, (which Varus suspected there would,) and if any distribution of the provinces was made, to the count of the number that desired the liberty of living by their own laws, that he might not be disappointed, but might have his share in it.

2. Now upon the liberty that was given the Jews, the Romans sent to the Jews, who had hope obtained to dissolve a kingly government, to take themselves to accuse Herod of his iniquities; and they declared, that he was indeed in a name a king, but in reality he had that uncontrollable authority which tyrants exercise over their subjects, and had made use of that authority for the destruction of the Jews, and did not abstain from making many innovations among them, such as his own inclinations; and that whereas there were a great many who perished by that destruction he brought upon them, so many indeed as no other history relates, that they survived were far more miserable than they died, not only by the anxiety they were in from his looks and disposition towards them, but from the danger their estates were in of being taken away by him: that he did never leave off adorning those cities that he possessed, but was inhabited by foreigners; but so that the cities belonging to his own government were ruined, and utterly destroyed: that whereas, when he took the kingdom, it was in an extraordinary flourish, that he had reduced it to the utmost degree of poverty; and when, upon unjust pretences, he had slain many of the nobility, he took away their estates; and when he permitted any of them to live, he condemned them to the forfeiture of what they possessed. And, besides the annual impositions which he laid upon every one of them, they were to make liberal presents to himself, to his horses, and to his domestics and friends, as were vouchsafed the favor 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 want of the liberty 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 a smaller pleasure to the sufferers 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
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had power given him to rule over us; and that although their nation had passed through many subversions and alterations of government; that they had no account of any calamity they had ever been under, that could be compared with this which Herod had brought upon their nation; that it was for this reason that they did not dare to lay his punishment to his account, and yet more, what has been said above about Jerusalem, 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 same manner for his father, in order to gratify him, and were ready to oblige him in other points also, if they could meet with any degree of moderation from him: but that he seemed to be afraid lest he should not be deemed Herod's own son, and adopt to himself all the blots about any descendant of that line, and let the nation understand his meaning, and this before his dominion was well established, since the power of disposing of it belonged to Caesar, who could either give it to him or not, as he pleased. That he did give it, received of his father, in return for his services, what was a testimony of his being a prince, and made him in some degree stand in the same light of his own countrymen at the temple. How, then, could they avoid that just hatred of him who, to the rest of his barbarity, had added this as one of the most heinous. They have openly and contrived him in the exercise of his authority? Now, the main thing they desired was this, "That they might be delivered from kingcraft and the like forms of government," and might 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, whether they be really a seditions people, and generally fond of innovations, or whether they would not be governed in a manner that 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 ascriptions, and said, "That, as for Herod, since he had been thus accused all the time of his life, it was not fit for those that might have accused him of lesser crimes than those now mentioned, and might have procured him to be punished during his lifetime, to bring an accusation against him now he is dead. He also attributed the actions of Herod, as some have said, to a disposition of their king, imitating what was done by his countryman Antiochus 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 same manner for his father, in order to gratify him, and were ready to oblige him in other points also, if they could meet with any degree of moderation from him: but that he seemed to be afraid lest he should not be deemed Herod's own son, and adopt to himself all the blots about any descendant of that line, and let the nation understand his meaning, and this before his dominion was well established, since the power of disposing of it belonged to Caesar, who could either give it to him or not, as he pleased. That he did give it, received of his father, in return for his services, what was a testimony of his being a prince, and made him in some degree stand in the same light of his own countrymen at the temple. How, then, could they avoid that just hatred of him who, to the rest of his barbarity, had added this as one of the most heinous. They have openly and contrived him in the exercise of his authority? Now, the main thing they desired was this, "That they might be delivered from kingcraft and the like forms of government," and might 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, whether they be really a seditions people, and generally fond of innovations, or whether they would not be governed in a manner that they might have governors of any sort of moderation set over them."

* If any one compare that divine prediction concerning the tyrannical power which Jewish kings would exercise over them, they would be foolish to suppose it to prefer it before their ancient theocracy or aristocracy. 1 Sam. viii. 1-22. Antiq. b. vii. ch. iv. sect. 4, he will meet their superficial understanding in the days of Herod, and that to such a degree that the nation now at last seem sorely to repent of such their ancient choice in opposition to God's better advice for them, and had much rather be subject to even a Pagan Roman government, and their deputies, than to be any longer under the oppression of the family of Herod; which request of theirs Augustus did not one grant them: but did it for the one half of that nation in a few years afterward, upon some complaints by the Jews made against the king, who, under the name of so-called of ethnarch, which Augustus only now show him, soon took upon him the innocence and tyranny of his father king Herod, as the remaining part of it he would inform us, and particularly ch. xii. sect. 2."

"This is not true. See Antiq. b. xiv. ch. ix. sect. 5, and Antiq. b. xiv. ch. xi. sect. 5, and b. xiv. ch. xii. sect. 5, and ch. xiv. sect. 3, and ch. xvi. ch. xiv. sect. 3, and ch. xvi. sect. 5. Since Josephus informs us that Archelaus had only the title of king of Herod, and presently informs us farther, that Archelaus's annual income, after an abatement of one quarter for the present, was 600 talents, we may therefore gather pretty nearly what Archelaus's annual income was. I mean about 1000 talents, which, at the known value of 600 shekels as a talent, and about 2s. 10d. to a shekel, in the days of Josephus, on Antiq. b. vii. ch. xii. sect. 2, amounts to £280,000 sterling per annum: which income, though great in itself, bearing no proportion to his vast expenses everywhere visible in Josephus, and to the vast sums he left behind him in his will, ch. viii, his lifetime, to bring an accusation against him now he is dead. He also attributed the actions of Herod, as some have said, to a disposition of their king, imitating what was done by his countryman Antiochus 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 same manner for his father, in order to gratify him, and were ready to oblige him in other points also, if they could meet with any degree of moderation from him: but that he seemed to be afraid lest he should not be deemed Herod's own son, and adopt to himself all the blots about any descendant of that line, and let the nation understand his meaning, and this before his dominion was well established, since the power of disposing of it belonged to Caesar, who could either give it to him or not, as he pleased. That he did give it, received of his father, in return for his services, what was a testimony of his being a prince, and made him in some degree stand in the same light of his own countrymen at the temple. How, then, could they avoid that just hatred of him who, to the rest of his barbarity, had added this as one of the most heinous. They have openly and contrived him in the exercise of his authority? Now, the main thing they desired was this, "That they might be delivered from kingcraft and the like forms of government," and might 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, whether they be really a seditions people, and generally fond of innovations, or whether they would not be governed in a manner that they might have governors of any sort of moderation set over them."

4. When Caesar had heard these pleadings, he dissoloved the assembly; but a few days afterward he appointed Archelaus, not indeed to be king of the Jews, but, by an absolute grant of authority for one half of that which had been subject to Herod, and promised to give him the royal dignity hereafter, if he governed his part virtuously. But as for the other half, he divided it into two parts, and gave it to other of his friends, to Philip and to Antipas, which Antipas who disputed with Archelaus for the whole kingdom. Now, to him it was that Perea and Galilee paid their tribute, which amounted annually to two hundred talents, which Archelaus and Antipas, as their own share of the tribute, paid to Archelaus, but had now now given the fourth part of that tribute taken off by the order of Caesar, who decreed them that mitigation, because they did not join in this revolt with the rest of the province. The tetrarch of the cities which paid tribute to Archelaus, Strato's Tower, and Sebaste, with Joppa and Jerusalem; for as to Gaza, and Gedara, and Hippos, they were Grecian cities, which Caesar separated from their province, and ordered all those which might in future be added to Syria. Now the tribute-money that came to Archelaus every year from his own dominions, amounted to six hundred talents. 5. And so much came to Herod's sons from the provinces, as they held. But Seleucus, besides what her brother left her by testament, which were Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Piasa, and five hundred thousand [drachma] of coined silver, Caesar made her a present of a royal habita-

sect. 1, and ch. xii. sect. 1, the rest must have arisen either from his condemnation of those great men's estates to the body of the state, the laying up of their estates, the saving of their lives, or from some other heavy methods of oppression which such brave tyrants usually exerted, in order to gratify the jects; or rather from these several methods put together, all which seemed very much too small for his expenses, being drawn from no former 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 David's sepulchre, but concealed from the people. See the note on Antiq. b. vi. ch. xx. sect. 3.

Then Philip, on Lysanius, on Luke, ch. vi. ver. 1, here quoted by Dr. HUDSON: "When Josephus says, that some part of the house (or possession,) of Zeodorus, i.e., Athlaius, which was allotted to Pil-pe, he thereby declares that the larger part of it belonged to another; the other was Lysanius, whom Luke mentions, the same who is called by Josephus the prince of the same country called Abilene, from the city Abil, and by others Chalcodai, from the city Chalcodai, when the government of the east was under Antipas, and this after Philip's death, from the time of Abilene, from the time of Lysanius, this country came to be commonly called the Country of Lysanius: and, as far as the death of the former Lysanius, it appears that this Abil was not yet a separate country, it being called again the territorium of Lysanius." However, since Josephus elsewhere, Antiq. ch. vii. sect. 1, clearly distinguishes Abilaius from Chalcodai, Athlaius must here so far mistaken.
tion at Aesclan; in all her revenues amounted to sixty talents by the year, and her dwelling-house was within Archelaus's government.

The rest also of the king's relations received what his testament allotted them. Moreover, Caesar made a present each of his two virgin daughters, besides what their father left them, of two hundred and fifty thousand (drams) of silver, and married them to Phersona's sons; he also granted all that was bequeathed to himself to those sons, and such a sum as he had of the hundred talents, excepting a few of the vessels, which he reserved for himself; and they were acceptable to him, not so much for the great value they were of, as because they were memorials of the king.

**CHAP. XII.
Concerning the spurious Alexander.**

1. WHERE the affair had been thus settled by Caesar, a certain young man, by birth a Jew, but brought up by a Roman freed-man in the city of Sidon, ingrained himself into the kindred of Herod, by the resemblance of his countenance, with the highest birth also, and the name of Alexander the son of Herod, whom he had slain; and this was an incitement to him to endeavor to obtain the government, so he took him to him, as an assistant, a man of his own country, (one that was an old enemy to the Jews) and the more so, because he 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 Alexanderus should survive, and punish the 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 thou wilt not impose upon me, thou shalt 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 matter of villainy, to be brought 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. So Caesar, upon observing the spurious Alexander, to be a strong active man, and fit to work with his hands, that he might not break his promise to him, put him among those that were to row among the mariners; but he slew him that imposed such a cheat upon the prince, and put him to the same delusion; and not only other people, but also all those that had been great with Herod, or had a kindness for him, joined themselves to this man as to their king. The cause of it was this, that a man were glad of his pretences, which were seconded by the likeness of his countenance, which made those that had been acquainted with Alexander strongly to believe that he was no other but the very same person, which they also confirmed to others; and hence the report went about him that he was coming to Rome, the whole multitude of the Jews, that were there went out to meet him, writing to Drusus to receive him. But Caesar, hearing he was escaped, and being very joyful on account of his mother's family. And when he was come, he was carried in a royal litter through the streets, and all the ornaments and about him were such a king as had delivered Greece, the palace where 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 priest's house, the son of the Sie, being put in his room, while he was still living.

* Spenheim seasonably observes here, that it was forbidden the Jews to marry their brother's wife, when they were supposed in such affairs as were of great concern to him; yet, having some suspicion it might be so, he sent one Celadus, a freed-man of his, and one that had conversed with the young men themselves, and bade him bring Alexander to him into his presence, so he might judge him; but he was more accurate in judging about him than the rest of the multitude. Yet did he not 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 unacquainted with Alexander. For this spurious Alexander had his hands rough by the labors he had been put to, and instead of that softness of body which the other had, this as derived from his delicate and generous dispositions, this, if 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 endeavor to recover that dominion which was due to his family, and in which he himself 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 should survive, and punish the 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 thou wilt not impose upon me, thou shalt 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 matter of villainy, to be brought 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. So Caesar, upon observing the spurious Alexander, to be a strong active man, and fit to work with his hands, that he might not break his promise to him, put him among those that were to row among the mariners; but he slew him that imposed such a cheat upon the prince, and put him to the same delusion; and not only other people, but also all those that had been great with Herod, or had a kindness for him, joined themselves to this man as to their king. The cause of it was this, that a man were glad of his pretences, which were seconded by the likeness of his countenance, which made those that had been acquainted with Alexander strongly to believe that he was no other but the very same person, which they also confirmed to others; and hence the report went about him that he was coming to Rome, the whole multitude of the Jews, that were there went out to meet him, writing to Drusus to receive him. But Caesar, hearing he was escaped, and being very joyful on account of his mother's family. And when he was come, he was carried in a royal litter through the streets, and all the ornaments about him were such a king as had delivered Greece, the palace where 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 priest's house, the son of the Sie, being put in his room, while he was still living.
ANTIOCHIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

2. But in the tenth year of Archelaus's government, both his brethren and the principal men of Judea, who saw the Romans being used to hear his barbarous and tyrannical usage of them, accused him before Caesar, and that especially because they knew he had broken the commands of Caesar, which obliged him to behave himself with moderation. When Coponius, Caesar, hearing that he was called before him, was very angry, and called for Archelaus's steward, who took care of his affairs at Rome, and whose name was Archelaus also, and thinking it beneath him to write to Archelaus, he bade him sail away as soon as possible, and bring him to Rome: so the man made haste in his voyage, and when he came into Judea he found Archelaus feasting with his friends; so he told him what Caesar had sent him about, and hastened away. And when he was come (to Rome,) Archelaus, upon hearing what certain accusers of his had to say, and what reply he could make, both banished him, and appointed Vienus, a city of Gaul, to be the place of his habitation, and make his money away from him.

3. Now, before Archelaus was gone up to Rome upon this message, he related this dream to his friends, that "he saw ears of corn, in number ten, full of wheat, perfectly ripe, which ears, as he went toward them, were daunted by oxen." And when he was awake and gotten up, because the vision appeared of great importance to him, he sent for the diviners, whose study was especially about dreams. And when some were of one opinion, and another of another, (for all their interpretations did not agree,) Simon, a man of the sect of the Essenes, desired leave to speak his mind freely, and said, "that the vision denoted a change in the affairs of Archelaus, and that not for the better: that oxen, because that animal takes uneasy pains in his labors, denoted afflictions, and indeed denoted further, a change of affairs; because that land which is plowed cannot remain in its former state; and that the ears of corn being tan, determined the like number of years, because an ear of corn grows in one year; and that the time of Archelaus's government was over." And thus did the king, the day after this dream came first to Archelaus, the other Archelaus, that was sent to Judea by Caesar to call him away, came hither also.

4. The like accident befell Glaphyra his wife, who was the daughter of king Archelaus, who also was slain by the Jews; for she saw in her sleep a man with a woman, and a virgin, to Alexander the son of Herod; and brother of Archelaus; but since it fell out so that Alexander was slain by his father, she was married to Juba, the king of Lydia, and when he was dead, she was married to Antiochus, who shared the kingdom with her father, Archelaus divorced his former wife Mariamme, and married her, so great was his affection for this Glaphyra; who, during her marriage to him, saw the following dream. She thought she saw Alexander standing by a tree at which she rejoiced, and embraced him with great affection; but that he complained of her, and said, O Glaphyra! thou provest that saying to be true, which assures us that women are to be trusted. Didst thou not pledge thy faith to me? and wast thou not married to me when thou wast 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 henceforth, that had I 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 improvident manner hast entered into my house, and hast been married to Archelaus thy husband, and my brother. However, I will not forget thy former kind affection for me, but will set thee free from every such reproachful action, and cause thee to be mine again, as before. Then when she had related this to her female companions, in a few days time she departed this life.

5. Now, I do not think these histories improper for the present discourse, both because my discourse now proceeds over the Jews. Moreover, I am also on account of the advantage hence to be drawn, as well as for the confirmation of the immortality of the soul, as the providence of God over human affairs, I thought them fit to be added. And then, if any one does not believe such relations, let him indeed enjoy his own opinions but let him not hinder another, that would thereby encourage himself in virtue. So Archelaus's country was laid to the province of Syria; and Cyrenius, one that had been tribune of the people by Caesar to take account of the people's effects in Syria, and to sell the house of Archelaus.

BOOK XVIII.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM THE BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS TO THE DEPARTURE OF THE JEWS FROM BABYLON.

CHAP. I.

How Cyrenius was sent by Caesar to make a Tactation of Syria and Judea; and how Coponius was sent to be Procurator of Judea: concerning Judea, Galilea, and Gilead; and concerning the Sects that were among the Jews.

1. Now Cyrenius, a Roman senator, and one who had gone through other magistracies, and had passed through them till he had been consul, and one who, on other accounts, was of great dignity, came at this time to Syria, with a commission either sent by Caesar to be a judge of that nation, and to take an account of their substance: Coponius also, a man of the equestrian order, was sent together with him, to have the supreme power over the Jews. Moreover, Cyrenius came himself into Judea, which was now added to the province of Syria, to take an account of their substance, and to dispose of Archelaus's country, although at the beginning they took the report of a tactation heinously, yet did they leave off any further opposition to it, by the persuasion of Joazar, who was the son of Boethus, and high priest; so they showed himself, but after this, gave an account of their estates without any dispute about it. Yet was there one Judas, a Gaulonite, as he has signified in the books that go before these, as if he had still called him a Gaulonite in those Antiquities before, as well as in that particular place, as Dees Adrich observes, On the War, b. ii. ch. vii. sect. i. Nor can any one imagine why he should here call him a Gaulonite, when in the 6th section following here, as well as twice Of The War, he still calls him a Gaulonite. At the same time, as he has signified, where Joshua was de-
of a city whose name was Gamala, who taking with him Saddouk, a Pharisee, became zealous to draw them to a revolt, who both said, that this taxation was no better than an introduction to slavery, and exhorted the nation to assert their liberty of philosophy they could, and at the same time, thus upon their joining with one another in such counsels as might be successful, and for their own advantage; and this especially, if they would set about great exploits, and not grow more and more by dissensions. For, besides that they said with pleasure, and this bold attempt proceeded to a great height. All sorts of misfortunes also sprang from these men, and the nation was infected with this doctrine to an incredible degree: one violent war came upon them after another, and we lost our friends who used to alleviate our pains; there were also very great robberies and murders of our principal men. This was done in pretense indeed for the public welfare, but the results were very contrary, for, as they gave of gain to themselves: whence arose seditions, and from them murders of men, which sometimes fell on those of their own people, (by the madness of these men) sometimes on those of another; and their desire was that none of the adverse party might be left, and sometimes on their enemies; a famine also coming upon us, reduced us to the last degree of despair, as did also the taking and despoiling of all things abroad. And the sacrifices increased so high, that the very temple of God was burnt down by their enemies' fire. Such were the consequences of this, that the customs of our fathers were altered, and such a change was made in us, that the things which used to bring all to destruction, these men occasioned by their thus conspiring together; for Judas and Saddouk, who excited a fourth philosophic sect among us, and had a great many followers besides, and were at war with tumults at present, and laid the foundations of our future miseries by this system of philosophy, which we were before unacquainted withal, concerning which we will discourse a little, and then we will return to the sect of the Essenes, and to the sect of the Sadducees, and the third sort of opinions was that of those called Pharisees; of which sect, although I have already spoken in the second book of the Jewish war, yet will I a little touch upon them now.

3. Now, for the Pharisees, they live meanly, and despise delicacies in diet, and they follow the conduct of reason; and what that prescribes to them as good for them, they do; and they ought earnestly to strive to observe reason's dictates for practice. They also pay a respect to such as are in years; nor are they so bold as to contradict them in any thing which they have introduced; and when they determine that all things are done by fate, they do not take away the freedom of men from acting as they think fit; since their notion is, that it hath pleased God to make a temperament, whereby what he wills is done, but so that the will of man can set virtually or viciously. They also believe, that souls have an eternal reward or recompense, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be determined in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to reward or punish, on account of which doctrines, they are able greatly to persuade the body of the people, and whatsoever they do about divine worship, prayers, and sacrifices, they perform them according to their direction; in some cities they make great attestations to them on account of their 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 body, and that there is no resurrection of the body, and that all 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 instructions of their own; they are excluded from the common court of the temple, but offer their sacrifices themselves; yet is their course of life better than that of other men; and they entirely addict themselves to husbandry. It also deserves to be noticed, how much they exceed all other men that addict themselves to virtue, and this in righteousness: and indeed to such a degree, that as it hath never appeared among any other men, neither Greeks nor barbarians, so, not for a short time, yet for a long while among them. This is demonstrated by that institution of theirs, which will not suffer any thing to hinder them from having all things in common, no more of his own wealth than he who hath nothing at all. There are about four thousand men that live in this way; and neither marry wives, nor are desirous to keep servants; as thinking the latter tempts men to be unjust, and the former gives the handle to domestic quarrels, but as they live by themselves, they minister one to another. They also appoint certain stewards to receive the incomes of their revenues, and of the fruits of the ground, such are godlike, and priests who are to get their corn and their food ready for them. They none of them differ from others of the Essenes in their way of living, but do the most reasonable those Dece, who are called Polisists.[dwellers in cities.]

* It seems not very improbable to me, that this Saddouk, the Pharisee, was the same man of whom the Rabbins speak, the son of the impostor or imposters of the impiety or infidelity of the Sadducees; nor perhaps had the men this name of Saddouk till this very time, nor is this a distinct sect of the Pharisees. See the note on xiii. ch. 2. sect. 5. and Dea Pri- dencius, as there quoted; nor, do we, that I know of, find the least footstep of such impiety or infidelity of these men before this time, the Rabbins not assuring us that they began about the days of John the Baptist, a. 1. ch. lv. 

† See the preceding note.

‡ It seems by what Josephus says here, and Philo himself elsewhere, Op. p. 678, that these Essenes did not use to go up to the Jewish festivals at Jerusalem, or to offer sacrifices there, which may be one great reason why they say they do not worship God in the places of the books of the New Testament; though in the Apostolical Constitutions they are mentioned as those that observe the customs of the Essenes, and others mention no such ill character laid upon them as is laid upon the other sects among that people. [Who these were is Josephus, or K'vono in Strabo, among the Pseudepigrapha Dece, who is not unlikely to be determined. Scaliger offers no improbable conjecture, that some of these Dece lived alone like monks, in tents or caves; but that those of them together, the so-called built cities, and thence were called by such a name as implied the same.}
6. But of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy, Judas the Galilean was the author. These men agree in all other things with the Pharisaic, but; 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 kind of death, nor indeed do they heed the deaths of their relations and friends, nor can any sort of fear make them say 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 am I afraid that any thing I have said of them should be disbelieved, but rather fear that what I have said is beneath their resolution they show when they undergo this distresser, who was our procurator, and who occasioned the Jews to be grieved with it by the badness 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 Honor of Caesar. Concerning the Succession of the Priests and Procurators: also what befell Phraates and the Parthians.

1. When Cyrenius had now disposed of Archelaus’s money, and when the taxings were come to a conclusion, which were made in the thirty-seventh of Caesar’s victory over Antony at Actium, he deprived Joascer of the high priesthood, which dignity had been conferred on him by the multitude, and he appointed Ananus, the son of Seth, to be high priest; while Herod and Philip had each of them received their own titulacies. The office of the high priest being thereby, he had also built a wall about Sepphoris, (which is the security of all Galilee,) and made it the metropolis of the country. He also built a wall round Bethanamphitha, which was itself a city also, and called it the name of the emperor’s wife. When Philip also had built Panecas, a city at the fountains of Jordan, he named it Caesarea. He also advanced the village Bethsajda, situate at the lake of Gennesareth, up to the dignity of a city, both by the number of inhabitants it contained, and its other greatness, and called it by the name of Julius, the same name with Caesar’s daughter.

2. AndCoponius, 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, the customs of the law priests the open the temple gates just after midnight. When, therefore, those gates were first opened, some of the Samaritans came privately into Jerusalem, and threw about the dead men’s bodies in the sanctuaries; on which account the Jews afterwards 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 the next day, Cononius, the procurator, with Marcus Ambivius came to be his successor in that government; under whom Salome, the sister of king Herod, died, and left to Julia (Caesar’s daughter,) James, Salome’s son, as her heir, and Phasaelis in the plain, and Archelaus, where is a great plantation of palm-trees, and their fruit is excellent in its kind. After him came Ananus Rufus, under whom died Cesar, the second emperor, in the fourtenth year of his reign, whose reign was fifty-seven years, besides six months and two days, (of which time Antonius ruled together with him fourteen years; but the duration of his life was seventy-seven years;) upon whose death Judas Cale, sole attachment to liberty, said, that God is to be our only Ruler and Lord. He also said, that he had, in a little time, and ordained Eleazar, the son of Ananus, who had been high priest before, to be high priest; which office, when he had held it for a year, Gratus delivered and gave him, and gave the high priestly title to Sisin, the son of Canithus, and when he had possessed that dignity no longer than a year, Joseph Caiphas was made his successor. When Gratus had done these things, he went back to Rome, after he had, in his last days, made some care, when Postius Pilate came as his successor.

3. And now Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favor with Tiberias, built a city of the above name with him, and called it Tiberias. He built it in the best part of Galilee, by the lake of Gennesareth. There are warm baths at a little distance from it, in a village named Emamus. Strangers came, and inhabited this city. A great number of the inhabitants of the inhabitants of the city were dispossessed, and were also; and many were necessitated by Herod to come thither from out of the country belonging to them, and were by force compelled to be its inhabitants; some of them were persons of condition, and others were such as those that were collected from all parts, to dwell in it. Nay, some of them were not quite freemen, and these he was a benefactor to, and made them free in great numbers; but obliged them to serve him, and to live by his Laws. And he enriched 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 Jewish laws, because many sepulchres were made there; but Solomon was of another mind, and built there the church of 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 Phraatas, his son, upon the occasion following. When Phraates had had legitimate sons of his own, he had also an Italian maid-servant, whose name was Themis, who had been formerly sent to Cesar, among other things, to learn of her; and she first made her his concubine, but, being a great admirer of her beauty, in process of time having a son by her, whose name was Phraatas, he made her his legitimate wife, and had a son by her, and a daughter, who was the mother of two of his legitimate sons; and he was able to persuade 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 contrive how he might be to obtain the crown 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 contradict her commands. But when he sent these persons, she was so confident 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 gave the two, the design against his father, by his mother’s assistance, with which, when the raport went, he had criminal conversation also. So he was hated for both these vices, with his subjects esteemed this [wicked] love of his mother to be nobler in his heart, than it was in his mouth, and he was by them, in a sedition, expelled of the

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8. We may here enter into the history of Nicodemus of Damascus, concerning the life of Herod, probably the first actions of his sons, he had but few good histories of those times before him.

†Num. xii. 11—16
in Syria, while Artabanus gave Armenia to Orodes, one of his own sons.

5. At this time died Antiochus, the king of Commagene; whereinupon the multitude contended with the nobility, and both sent ambassadors to Rome: for the men of power were desirous that he should be changed into that of a Roman province; as were the multitude desirous to be under kings, as their fathers had been. So the senate made a decree, that Germanicus should be sent to settle the affairs of the state, furnishing him with all 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 Setition of the Jews against Pontius Pilate, Concerning Christ, and what befell Pauline and the Jews at Rome.

† 1. But now Pilate, the procurator of Judea, removed the army from Cesarea to Jerusalem, to take their winter quarters there, in order to abate the severity of the season. So passed one day, when, in company with all 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 entry into the city, with the ensigns, both without and not those ornaments. Pilate was the first who brought those images to Jerusalem, and set them up there; which was done without the knowledge 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 request, because it would tend to the injury of Caesar, while yet he knew very well that the people of Judæa had, on the sixth day he ordered his soldiers to have their weapons privately, while he came and sat upon his judgment-seat, which place was so prepared in the open place of the city, that it concealed 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 more severe than ever, and that no less than immediate death should be their sentence, if they did not leave off disturbing him and go their ways home. But they threw themselves upon the ground, and laid their necks bare, and said they would take their death very willingly rather than the wisest and best of the Jews should be reneged over the Parthians. But when the Jews saw that Armenia, and as soon as he came thither, he had an inclination to give the government of the country given him, and sent ambassadors to Rome [for that purpose. But because Titius refused it him, and because he wanted courage, and because the Parthian king threatened him, and sent ambassadors to him to denounce war against him if he proceeded, and because he had no way to take it, and he was aware of the great authority among the Armenians about Niphates joined themselves to Artabanas, he delivered up himself to Silanus, the president of Syria, who, out of regard to his education at Rome, kept him

* This citation is now wanting.

† These Jews, as they are here called, whose blood Pilate shed, were a very Galilean Jews whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices; Luke xiii. 1, 2; these tumults being at some of the Jews’ great festivals, when they slew amongst the people; these tumults being commonly much more busy in such tumults than those of Judea and Jerusalem, as we learn from the history of Archelaus, Ant. b. xiv. ch. ix. sect. 2, and ch. x. sect. 2, 9; though indeed Josephus’ present copies may not one word of those eighteen upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and slew them, which the 4th verse of the same 15th chapter of St. Luke informs us

of. But since our gospel teaches us, Luke xii. 6, 7, that when Pilate heard of Galilee, he asked whether Jesus was a Galilean, and as a matter of course, not interrogated by Herod’s jurisdiction, he sent him to Herod. And ver. 12. The same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together, for they had been at enmity by the design of the people to get together and made a clamor 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
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

She was very much given to the worship of the goddess Isis, she devised the following stratagem: She went to one of the young men, and by means of the strongest assurances of concealment, she persuaded them by words, but chiefly by the offer of money, of twenty-five thousand drachmae 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 beguile the woman. So they were drawn in to promises so to do, by that large sum of gold they were to have. Accordingly, she was taking effect, and about half the night she was in the temple, and, upon his admissation, he desired to speak with her, by herself. When that was granted him, he told her that "he was sent by the god Isis, Anubis, Belial, and the other sins, who had fallen in love with her, to rejoin her to come to him." Upon this she took the message very kindly, and valued herself greatly upon this condescension of Anubis, and told her husband, that she had a message sent her, who was in the temple all the night long, and supposed the same. So he desired her to answer his answer, and he came away, which was before those priests who knew nothing of this stratagem were stirring. Paulina came early to her husband, and told him how the god Anubis had appeared to her: among her friends, and the more she talked the more she did not put upon this favor, who partly disbelieved the thing, when they reflected on its nature, and partly were amazed at it, as having no pretense for not believing it, when they considered the most solemn duty of the person. But now, on the third day after what had been done, Mundus met Paulina, and said, "Nay, Paulina, thou hast saved me 260,000 drachmae, which sum thou mig and shave adopted, and the family, so thou hast not failed to be at my service in the manner I invited thee. As for the reproaches thou hast laid upon Mundus, I value not the business of names; but I rejoice in the pleasure I received, and I did not believe that thou couldst take the name of Anubis." When he had said this, he went his way. But now she began to come to the sense of the grossness of what she had done, and rent her garments, and told her husband of the horrid nature of her intercourse, and that he be 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 the whole matter, which was so injurious to the woman. He also demolished the temple of Isis, and gave order that her statue should be thrown into the sea. And when Mundus was put to death, but did no more to him, because he supposed that what crime he had committed was done out of the passion of love. And these were the circumstances which concerned the case of Isis, and the injuries occasioned by her priests. I now return to the relation of what happened about this time to the Jews at Rome. As I formerly told you I would. The next was a woman who was a Jew, but has been driven away from his own country by an accusation laid against him for transgressing their laws, and by the fear he was under of punishment for the same; but in all respects a wicked man. He, then living at Rome, proceeded to instruct men in the wisdom of the law of Moses. He procured also three other men en-

* A.D. 33. April 3. † April 5
BOOK XVIII.—CHAP. IV.

Of the massacre of 4,000 Jews into Sardisiana by Titubius, see Buxtonius in Tiber. sect. 36. But as for Mr. Reid's note here, which supposes that Jews could not, consistently with their laws, be sold, it is contradicted by one branch of the history before us, and contrary to innumerable instances of their fighting, and provincial subjection. This was the golden opportunity of the best of them, and even under heathen kings themselves, did so, those men who, before they were sold and others of them, let them live according to their own laws, as Alexander the Great and the Ptolemies of Egypt did. It is true, this was the occasion of the massacre of 4,000 Jews, as they got excited as well as they could, or sometimes absolutely refused to fight, which seems to have been the case here, as to the major part of the Jews now in the holy city, and the synagogues of the Gentiles were entirely cleared in their favor, as to such matters, b. viii. ch. x.

Since Moses never came himself beyond Jordan, nor particularly to Mount Gerizim, and since these Ee
should proceed farther, and told him he should no
otherwise trust him than upon his giving him hos-
tages, and especially his son Artabasus. Upon
the King of Tyre Vittellius sent the son of Artaba-
sus, by the order of great presents of money, he persuaded both
the king of Iberia, and the king of Albania, to make no delay, but to fight against Artabasus;
and although they would not do it themselves, yet did they send the Scythians through their
country, and opened the Caspian gates to them, and brought them upon Artabasus. So
Armenia was again taken from the Parthians, and
the country of Parthia was filled with war, and the
province was very much in a state of confusion, and all
the things in disorder among them: the king's son
also himself fell in these wars, together with many
in the army of his. Vittellius had also sent such a great sum of gold to Artaba-
sus's father's kinmen and friends; that he had
almost procured him to be slain by the means of those
tribes which they had taken. And when Artabasus
perceived that the plot laid against his son was not to be avoided, he 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 truly faithful to him, as also of those who were not, he sent for them, and they were full
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 afterward
raised a great army out of the Dabe and Sate, 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 with Artabasus; and when, upon this
invitation, he received the proposal kindly,
Artabasus and Vittellius went to Euphrates, and
as a bridge was laid over the river, they each of
them came with their guards about them, and made the
midst of the mid 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.
Artabasus also, not long afterward, sent his
son Dorus 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 Elea-
zar, who, for his tallness, was called a giant.
Artabasus sent to Antioch, and to Artaba-
sus to Babylon; but Herod (the tetrarch) was desirous to give Caesar the first information that they had obtained hostages, sent posts with let-
ters, wherein he had accurately described all the parts of the city, and had sent nothing for the consolation of Vittellius to inform him of. But when Vittellius'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, Vittellius 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 re-
vented on him, which was after Caisar had taken
him, and imprisoned him.

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 te-
trarch of Trachonitis, and Gaulonitis. and of the
nation of the Bataeans also, thirty-seven years.
He had showed himself a person of moderation
and quietness in the conduct of his life and go-
mend, and this in the age that 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
had not seen him for a long time, he received him
his tribunal set down immediately, wheresoever
he happened to be, and sat down upon it, and
heard his complaint: he ther ordered the guilty
that were convicted to be punished, and absolved
the innocent; and he treated an enemy unkindly.
He died at Julius; and when he was carried to that mem-
ment which he had already erected for himself
beforehand, he was buried with great pomp. His
grave was not left to the ground, but it was
hidden, 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 sends to Rome for aid; and also
consults the Death of John the Baptist; Vittellius
went up to Jerusalem; together with some Account of Agrippa,
and of the Posteriority of Herod the Great.

1. About this time Aretas, the king of Ara-
bia Petros, and Herod, had a quarrel on the so-
licits of the family; and Herod, the tetrarch, mar-
ried the daughter of Aretas, and had lived with her a great while; but when he was odic at
Rome, he lodged with Herod, who was his bro-
ther's son-in-law, and the two were friendly; for
this Herod was the son of the high priest
Simon's daughter. However, he fell in love with
Herodias, this last Herod's wife, who was the
daughter of Aristobulus, their brother, and the
potential of Aristobulus; and he had an opportunity
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
business he went about, and was returned again,
he married Aretas's daughter. After 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 to her to
meet both the armies, and to carry a letter from
himself to Aretas; and then to restore the
success of Antipas, and the son of Aretas to
the dominions of Aretas and Herod, without inform-
ing him of any of her intentions. Accordingly
Herod sent therewith, as thinking her husband
had not perceived any thing. Now, she had sent a
good while before to Macheraus, who was subject
to her father, and so all things necessary for her
journey were made ready for her by the general
of Aretas's army; and by that means she soon
came into Arabia, under the conduct of the seve-
ral men that carried her, she and her maidens, one
after another successively, and she soon came to her fa-
ther, 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

*The calculation from all Josephus's Greek copies is
exactly right; for since Herod died about September,
in the thirty-seventh year of Tiberius, and Tiberius,
the forty-fourth year of Augustus, and Tiberius,
the thirty-seventh year of Julius, began, as is well known, August 18. A. D. 14, it is ev-
dent that the 37th year of Philip, reckoned from his fa-
throned, was the 50th of Tiberius, or near the end
of A. D. 33, (the very year of our Saviour's death also, or,
however, in the beginning of the next year, A. D. 34,)
may be supposed, the time that the inscription
best of all the posterity of Herod, for his love of peace,
and his love of justice.

† This Herod seems to have had the additional name
of Philip, as Antipas was named Herod Antipas, and

as Antipas and Antipater seem to be in a manner the
very same name, yet were the names of two sons of
Herod, and Antipas seems to have been the eldest,
and perhaps the eldest son of Philip, and the
younger son of Herod; and Antipater, the son of Herod,
and Philip be two different sons of the same father, all
which Grotius o. serves on Matt. xiv. 3. Nor was it,
as he is supposed, by the name of his brother, Philip,
the tetrarch, but this Herod-Philip, whose wife Herod-
the tetrarch had married, and that in her first mar-
triage, as appears from the account given of her by
her: for which adulterous and incestuous marriage,
John the Baptist justly reproved Herod the tetrarch
and for which reproof Solomon, the daughter of Her-
odias, by her first husband Herod-Philip, who was still
alive, occasioned him to be unjustly beheaded.
squarrel with him about their limits at the country of Gamalitis. So they raised armies on both sides, and prepared for war, and sent their generals to fight instead of themselves; and when they had joined battle, all Herod's art, which was destroyed by the treachery of some fugitives, who, though they were of the tetrarchy of Philip, joined with Aretas's army. So Herod wrote about these affairs to Tiberius, who, being very angry at that, sent him a message, who commanded to make war upon him, and either to take him alive, and bring him to him in bonds, or to kill him, and send him his head. This was the charge that Tiberius gave to the president of Syria. He then had to mind that for the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment of what he did against John, that was called the Baptist, for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to turn from their sins only, but for the purification of the body, supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now, when many others had been moved for the same reason, for they were greatly moved (or pleased) by hearing his words, Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise rebellion, (for they seemed to do things that should advise,) thought it best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties, by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. So he was beheaded, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Macherus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death. Now, the Jews had an opinion that the destruction of this army was sent as a punishment, in their land, and a mark of God's displeasure against them.

3. So Vitellius prepared to make war with Aretas, having with him two legions of armed men: he also took with him all those of light armature, and cavalry. He raised Aretas, and were drawn out of those kingdoms which were under the Romans, and made haste for Petra, and came to Ptolemis. But as he was marching very busily, and leading his army through the valley of the Jordan, and desired that he would not thus march through their land; for that the laws of their country would not permit them to overlook those images which were brought into it; of which there were a great number in their country, he was persuaded by what they said, and changed that resolution of his, which he had before taken in this matter. Whereupon he ordered the army to march along the great plain, while he himself, with Herod the tetrarch, and his friends, went up to Jerusalem to offer sacrifices to God, an ancient festival of the Jews then just approaching; and when he had been there, and been honorably entertained by the multitude of the Jews, he made a stay there for three days, within which time he deprived Jonathan of the high priesthood, and gave it to his brother Theophilus. But when on the fourth day letters came to him, which declared that Herodias, the third brother of Aretas, had obliged the multitude to take an oath of fidelity to Aretas; he also recalled his army, and made them every one go home, and take their winter-quarters there, since upon the devolution of the empire upon Aretas, he had not the like in authority 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 impossible that this army of Vitellius could enter Petra; for that one of the rulers would die, either 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 this army is opposed. So Vitellius went to Antioch; but Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, went up to Rome, a year before the death of Tiberius, in order to treat of some affairs with the emperor, if he might be permitted so to do. He now had to mind that the wife of his family, how it fared with them, partly because it is suitable to this history to speak of that matter, and partly because this thing is a demonstration of the interposition of Providence, how a multitude of children to Ananias, Jezeb, 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 number of the children of Agrippa, who came at one time, were excepting a few, utterly destroyed. One may well apply this for the instruction of mankind, and learn thence how unhappy they show it; it will be the concern of Agrippa, who, as he was a person most worthy of consideration, 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 these formerly, but I shall now also speak accurately about them.

4. Herod the Great had two daughters by Mariamme, the (grand) daughter of Hyrcanus; the one was Salamisio who was married to Phasaelus, her first cousin, the son of Aristobulus, Herod's brother; the other was Cyrus, who was himself married also to her first cousin Antipater, the son of Salome, Herod's sister. Phasaelus had five children by his first wife Antipater, Herod and Alexander, and two daughters, Alexandra and Cypros, which last, Agrippa the son of Aristobulus, married, and Titinius of Cyrus married Alexandra: he was a man of note, but had by another marriage three more children, two sons and three daughters, which children were named Bernice, Mariamme, and Drusilla; but the names of the sons were Agrippa and Drusus, of whom Drusus died before the time of puberty; but their father, Agrippa, was brought up with his other brethren, Herod and Aristobulus, for these were also the sons of Herod the Great, by Bernice; but Bernice was the daughter of Costobarius and of Salome, who was Herod's sister. Aristobulus left these infants, when 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 Agrippa, married Mariamme, the daughter of Olympias, who was 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 Agrippa, the third brother of Aretas, married Jotape, the daughter of Sampsigeramus, king of Emeas; they had a daughter who was dead, whose name also was Jotape: and these hitherto were the children of the male line. But when Herodias, the third sister of Philip, [Phil,] the son of Herod the Great, who was born of Mariamme, the daughter of Simeon the high priest, who had a daughter, Salome; after whose birth Herodias took upon her to confound the laws of this country, and divorced her family, her own nephews and nieces, well deserve to be considered. See Lev. xviii. 6, 7. xzii. 10, and Noldius, De Herod. No. 369, 370. There are coins still extant of this Emeas, as Spanheim informs us.
from her husband while he was alive, and was married to Herod [Antipas,] her husband's brother by the father's side; he was tetarch of Galilee: but her daughter Salome was married to Philip, the son of Eleazar, and a member of the house of Tryphon, and, as she died childless, Aristobulus, the son of Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married her; they had three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus; and this was the post mortem of Philip, the last of that line of kings of the Jews, as the voice of prophecy foretold, and Herod tetrarch, and let her know Agrippa's present design, and what necessity it was which drove him thereto, and desired her, as a kinswoman of his, to give him her help, and to engage her husband in support of his views. But the daughter of Antipater by Cypros, was Cypros, whom Alexander Semius, the son of Alexis, married; they had a daughter, Cypros; but Herod and Alexander, who, as we told you, were the brothers of Antipater, afterwards married to the daughters of Herod the king, who was slain by his father, he had two sons, Alexander and Tigranes, by the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia; Tigranes, who was king of Armenia, was accuses at Rome, and died childless; Alexander had a son of the same name with his brother Tigranes, and was sent to take possession of the kingdom of Armenia by Nero; he had a son, Alexander, who married Base, the daughter of Antigonus, the son of COMMANDER; Vesuvius made him king of an island in Cilicia. But these descendants of Alexander, soon after their birth, deserted the Jewish religion, and went over to that of the Greeks; and the rest of the daughters of Herod the king, it happened that they died childless. And as the descendants of Herod, whom we have enumerated, were in being at the same time that Agrippa the Great took the kingdom, and I have not told you of them; now remains what I relate the several hard fortunes which befall Agrippa, and how he got clear of them, and was advanced to the greatest height of dignity and power.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Navigation of King Agrippa to Rome, to Tibérius Caesar, and how, upon his being accused by his own freed-man, he was bound; how also he was set at liberty by Caion, 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 greatly broken up and conversed with Drusus, the emperor Tiberius's son, and contracted a friendship with Antonia, the wife of Drusus the Great, who had his mother Bernice in great esteem, and was very desirous that she should know her son. Now, as Agrippa was by nature magnanimous and generous in the presents he made, while his mother was alive, this inclination of his mind did not appear, that he might be able to avoid her anger for such extravagance; but when Bernice was dead, and he was left to his own conduct, he spent a great deal extravagantly in his daily way of living, and a great deal in the inordinate presents he made, and those chiefly among Caesar's freed-men, in order to gain the favour of the son of Tiberius; which was so much that he was in a little time reduced to poverty, and could not live at Rome any longer. Tiberius also forbade the friends of his deceased son to call his sight, because on seeing them he would be reminded of his son, and his grief would thereby be revived.

2. For these reasons he went away from Rome, and sailed to Judas, but in evil circumstances, being without the use of the money which he once had, and because he had not where withal to pay his creditors, who were many in number, and such as gave him no room for escaping them. Whereupon he knew not what to do; so, for shame of his present condition, he retired to a certain tower, at Malatha, in Idumea.

*Spanheim also informs us of a coin still extant of the Togate, daughter of the king of Commagene.
†Spanheim observes, that we have here an instance and had thoughts of killing himself, but his wife Cypros perceived his intending, and tried all sorts of methods to divert him from taking such a course: so she sent a letter to his sister Herod, the queen of Judaea, and described these her husband's troubles all she could, although she had not the like wealth to do it withal. So they sent for him, and allotted him Tiberias for his habitation, and appointed him governor of Syria, having caused the money which he had made him a magistrate of that city, by way of honor 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 promised him a great deal of money, and he was given cups, and reproaches were cast upon one another, Agrippa thought that was not to be borne. While Herod hit him in the teeth with his poverty, and made him a public disgrace, and gave him the freedom of Syrac, one of the tetrarchesses, and had been a very great friend to him at Rome formerly, and was now president of Syria.

3. Hereupon Flaccus received him kindly, and he ministered to him as much as he could. But there Aristobulus, who was indeed Agrippa's brother, but was at variance with him; yet did not their enmity to one another hinder the friendship of Flaccus to them both, but still they were hospitably entertained by him. And Aristobulus did not abate of his ill-will to Agrippa, till at length he brought him into ill terms with Flaccus: the occasion of bringing on which estrangement was this: the Damascenses were at dispute about the succession of the province, and when Flaccus was about to bear the cause between them, they understood that Agrippa had a mighty influence on him; so they desired that he would be of their side, and for that favor promised him at a great deal of money, and was jealous in assisting the Damascenses as far as he was able. Now, Aristobulus had gotten intelligence of this promise of money to him, and seized upon it, and to this event of the same; and when, upon a thorough examination of the matter, it appeared plainly so to be, he rejected Agrippa out of the number of his friends. So he was reduced to the utmost necessity, and came to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, to consult him how to get a livelihood, he thought to sail to Italy; but as he was restrained from so doing by want of money, he desired Marys, who was his freedman, to find some method for procuring him so much as he wanted for that purpose, by borrow ing such a sum of some person or other. So Marys desired of Pater, who was the freed-man of Bernice, Agrippa's mother, and by the right of her testament was bequeathed to Antonia, to lend him as much as the Agrippa's own bond and security; but he accused Agrippa of having defrauded him of certain sums of money, and was obliged Marys, when he made the bond of 20,000 Attic drachmes, to accept of 2,500 drachmes for the bond, and was allowed of, because he could not help it. Upon the receipt of this money Agrippa came to An thelon, and took shipping, and was going to set sail; but he had a mind to ask of Tiberius a permission to go to Syria, and Tiberius, when he sent curator of Judæa, sent a band of soldiers to demand of him 300,000 drachmes of silver, which were by him owing to Cæsar's treasury while he was at Rome, and so forced him to stay. He then pretended that he would do as he bade him: but when night came on, he cut his cables, and of the Attic quantity of use money, which was the eighth part of the original sum, or 15 1/2 per cent, so that the proportion of 2,500 to 30,000.
riss, according to his usual custom, kept him still in bonds, being a delaying of affairs, if ever there was any other king or tyrant that was so: for he did not admit ambassadors quickly, and to successors were despatched away to governors or procurors of the provinces, that had been formerly sent, unless they were dead: whence it was, that he was so negligent in hearing the causes of prisoners; invouchm. that when he was asked by his friends, when he might expect his delay in such cases? he said, that "he delayed to hear ambassadors, lest, upon their quick dismission, other ambassadors should be appointed, with more return upon him, and so he should bring trouble upon himself in the time of his absence and discretion: that he permitted those governors who had been once sent from their government (to stay there a great while), out of regard to the subjects that were under them, so that all governors are naturally disposed to get as much as they can, and that those who are not to fix there, but to stay a short time, and that at an uncertainty, when they shall be turned out, do not in the least care; because the more severely he does, the more people; but that, if their government be long continued to them, they are at last satiated with the spoils, as having gotten a vast deal, and so becomes at length less sharp in their pilaging; but that, if successively there is no appointment; and when it was demanded of him, he ran away like a fugitive, out of the places under his government, and put it out of his power to get the money of him. When Caesar had read the record of the proceedings of his predecessors, and their successors, and of Claudius, he was afterward Caesar himself, to lend him those three hundred thousand drachmai, that he might not be deprived of Tiburis's friendship; so, out of regard to the aforesaid, he demanded of him for a thrice. And he said, that he should always accompany him when he went abroad. But, upon Agrippa's kind reception by Antonia, he betook himself to a niece of his, and the aforesaid Agrippa; and, in very high reputation, by reason of the good-will they bore his father. Now there was one Thallus, a freedman of Ces- sar, who by his consent obtained a million of drachmai, and that the aforesaid Antonia did owe her; and by spending the surplus in paying his court to Caesar, became a person of great authority with him.

5. Now as the friendship which Agrippa had for Caesar was come to a great height, there happened some words to pass between them, as they once were in a chariot together, concerning Tiburis; Agrippa praying to God, (for they two were in the chariot together,) to be an instrument of preserving Caesar, out of the stage; and leave the government to Caesar, who was in every respect more worthy of it. Now, Eutychus, who was Agrippa's freed-man, and drove his chariot, heard these words, and at the same time was -an of him, and the aforesaid Eutychus accused him of stealing some garments of his, (which was certainly true,) he ran away from him: but when he was caught, and brought before Piso, who was governor of the city, and the mode was such why he ran away upon the town, that he had something to say to Caesar, that tended to his security and preservation: so Piso bound him, and sent him to Capreæ. But Tiberius, according to his usual custom, kept him still in bonds, being a delaying of affairs, if ever there was any other king or tyrant that was so: for he did not admit ambassadors quickly, and to successors were despatched away to governors or procurors of the provinces, that had been formerly sent, unless they were dead: whence it was, that he was so negligent in hearing the causes of prisoners; invouchm. that when he was asked by his friends, when he might expect his delay in such cases? he said, that "he delayed to hear ambassadors, lest, upon their quick dismission, other ambassadors should be appointed, with more return upon him, and so he should bring trouble upon himself in the time of his absence and discretion: that he permitted those governors who had been once sent from their government (to stay there a great while), out of regard to the subjects that were under them, so that all governors are naturally disposed to get as much as they can, and that those who are not to fix there, but to stay a short time, and that at an uncertainty, when they shall be turned out, do not in the least care; because the more severely he does, the more people; but that, if their government be long continued to them, they are at last satiated with the spoils, as having gotten a vast deal, and so becomes at length less sharp in their pilaging; but that, if successively there is no appointment; and when it was demanded of him, he ran away like a fugitive, out of the places under his government, and put it out of his power to get the money of him. When Caesar had read the record of the proceedings of his predecessors, and their successors, and of Claudius, he was afterward Caesar himself, to lend him those three hundred thousand drachmai, that he might not be deprived of Tiburis's friendship; so, out of regard to the aforesaid, he demanded of him for a thrice. And he said, that he should always accompany him when he went abroad. But, upon Agrippa's kind reception by Antonia, he betook himself to a niece of his, and the aforesaid Agrippa; and, in very high reputation, by reason of the good-will they bore his father. Now there was one Thallus, a freedman of Caesar, who by his consent obtained a million of drachmai, and that the aforesaid Antonia did owe her; and by spending the surplus in paying his court to Caesar, became a person of great authority with him.

The governor of the Jews there.  
†Tiberius junior.  ‡Germanicus.

6. On this account it was that Eutychus could not obtain a hearing, but was kept still in prison. However, some time afterward, Tiberius came from Capreæ to Tuscalenam, which is about a hundred furlongs from Rome. Agrippa then de-
sized of Antonia, that she would procure a hear- 
ing for Eutychus, let the matter whereof he ac-
sented he wrou more what it would. Now, Antonia 
was greatly esteemed by Tiberius on all ac-
scounts for that evidence of her relation to him, 
who had been his brother Drusus's wife, and 
from her eminent chastity; for though she were 
21 a young woman, she continued in her wid-
owedness, and refused all other matches, although 
Antonia knew that his mother, who had furnished him to come and say 
body else, yet did she al so preserve her re-
putation free from reproach. She had also been 
the greatest benefactress to Tiberius, when there 
was a very dangerous plot to assassinate him by 
Sejanus man who had been her husband's 
friend, and who had the greatest authority, be-
cause he was general of the army, and when 
many members of the senate, and many of the 
friends he joined with him, and the soldiery was 
corrupted, and the plot was come to a great 
height. Now Sejanus had certainly gained his 
punt, had not Antonia's boldeness been more 
wisely conducted that Sejanus's malice; for, 
when she and disgraced, his designs again, 
Tiberius, she wrote him an exact account of 
the whole, and gave the letter to Pallius, the most 
faithful of her servants, and sent him to Capreae 
to Tiberius, who, when he understood it, slew 
Sejanus, and punished with the severest that Tiberius 
who had her in great esteem before, now looked 
up to her with still greater respect, and depend-
ed upon her in all things. So, when Tiberius 
was going to make this Antonia to examine Euty-
chus, he answered, "If indeed Eutychus hath 
 falsely accused Agrippa in what he hath said of 
him, he hath had sufficient punishment by what 
I have done to him already; but if, upon exami-
nation, he is charged, I swear to you that there 
will be no one to receive him in what he has 
proclaimed of himself, he does not rather bring 
a punishment upon himself." Now when Antonia 
told Agrippa of this, he was still much more 
preyed for this matter, might he be metamized into Cisalpina; 
so Antonia, upon Agrippa's lying hard at her con-
tinually to beg his favor, took the following op-
portunity: As Tiberius lay once at his ease upon 
his sedan, and was carried about, and Caius, his 
guardian, was there; and after dinner, 
he walked by the sedan, and desired him to 
call Eutychus, and have him examined; to 
which he replied, "O Antonia! the gods are my 
watchmen, and I am not disposed to do what 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 suc-
sceeded Sejanus, to bring Eutychus to him; ac-
cording to what day, as it 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 Caius, 
and Agrippa with him, were once riding in a 
chariot, when I sat at their feet, and among 
other discourses that passed, Agrippa said to 
Caius, O that the day would once come, when 
this old fellow will die, and name thee for the 
governor of the habitable earth! for then this Ti-
berius, his grandson, would rule in Greece, but 
would be taken off by thee, and that earth would 
be happy, and I happy also. Now, Tiberius made 
these to be truly Agrippa's words, and bearing a 
gudgeon withal at Agrippa, because, when he had 
commanded him to pay his respects to Tiberius 
his grandson, and the son of Drusus, and that 
Tiberius had not paid him that respect, but had disobeyed 
his commandos, and transferred all his regard to 
Caius; he said to Macro, "Bind this man."
But Macro, not distinctly knowing which of them 
at that time was Agrippa, and thinking that he 
would have any such thing done to 
Agrippa, he forbore, and came to ask more 
discinctly what it was that he said? But when Cae-
sar saw more, he said to Macro, and Agrippa standing: "For certain," said he, "Ma-
cro, this is the man I meant to have bound;" 
and when he still asked, "Which of these is to be 
bound?" he said, "Agrippa." Upon which Agrippa 
presented his (his) bill to Macro, and Macro, for 
myself, putting him in sight of his son, with whom 
he was brought up, and of Tiberius [his grand-
son] whom he had educated; but all to no pur-
pos, for they led him about bound even in 
honor of most, and were 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, and took this treatment of him beseevously; 
and therefore, thought saw one of Caius's slaves, whose 
name was Augustus. The man, therefore, in a vessel, he desired that he would let him drink; 
so the servant gave him some water to drink, and 
he drank heartily, and said, "O those boy this 
thing is inhuman."
He was then sent to prison, as Agrippa for, 
if once get clear of these my bonds, I will 
soon procure thee thy freedom from Caius, who 
hast not been wanting to minister to me, now I 
aim in bonds, in the same manner as when I was in 
the service of Augustus, and to give thee 
receive 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-
dom, he took particular care of Thaumastus, 
and unto him had given of Drusus' treasures, to 
them the steward over his own estate; and when 
he died, he left him to Agrippa his son, and to 
Bernice his daughter, to minister to them in the 
same capacity. The man also grew old in that 
house, and therein died. But all this happened 
a good while later.

7. Now Agrippa stood in his bonds before the 
royal palace, and leaned on a certain tree for 
guide to his eyes, and might not even raise 
and as a certain bird sat upon the tree on which 
Agrippa leaned, (the Romans call this bird bubus, 
[an owl], one of those that were bound, a Ger-
man by nation, saw him, and asked a soldier 
and to him, "what is this thing?" The 
was brought. Then 
infected with that his name was Agrippa, and that 
his was not a man, and both of the principal 
men of that nation, he asked leave of the soldier 
to whom he was bound, to let him come nearer 
with him; for that he had a mind to in-
quire of him about some things relating to his 
country; which liberty when he had obtained, 
and as he stood near him, he said thus to him by 
an interpreter, that "This sudden change of thy 
condition, is not at present a good sign. Bring 
me out of this manifold and vary great ad-
sect. 17. And note, that Tertullian owns this 
right against second marriages of the clergy, had been sent 
out to speak with him; for that he had a mind to in-
quire of him about some things relating to his 
country; which liberty when he had obtained, 
and as he stood near him, he said thus to him by 
an interpreter, that this sudden change of thy 
condition, is not at present a good sign. Bring 
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sect. 17. And note, that Tertullian owns this 
right against second marriages of the clergy, had been sent 
out to speak with him; for that he had a mind to in-
he was in did not hinder his familiarity with them all, as if they were his equals: by which behavior he was not only greatly esteemed by the people and the senate, but by every one of those nations that were subject to the Romans; some of whom were affected, when they came to him, with the gracefulness of their reception by him and others were affected in the same manner by the report of the others that had been with him: and upon his head there was a lamentation of all men: but such a one was to be made in way of flattery to their rule, as they did, but counterfeited sorrow, but such as was real: while they grieved for the death of Tiberius, they lost one that was near to them. And truly such had been his conversation with them, that it turned greatly to the advantage of his son among all; and, among others, the soldiers were so peculiarly affected for Ennodius, that they reckoned of what eligible thing, if need were, to die themselves, if he might but attain to the government.

9. But when Tiberius had given order to Ennodius to bring the children to him the next day in the morning, and that Ennodius should bring with him a manifest signal, which of those children should come to the government: being very desirous to leave it to his son's son, but still depending upon what God should foresore communicate concerning the nature of things; for, he was under the apprehension what happiness is coming upon thee, thou mayest not regard thy present misfortunes. But when this happiness shall actually befall thee, do not forget what naivety I am in myself, but endeavor to appear to the people as a prudent man, and to persuade them that, as this is the first time that an emperor has been born in the family, and indeed quite impracticable, as to any hope of success; yet did she procure of Macro, that the soldiers that kept him should be of a gentle manner to him, and not to give him any call in that child which should be there ready. So he went out, and found Caius before the door, for Tiberius was not yet come, but staid waiting for his breakfast; and the emperor desired Caius to call him, and Caius said, "Thy father calleth thee." And then brought him in. As soon as Tiberius saw Caius, and not before, he reflected on the power of God, and how the ability of destroying, by the good and wise, who would, was entirely taken from him; and therefore he was not able to establish what he had intended. So he greatly lamented that his power of establishing what he had before contrived was taken from him, and was burned. This misfortune was not only to lose the Roman empire by his inability, but his own safety also, because his preservation would now depend upon such as would be more potent than himself, who would think it a thing not to be borne: that a kingman should live with them, and so his relation would not be able to protect him: but he would be feared and hated by him who had the supreme authority, partly on account of his being next to the empire; and partly on account of his power being so contending to get the government, but in order to preserve himself, and to be at the head of affairs also. Now Tiberius had been very much given to astrologers, and had spent his life in the esteem of what predictions had proved true more than those whose profession it was. Accordingly, when he once saw Galba coming in to him, he said to his most intimate friend, "that man would one day have the dignity of the Roman empire." So that this Tiberius was more addicted to all such sorts of diviners than any other of the Roman emperors, because he had found them to have told him truth in his own affairs. And indeed he was now in great distress upon this accident that had befallen him, and was very much

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* Tiberius his own grandson, and Caius his brother

† So I correct Josephus's copy, which calls Germanicus his brother, who was his brother's son.

‡ This is a known thing among the Roman historians and poets, that Tiberius was greatly given to astrology and divination.
The text is a portion of a historical account written in English, discussing the events surrounding the death of Agrippa and the aftermath of the Roman trials. The text references the trials of Titus and other Roman officials, and the death of Agrippa. It mentions the possibility of Agrippa being accused of treason.

The passage reads:

"...he foresaw, and complained of himself, that he should have made use of such a method of divination beforehand, while it was in his power to have died without grief by his 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 loss of his friend. Now, although they were discovered at this unexpected revolution of the government to those for whom he did not intend it, he spoke thus to Caius, though unwillingly, and against his own inclination: "O child! although Titus be nearer related to me than thou art, I, by my own determination, and the conspiring suffrages of the gods, do give, and put into thy hand, the Roman empire: and I desire thee never to be unmindful when thou comest to it, either of my kindness towards thee, who set thee in so high a dignity, or of thy relation to Titus. But as thou knowest that I am, together with, and after the gods, the procurer of so great happiness to thee, so I desire that thou wilt make me a return. The Romans understand that Titus, and wilt take care of Titus because of his near relation to thee. Besides which, thou art to know, that, while Titus is alive, he will be a security to thee, both as to empire and as to thy own safety; and, if he die, Titus will be but 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 thou mayst do, to be made to that extent, which directs men to act otherwise, to go off unpunished." This was the speech which Titus made, which did not persuade Caius to act accordingly, although he promised so to do; but when he came before the government, he took off this Titus, as was predicted by the other Tiberius; as he was also himself in no long time afterward slain by a secret plot laid against him.

10. So when Tiberius had at this time appointed Caius to be his successor, he lived but a few days, and then died, after he had held the government twenty-two years, five months, and three days; now Caius was the fourth emperor. But this we may understand, that Titus, being 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 been glad of any means of it, but because they were afraid, that if they had showed 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 the things that are not made by a number of miseries on the best families of the Romans, since he was easily inflamed with passion in all cases, and was of such a temper as rendered his anger irrevocable, till he had executed the same, although he had taken a hatred against men without reason; for he was by nature fierce in all the sentences he gave, and made death the penalty for the slightest offenses; insomuch that when the Romans heard the rumor about his death, they were so excited from the joy of that pleasure by the dread of such miseries as they foresaw would follow, if their hopes proved ill-grounded. Now Mæsya, Agrippa's wife, Mæsya, and Titus's, death, came running to tell Agrippa the news; and finding him going out to the bath, he gave him a nod, and said, in the Hebrew tongue, "The lion is dead;"19 who understanding his meaning as to joy and the news, "Nay, (said he,) but all sorts of thanks and hap-

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19 This passage is often given to tyrants, especially by the Jews, such as Agrippa, and probably his freed-man Mæsya, in order, were. Exod. xix. 1-9; Zech. xiv. 13; 2 Tim. iv. 17. They are also sometimes compared to, or represented by, wild beasts, of which the lion is the principal. 1 Macc. vii. 3-5, 6, 8; xiv. 16. 2 Macc. iii. 3; 1 Tim. iv. 1.
CHAP. VII.

How Herod the Tetrarch was banished.

1. But Herodias, Agrippa's sister, who now lived as wife to Herod who was tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, took this authority of her brother in an envious manner, particularly when she saw that he had a greater dignity bestowed on him than her husband had; since, when he was but tetrarch, she was compelled to pay her respects to him in a manner befitting her own insignificance; the place also affords warm baths, that spring out of the ground of their own accord, which are of advantage for the recovery of the health of those that make use of them, and besides, there is a trade with them, that they may, as it were, make a new and fresh sacrifice. Thus, when Cæsar saluted Herod, for he first met with him, and looked upon the letters which Agrippa had sent him, and which were written in order to accuse Herod, wherein he accused him, that he had been in the habit of making sacrifices against Tiberius' government, and that he was now confederate with Artabanus the king of Parthia in opposition to the government of Cæsars; as a demonstration of which he alleged, that he had armor sufficient for seventy thousand men ready in his armory. Cæsar was moved at this information, and asked Herod whether what was said about the armor was true: and when he confessed that such armor did belong to him, he could not deny the same, the truth of it being too notorious, Cæsar took that to be a sufficient proof of the accusation, that he intended to revolt. So he took away from him his tetrarchy, and gave it by way of addition to Agrippa's kingdom; and he also gave Cæsar's money to Agrippa, and by way 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 of this great indignity, he made a present of what money was her own; 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, as emperor! actest after a most insipid manner, and as becomes thyself in what thou offerest me; but the kindness which I have for my husband, hinders me from partaking of the favor of thy gift; for it is not just, that I, who have been made a partner in the prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes." Hereupon Cæsar was angry at her, and sent her with Herod into banishment, and gave her estate to Agrippa. And thus Herod, in this manner, for her envy at her brother, and Herod also forgiving her to the vain discourses of a woman. Now, Cæsar managed public affairs with great magnanimity, during the first and second year of his reign, and beheld with much satisfaction, that he gained the 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 Emigration of the Jews to Cæsars and how Cæsar sent Petronius into Syria, to make War against the Jews, unless they would receive his Statutes.

1. There was now a tumult arisen at Alexandria, between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks; and there ambassadors were chosen out of each party that were at variance, who came to Cæsar. Now, one of these ambassadors...
from the people of Alexandria was Apion, who uttered many blasphemies against the Jews; and among other things, that he said, he chased them with neglecting the honors that belonged to Caesar; for that while all who were subject to the Roman empire, built altars and temples to Caesar, and in other regards, universally received him as they received the gods; these Jews alone thought it a dishonorable thing for them to erect statues in honor of him, as well as to swear by his name. Many of these severe things were spoken, by which he hoped to provoke Caesar 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 Alexander the slavarch, and one not unskillful in the government of men, was very desirous, to judge himself, to make his defense against those accusations; but Caesar prohibited him, and bade him begone; he was also in such a rage, that it openly appeared he was about to do them some very great mischief. So Philo, being thus thwarted, went out, and said to those Jews who were about him, that "they should be of good courage, since Caesar's words indeed showed anger at them, but in reality had already met God against himself." When Caesar, taking into consideration he should thus be despised by the Jews sions, sent Petronius to be president of Syria, and successor in the government to Vitellius, and gave him orders to let the Jews be free, to dismiss them with a 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 took the government out of Caesar's hands, 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 would not be contented to see them in the spring. He also wrote word to Ca ius what he had resolved to do, who commended him for his sincerity, and ordered him to go on, and to make war with them, in case they would not obey him immediately. But then he commanded 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 forefathers, but if (said they) thou art about to raise any war, 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. We, the inhabitants of our city, and by our forefathers' determination, that such prohibitions are instances of virtue." But Petronius was angry at them, and said, "If indeed I were myself emperor, and were at liberty to follow my own inclination, and then had designed to act thus, these your words would be justly spoken to me; but now Caesar hath sent to me, I am under the necessity of being subservient to his decrees, because a disobedience to them will bring upon me any misfortune." Thus the Jews replied, "Since, therefore, thou art so disposed, O Petronius! that thou wilt not disobeey thy epistles, neither will we transgress the commands of our law; and as we depend upon the excel- lence of our city, and by the laws of our an- cestors, 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 we have determined to bear for our advantage; and if we fall into misfortunes, we will bear them, in order to preserve our laws, as knowing, that those who expose themselves to dangers, have a good cause of escaping them, because God will stand on our side, who, out of regard to him, we undergo afflictions, and sustain the un- certain turns of fortune. But if we should submit to thee, we should be greatly reproached for those whom we have determined for our advantage; and that, without a war, he should not be able to be subservient to Caesar in the dedication of his statue, and that there must be a great deal of bloodshed, he took his friends, and the servants that were his, and hastened to Tiberius, as wanting to know in what posture the affairs of the Jews were; and many ten thousands of the Jews met Petronius again, when he was come to Tiberias. These thought they must run a mighty hazard; and accordingly they had a council of 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 resolve to receive the dedication of the city with the dedication of the statue. Then Petronius said to them, "Will you then make war with Caesar, without considering his great preparations for war, and your own weakness?" The Jews answered, that they were free men, and under no 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 would not be contented to see them in the spring. He also wrote word to Caesar what he had resolved to do, who commended him for his sincerity, and ordered him to go on, and to make war with them, in case they would not obey him immediately. But then he commanded 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 forefathers, but if (said they) thou art about to raise any war, 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. 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which Aristocrates and the rest with him made, and because of the great consequence of what they had made, they made their supplication; partly on account of the firmness of the opposition made by the Jews, which he saw, while he thought it a horrid thing for him to be such a slave to the madness of Caesar,  to allow so many ten thousand men, only because of their religious disposition towards God, and after that to pass his life in expectation of punishment: Petronius, I say, thought it much better to send to Caesius, and to let the business be put in the hands of Caesar; that he might bear the anger he might have against him for not serving him sooner. In obedience to his epistle, for that perhaps he might persuade him: and that he might be in time to begin the war against them; nay, it was in case he should turn his hatred against himself, it was fit for virtuous persons even to die for the sake of such vast multitudes of men. According, he determined to hearken to the petitioners in this matter.

5. He then called the Jews together to Tiberias, who came, many: ten thousands in number: he also placed that army he now had with him: and that the war might not disturb the important business of his own mind, but the command of the emperor, 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; for this was the greater enormity, that they had obtained so great a dignity by his grant, not to contradict him in any thing;" yet, said he, "I do not think it just to have such a regard to my safety and honor, as to refuse to sacrifice them for your preservation; now, with the supreme assistance and power of God, will I be so hardy as to suffer your temple to fall into contempt by the means of the imperial authority. I will, therefore, send to Caesius, and let him know what your resolutions are, and will assist you as far as I am able; that you may not be exposed to suffer on account of the honest designs you have proposed to yourselves: and may God be your assistant, for your honor is his honor, and that he may have the greatest profit from the destruction of his business, and may he procure to the preservation of your ancient laws, and may not be deprived, though without your consent, of your accustomed honors. But if Caesius be irritated, and turn the violence of his rage against all that dare either 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-

5. When Petronius had said this, and had dismissed the assembly of the Jews, he desired the principal of them to take care of their habitanty, and to speak kindly to the people, and encourage them to have a good hope of the affair. But he did expressly 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 down great showers of rain, contrary to human expectation, for that day was a clear day, and gave no sign that the appearance of rain was at any time. But as the whole year had been subject to a great drought, and made men desirous of any water from above, even when at any time they saw the heavens overcast with clouds; insomuch, that with the appearance of rain, the effect was 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 diligently searching for a means when he was made acquainted that Caesar 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, but also power left to contradict it. This was also among those other particulars which he wrote to Caesius, which all tended to dissuade him, and by all means to entreat him not to make so many ten thousands of these men go distracted, with if he should yield, (for without war they would by no means suffer the laws 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, it was that he was the most secure from the power most evidently on their account, and that such a power of his was as left no room for doubt about it. And this was the business that Petronius was now engaged in.

when he had once made him a supper, and was careful to exceed all others, both in expenses and in such preparations as might contribute most to his honor: not to mention the ability of others, that Caesius himself could never equal, much less exceed it, (such care had he taken beforehand to exceed all men, and particularly to make all agreeable to Caesar;) hereupon was Caesius suddenly snatched up, by reason of his excursion, that he should force himself to do all to please him, even beyond such expenses as he could bear, and was desire to not be held in Agrippa's debt, that generosity with which he exerted in order to please him. So Caesius, when he had drank wine plentifully, and was merrier than ordinary, said thus during the feast, when Agrippa had drunk to him: "I knew before now that you have such a heart for the public, and your kindness hath shown me, though with those hazards to thyself, which thou underwast under Tiberius on that account; no but thou commended any thing to show thy good-will towards me, and I think that it would be a base thing for me to be conquered by thy affection: I am, therefore, desire to make thee amends for every thing in which I have been formerly deficient, for all that I have bestowed on thee, that may be called thy graces, is but little. Everything that may contribute to thy happiness shall be at thy service, and that cheerfully, and so far as my ability will reach." And this was what Caesius said to Agrippa, thinking he would work for the large revenues of certain cities. But, although he ad prepared beforehand what he would ask, yet had he not discovered his intentions, but made this answer to Caesius immediately, that "It was not out of any expectation of gain that I have already paid his respects to him, contrary to the command of Tiberius, nor did he now do any thing relating to him out of regard to his own advantage, and in order to receive any thing from him: that the gifts he had already bestowed are at all in that case; which well deserves to be lasting for the benefit a part, as they are several times both in the Old and New Testament.

\[\text{See the preceding note.}\]

\[\text{This behavior of Caesius to Agrippa is very well, that of Herod Antipas, his uncle, to Herodias, Agrippa's sister, about John the Baptist, Matt. xiv. 6—11.}\]
upon him were great, and beyond the hopes of even a craving man; for, although they may be beneath thy power, [who art the donor,] yet are they greater than my inclination and dignity, who am the receiver."

And, as Caius was astonished at Agrippa's inclinations, and still more pressed him to make his request for some what which he might gratify him with, Agrippa replied, "Since thou, O my lord! declarest such thy readiness to grant, that I am worthy of thy gift, I will ask nothing relating to this, only thou hast already bestowed on me has made me excel therein; but I desire somewhat which may make thee glorious for piety, and rend the mouth of Deity assistance to thy designs, and may be for an honor to me among those that inquire about it, as showing that I never once fail of obtaining what I desire of thee; for my petition is this, that thou wilt no longer think of the dedicated place that thou hast already ordered to be set up in the Jewish temple by Petronius."

8. And thus did Agrippa venture to cast the die upon this occasion, so great was the affair in his eyes, and yet so little did he know how dangerous a thing it was to speak; for, had not Caius approved of it, it had tended to no less than the loss of his life. So Caius, who was mightily taken with Agrippa's obliging behavior, thought it would be a matter of honor to him to request it, and, greatly admired Agrippa's virtue, in not desiring him at all to augment his own dominions, either with large revenues or other authority, but took care of the public tranquillity, of the laws, and of the army, that he might not be accused of what he had requested. He also wrote thus to Petronius, commending him for assembling his army, and then consulting him about these affairs. "If, therefore, my lord, thou hast already erected my statue, let it stand; but, if thou hast not yet dedicated it, do not trouble thyself farther about it, but dismiss thy army, go back, and take care of those affairs which I sent thee about at first, for this is now an occasion for a new erection on that statue. This I have granted as a favor to Agrippa, a man whom I honor so very greatly, that I am not able to contradict what he would have, or what he desired me to do for him." And when Caius wrote to Petronius, which was before he received his letter, informing him that the Jews were very ready to revolte about the statue, and that they seemed resolved to threaten war against the Romans, and nothing else. When therefore Caius was much displeased that any attempt should be made against his government, as he was a slave to base and vicious actions on all occasions, and had no regard to what was virtuous and honorable, and against whomsoever he had received his edict to suit his pleasure, and that for any cause whatsoever, he suffered not himself to be restrained by any admonition, but thought the indulging his anger to be a real pleasure, he wrote thus to Petronius: "Seeing thou estamest, and, as it were, madest thee by the Jews to be of greater value than my commands, and art grown insolent enough to be subservient to their pleasure, I charge thee to become thy own judge, and to consider what thou art to do, now thou art power to suit thy pleasure. Let me, therefore, for an example to the present and to all future ages, that they may not dare to contradict the commands of their emperor." 9. That was the epistle which Caius wrote to Petronius, but Petronius did not receive it while Caius was alive; that ship which carried it sailed so slow, that other letters came to Petronius before this, by which he understood that Caius was dead; for God would not forget the dangers Petronius had undertaken on account of the Jews, and of his own honor. But when he had taken Caius away, out of his indignation of what he had so insolently attempted in assuming to himself divine worship, both in Rome and in his own cities and temple, he sent his resolution conspired with Petronius, especially those that were of the senatorial order, to give Caius his due reward, because he had been unmercifully severe to them; for he died not long after he had been thus refuted. And, as his body was threatened with death. But as for that occasion of his death, and the nature of the plot against him, I shall relate them in the proper place. Now, in the epistle which informed Petronius of Caius's death, he wrote, and a little afterward cause that which commanded him to kill himself with his own hands. Whereupon he rejoiced at this coincidence as to the death of men, and admired God's providence, who without the least delay, and immediately, gave him a reward for the regard he had to the temple, and the assistance he afforded the Jews for avoiding the dangers they were in. And by this means he escaped the danger of death, which he could not foresee."

CHAPTER IX.

What befell the Jews that were in Babylon, on occasion of Anius and Anius, two Brothers.

1. A very sad calamity now befell the Jews that were in Mesopotamia, and especially those that dwelt in Babylonia. Inferior it was to none of the calamities that he those before had come together with a great slaughter of them, and that greater than any upon record before; concerning all which I shall speak accurately, and shall explain the occasions whence those miseries came from them. For the Jews of Babylonia called Neeris; not only a very populous one, but one that had a good and a large territory about it, and, besides its other advantages, full of mines. It was, besides, not easily to be assaulted by enemies from the river Euphrates encompassing it all round, and from the walls that were built about it. There was also the city Nebiria, situate on the same current of the river, inhabited of a great number of people, depending on the natural strength of these places, deposited in them that half shekel which every one, by the custom of our country, offers unto God, as well as they did other things devoted to his honor. They were also provided of treasure, whence, at a proper time, they were transmitted to Jerusalem; and many ten thousand men undertook the carriage of those donations, out of fear of the ravages of the Parthians, to whom the Babylonicians were then subject. Now, there were two men, Anius and Anius, of the city Neeris by birth, and brethren to one another. They were destitute of a father, and their mother put them to learn the art of weaving cotton. They were ready to answer any for this service, and for expecting such fruits as were usually laid up against winter. The poorest sort of the young men also resorted to them, whom they armed with the weapons they had gotten, and became their captains; and nothing was denied them from being their king or chief; for, as soon as they became invincible, and had built them a citadel, they sent to such as fed cattle and ordered them to pay them

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so much tribute out of them as might be sufficient for their maintenance, proposing also that they would be their friends if they would submit to them, and that they would defend them from all their other enemies on every side, but that they would kill all the cattle of those that refused to obey them. So they heartened to their proposals, and gave their promise, and sent them as many sheep as were required of them, whereby their forces grew greater, and they became lords over all they pleased, because they marched suddenly, and did them a mischief, in such a manner, that no one of them chose to pay them respect, and they became formidable to such as came to assault them, till the report about them came to the ears of the king of Parthia himself.  

2. But when the king of Babylonia understood this, and had a mind to put a stop to them before they grew greater, and before greater mischief should arise from them, he got together a great army as he could, both of Parthian and Babylonic horse and foot, and went out against them, being joined in battle by the Jews of Babylon, which 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. Then he marched to them, and defeated them 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, "Sirs, I hear a neighing of horses; not of such kind as feeding, but such as have men 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 they are that have the present state of things; and may what I have said prove a false alarm." And when he said this, some of them went to spy out what was the matter, and they came again immediately and said to him, that neither horse nor man be seen against them, their enemies were doing, nor will those enemies permit us to be injurious to people any longer. We are caught by their intrigues like brute beasts, and they are of the nature of beasts, and we approach them on their backs, while we are destitute of hands to defend ourselves withal, because we are restrained from doing it by the prohibition of our law, which obliges us to rest (on this day,)." But Asineus did not yield: but he said what was to be done, but thought it more agreeable to the law to pluck up their spirits in this necessity they were fallen into, and break their law by avenging themselves, although they should die in the action, than by doing nothing to please their enemies in submitting to be slain by them. Accordingly, he took up his weapons, and infused courage into those that were with him to act as courageously as himself. So the soldiers immediately fell upon the enemy, and killed many of them, because they despised them, and came as to a certain victory, and put the rest to flight.  

But when the news of this fight came to the king of Parthia, he was surprised at the boldness of these brethren, and was desirous to see them, and speak with them. He therefore sent the most of all his guards to say thus to them, "That king Artaurus, although he hath been unjustly treated by you, who have made an attempt against his government, yet hath he more regard to your courageous behavior than to the anger he bears to you, and hath sent me to give you the 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 yourselves to his friends, and send no guile or deceit to you. He also promises to make you presents, and pay you those respects which will make an addition of his power to your courage, and thereby be of advantage to you. Yet it is not a slight thing for me, on the part of the king to do it, but sent his brother Aniæus with all such presents as he could procure. So he went, and was admitted to the king's presence; and when Artaurus saw Aniæus coming alone, he inquired into the reason why Asineus's and all others to make 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, and gave them his right hand; This is of the greatest forces there with all these barbarians, and affords a firm security to those who converse with them; for none of them will believe you, even once they have given their right hands, nor will any one doubt of their fidelity, when that is once given, even though they were before suspected of injustice. When Artaurus had done this, he sent away Aniæus to persuade his brother to come, and pretend that he was afraid of the king, this the king did, because he wanted to curb his own governors of provinces by the course of these Jewish brethren, lest they should make a league with them: for they were ready for a revolt, and were disposed to rebel, hard they were sent on an expedition against them. He was also afraid, lest, when he was engaged in a war in order to subdue those governors of provinces that had revolted, the party of Aniæus, and those in Babylon, should throw off the present state of things, and may what I have said prove a false alarm." And when he said this, some of them went to spy out what was the matter, and they came again immediately and said to him, that neither horse nor man be seen against them, their enemies were doing, nor will those enemies permit us to be injurious to people any longer. We are caught by their intrigues like brute beasts, and they are of the nature of beasts, and we approach them on their backs, while we are destitute of hands to defend ourselves withal, because we are restrained from doing it by the prohibition of our law, which obliges us to rest (on this day,). But Asineus did not yield: but he said what was to be done, but thought it more agreeable to the law to pluck up their spirits in this necessity they were fallen into, and break their law by avenging themselves, although they should die in the action, than by doing nothing to please their enemies in submitting to be slain by them. Accordingly, he took up his weapons, and infused courage into those that were with him to act as courageously as himself. So the soldiers immediately fell upon the enemy, and killed many of them, because they despised them, and came as to a certain victory, and put the rest to flight.  

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him by the forces that are under thy command, without my pri-

vity.° Hereupon the king called for Asineus, and said to him, "It is time for thee. O thou sower of discord and betrayer of companions, not to 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. I commanded the country of Mesopotamia to be burnt, that it may by thy means be preserved free from robbers, and from other mischiefs. I have kept my faith inviolable to thee, and that not in trifling affairs, but in those that concerned the destiny of an army, and the entire force of a state should not be kind to me." When he had said this, and

given Asineus some presents, he sent him away immediately; who, when he was come home, built fortresses, and became great in a little time, and managed in days of peace such part of the Parthian nation, as no other person, that had no higher a beginning, ever did before. Those Parthian governors also, who were sent that way, paid him great respect; and the honor that was paid him by the Babyloni-
s, was the reason why he retained his seat, and continued his authority there, and that as long as he lived. For his wife, Asineus, was an ill-tempered, and malicious woman, as she had been born of an ill-tempered mother, and was reared in her vice. Now as Asineus was on the point of being chosen to succeed her father in the kingdom, he thought the injury that Anileus offered to their laws was to be borne no longer; and a great number of them came to Asineus, and loudly complained of Anileus, and told him that "it had been the turning point in his successes, that the war with Parthia was so 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 proved the ruin of himself and all the rest of the nation, and that the Parthian nation, that 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 not to be 

unwashed, what great miseries came on these Jews, because they suffered one of their leaders to marry an idyllic woman. And this he said Rachel the wife of 

authority which, by God's blessing, he had ar-

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v. 392.
would have a feast, he took his supper at a proper time, and marched by night, with an intent of falling upon the Parthians while they were unprepared what they should do; so he fell upon them near the fourth watch of the night, and as some of the principal families with much wealth, and others he put to flight, and took Mithridates alive, and set him naked upon an ass, which, among the Parthians, is esteemed the greatest reproach possible. And when he had brought him into a wood with such a resolution, and his friends desired him to kill Mithridates, he soon told them his own mind to the contrary, and said, that "it was not right to kill a man who was one of the principal families in the Parthian nation, and greatly honored with natticing into the royal family; that so far as they had hitherto gone was tolerable; for although they had injured Mithridates, yet if they preserved his life, this benefit would be remembered by him to the advantage of those that gave it him, but that if he were once put to death, the king would not be at rest till he had made a great slaughter of the Jews that dwelt at Babylon; to whose safety we ought to have a regard, in accordance with the relation to them, and because if any misfortune befell us, we have no other place to retire to, since he hath gotten the flower of their youth under him." By this thought, and this speech of his, he was resolved, as before, accordingly, so Mithridates was let go. But, when he was got away, his wife reproached him, that although he was son-in-law to the king, he neglected to avenge himself on those that had injured his husband, nor was he contented to have been made a captive by the Jews, and to have escaped them; and she bade him either go back like a man of courage, or else she swore by the gods of their royal family, that she would not speak to him, nor live with him. "Upon which, partly because he could not bear the daily trouble of her taunts, and partly because he was afraid of her insolence, lest she should in earnest dissolve her marriage, he unwarily, and against his inclinations, got together again as great an army as he could, and marched along with them, as himself thinking it a thing not to be borne any longer, that he, a Parthian, should owe his preservation to the Jews, when they had been too hard for him in the war.

7. But as soon as Aniileus understood that Mithridates was marching with a great army against him, at day-light, it set on foot, and he, the Greeks were too hard for the Syrians. When therefore, the Jews were come thither and dwelt among them, there arose a sedition, and the Syrians were too hard for the other, and by the assistance of the Jews, who were so that despised 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 way of recovering their former authority, and that was, if they should grant the agreement between the Jews and the Syrians, they every one discoursed with such of the Syrians as were formerly their acquaintance, and promised they would be at peace and friendship with them. Accordingly, for gladly they and the Jews, and when this was done by the principal men of both nations, they soon agreed to a reconciliation, and when they were so agreed, they both knew that the great design of such their union would be their common hatred of the Christians. Accordingly, they fell upon them, and slew about fifty thousand of them; nay, the Jews were all destroyed, excepting a few who escaped, by the compassion which their friends or neighbors afforded them. As for the Turks, by spite against the Christians, the Turks will not suffer them to hire horses, but once only, when they go abroad to see the country, as Mr. Maudrall assures us, on the 12th.
ANTIQUEs OF THE JEWS.

These retired to Cleisphon, a Grecian city, and situate near to Seleucia, where the king [of Parthus] lives in winter every year, and where the greatest part of his riches are reposed, but the Jews had here no certain settlement, those of Babylon living here, conscious of the king's honor. Now the whole nation of the Jews were in fear both of the Babylonians and of the Seleucians, because 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 Neerda and Nisibis, and obtained security there by the strength of those cities; besides which their inhabitants, who were great many, were all warlike. 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 PABUR, THE ROMAN PROCURATOR.

CHAP. I.

How Caius was slain by Chereas.*

1. Now this Caius did not deign to prosecute his madness in offering injuries only to the Jews at Jerusalem, or to those that dwelt in the neighborhood, but suffered it to extend itself through all the earth and sea, so far as was in subjection to the Romans, and filled it with ten thousand miseries, so that all the nations in particular as former history relates. But Rome itself felt the most dismal effects of what he did, while he deemed not to be any way more honorable than the rest of the cities; but he pulled and hauled his greatness in public, but especially the senate, and particularly the nobility, and such as had been dignified by illustrious ancestors; he also had 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 ignominious manner, and removed them out of his way, while they were at once slain, and their wealth plundered; and because, generally, in order to seize on their riches. He also asserted his own divinity, and insisted on greater honors to be paid him by his subjects, than are due to mankind. He also frequented that temple of Jupiter, of which he made it his custom to go over it in a small ship, and thought, withal, that it became him to make that bridge, since he was lord of the sea, and might oblige it to give marks of obedience as well as the earth; so he enclosed the whole bay within his bridge, and drove his chariot over it, and thought that, as he was a god, it was fit for him to travel over such roads as this was. Nor did he abstain from the plunder of any of the Grecian temples, and gave way to all the engravings and sculptures, and the rest of the ornaments of the statues and donations therein dedicated, should be brought to him, saying, that "the best things ought to be set nowhere but in the best place, and that is here in this best place." He also adorned his own house and his gardens with the curiosities brought from those temples, together with the houses he lay at when he travelled all over Italy; whence he did not scruple to give a command, that the statue of Jupiter Olympus, so called because he was honored at the Olympian games by the Greeks, which was the work of Phidias the Athenian, should be brought to Rome. Yet did not he compass his end, because the architects told Memmius 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 other mighty prodigies as are of an incredible nature, put the thing down, and wrote to Caius those accounts, as his apology for not having done what his epistle required of him; and that when he was these letters in his hand, and seeing Caius being dead himself, before he had put him to death.

2. Nay, Caius's madness came to this height, that when he had a daughter born, he carried her into the Capitol, and put her upon the knee of that statue, and said, that the child was common to him and to Jupiter, and determined that she had two fathers, but which of these fathers was the greatest, he left undetermined; and yet mankind bore with him in such his pranks. He was often heard to say, that he should be as great and powerful as any of the other nations of the earth, and as they had been under afflictions, and wise caution to those who think their happiness will never end, nor bring them at length to the most lasting miseries, if they do not conduct their lives by the principles of virtue.

* In this and the three next chapters, we are, I think, a larger error than the distinct account of the slaughters under 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 pleasure he took in giving the history of the slaughter of such a barbarous tyrant as was this Caius Caligula, as also the deliverances his own nation had by that slaughter. In which matter he seems to have had Agrippa junior, whose father was deeply concerned in the advancement of Claudius, upon the death of Caius from which Agrippa junior. Josephus might be fully formed of this history.

† Called Caligula by the Romans
3. Now there were three several conspiracies made, in order to take off Calus, and each of these three was conducted by excellent persons. Emilianus Berytus, born the son, in him, got some men together, and was desirous to take Calus off either by them, or by himself. Another conspiracy there was laid by them, under the conduct of Chorea Cassius, the tribune [of the Pompeians], who, during Ananus was one of great consequence among those that were prepared to oppose his tyranny. Now the several occasions of these men's hatred and conspiracy against Calus were these: Regulus had divided the imposts of the road; and Calus, for fear he had a mind naturally so gay, and bold, and free, which made him not conceal his counsels; so he communicated them to many of his friends, and to these he used to say, that, being in the prime of life and vigour; Misucianus entered into this conspiracy, because of the injustice done to Lipidus, his particular friend, and one of the best charac-
ters of all the citizens, whom Calus had slain; as well as because he was an enemy to Calus, since Calus's wrath tended to the slaughter of all alike, and for Chorea, he came in, because he thought it a deed worthy of a free ingenious man to kill Calus, and was sauntered of the reproaches he had made them. They made him cowards; as also because he was himself in danger every day from his friendship with him, and the observance he paid him. These men proposed this attempt to all the rest that were conse-
crated to the conspiracy, saw the deliverance of the people, and of themselves, and were desirous that Calus's slaughter might succeed by their mutual assistance of one another, that they might themselves escape being killed by the removal of Calus; that perhaps they should also be in a manner the friends of the city and of the government, even at we hazard for, and adorn their own lives. But still Chorea was the most zealous of them all, both out of a desire of getting himself the greatest name, and also by reason of his close association with Calus, since cause he was titular, and could therefore the more easily kill him.

4. Now at this time came on the horse-races [Circensive games], the view of which games was so great, that all the opulent men, as they came with great acclivity into the hippodrome [circus] at such times, and petition their emperors, in great multitudes, for what they stand in need of; who usually did not think fit to deny them their request, but petition and gratu-
fully granted them. Accordingly they most im-
portunately desired, that Calus would now ease them in their tributes, and abate somewhat of the rigor of the taxes imposed upon them; but he would not hear their petition; and that, when the clamors increased, he sent soldiers, some one way, and some another, and gave order that they should lay hold on those that made the clamors, and, without any more ado, bring them out, and put them to death, and to make those conspiracy-erds mandate, and those who were commanded execute the same; and the number of those who were slain on this occasion was very great. Now the people saw this, and bore it so far, that they left off their care of their own eyes, that this petition to be relieved, as to the payment of their money, brought immediate death upon them. These things made Cherea more to be desirous of his plot, in order to put an end to this barbarity of Calus against men. He, then, several times, thought to fall upon Calus even as he was feasting; yet did he re-
strain himself by some considerations; not that he had any doubt on him about killing him, but as watching for a proper season, that the attempt might not be frustrated, but that he might give the blow so as might certainly gain his purpose.

5. Cherea had been in the army a long time, and yet was accused of taking from a man he had been with Calus. But Calus 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 those burdens, because he had braved him with his aloofness and had indulged his own mild disposition, than performed Caius's command; nay, indeed, he provoked Calus to anger by his sparing men, and playing the hard fortunes of those from whom he had received his pay, to make them feel how he had so braved him with his aloofness and effeminacy into being so long about collecting the taxes. And indeed he did not only affront him in other respects, but, when he gave him the watchword of the day, to whom it was to be given by his hand, he gave him feminine words, and those of a nature very reproachful; and these watchwords he gave out, as having been initiated in the secrets of certain of his, said he had himself the author of. Now, although he had sometimes put on women's clothes, and had been wrap in some embroidered garments to them belonging, and done a great many other things, in order to make the people laugh, and to make them a jest of, yet did he, by way of reproach, object the like womanish behavior to Cherea. But when Cherea received the watchword from him, he had indignation at it, but had greater indignation at this, for by the delivery of Calus, he had delivered those that received it; inasmuch that his fellow-tribunes made him the subject of their drollery; for they would foretell that he would bring none of his usual watchwords when he was about to take the watchword from Caesar; and he would thereby make him ridiculous; on which accounts he took the courage of assuming certain partners to him, as having just reasons for his indignation against Calus. Now there was a certain Pompeius, who had been a friend of Calus's, and had gone through almost all posts in the government, but otherwise an epicurean, and for that reason loved to lead an inactive life. Now Timidius, an enemy of his, had informed Calus that he had used indecent reproaches against him, and he made use of Quintilia, for a witness to them; a woman she was, much beloved by many that frequented the theatre, and particularly by Pompeius Timidius, on account of her beauty, by which woman he thought it a horrible thing to attest to an accusation that touched the life of her lover, which was also a lie. Timidius, however, wanted to have her brought to the torture. Calus was irritated at this, and ordered Cherea, without any delay, to torture Quintilia, as he used to employ Cherea in such bloody matters, and those that required the tor-
ture, because he thought he would do it the more barbarously, in order to avoid that imputation of effeminacy which he had laid upon him. But Quintilia, when she was brought to the rack, trod upon the foot of one of her associates, and let him know, that he might be of good courage, and she would not be treated not by much, but by consu-
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matter sorely grieved Cerea, as hav-
the cause, as far as he could, or the in-
of those miseries to men, which seem-
y of consultation to be the great mis-
count he said to Clement and to Papi-
whom Clement was general of the army,
inus was a tribune," "To be sure, Cle-
have noway failed in our guarding the-
for to having now men, whom he had
his government, some have been
our care and pains, and some have been
and this to such a degree, that he
that se retirement might be so great that
in submitting to conduct his armies;"
held his peace, but showed the shame
in obeying Caesar’s orders, both by
and his blushing countenance, while he
the assassination of what Caesar has
ress words, lest their own safety should
jured thereby. Upon which Cerea
rage, and spoke to him without fear of
ers that were before him, and discarded
of a kindness for under which the
the government then labored, and said,
y indeed pretend in words, that Caesar
upon whom the cause of such mis-
be impeared; but, in the opinion of
re of these cases they perceived they
had this Papinius, and before us thou
bring these tortures upon the Romans,
all mankind. It is not done by our
servicent to the commands of Caesar, but
the power to put an end to the life of this
hath so terribly injured the citizens
subjects, we are his guards in mischief
executors instead of his soldiers, and
instruments of his cruelty. We believe
not for our liberty, not for the Roman
ment, but only for his preservation, who
both aved their bodies and their minds;
and left them to die under Caesar’s
the city. Bad with the badly treated,
and the torments we inflict upon
this we do, till somebody becomes
strument in bringing the like miseries
selves. Nor does he thus employ us,
he hath a suspicion of us, as also because
undance more have been killed, (for
I set no bounds to his wrath, since he
to all, not out of regard to justice, but
to leaving the takers of the same mis-
cruelty; whereas we ought to be
the confirming the security and liberty of
the same time to resolve to free our-
ourselves."
who openly commended Chen-
tious; but bad he "hold his tongue;
ase his words should get out among
such things should be spread abroad
be concealed, the plot would come
before it was not concealed, and
would be brought to punishment: but that
uld leave all to futurity, and the hope
en arose, that some fortunate event
me to this assistance: that, as for him-
scould not prevent him: and that the
that case. However, although per-
uld suggest what may be safer than
Cerea, hast contrived and said, yet
not to suggest is to suffer his own
reputation?" So Clement went his
5, with deep reflections on what he had
w what he himself said. Cerea
under a concern, and went quickly to
at Brusus, who was himself one of the
and whom he otherwise knew to be a
and a lover of liberty, and on that
ery uneasy at the present management
are affairs, he being desires to come in-
to the assistance of what had been de-
and thinking it right for him to pro-
pos it to the other, and afraid lest Clement
should discover them, and besides looking upon
delays and puttings off to be next to desiring
from the enterprise.
3. But as all was agreeable to Sabinus, who
had himself, equally with Cerea, the same de-
sign; but had been silent for want of a person to
whom he could safely communicate that design;
did no one desire to have him put in that
pose to conceal what he heard, but who had al-
ready opened his mind to him, he was much
more encouraged, and desired of Cerea, that
see about it. And Cerea, after publicizing the
went to Minucianus, who was as virtuous a man
and as zealous to do glorious actions as them-
elves, and suspected by Caesars on occasion of
the slaughter of Lepidus; for Minucianus and
Lepidus were intimate friends and advisors of
the dangers that they were under; for Caesar
was terrible to all the great men, as appearing
ready to act a mad part towards each of them
in particular, and towards all of them in genera-
and these men were read of about this action,
they were yet uneasy at the posture of affairs,
but avoided to declare their mind and their ha-
tred against Caesar to one another, out of fear of
the dangers they might be in thereby, although
they perceived they might be discovered and at-
tred against Caesar, and on that account were not
averse to mutual kindness one towards another.
4. When Minucianus and Cerea had met to-
gether, and saluted one another, (as they had
one another conversed in former days,
upper hand to Minucianus, both on account of his
eminent dignity, for he was the noblest of all the
citizens, and highly commended by all men,
especially when he made, pesches to them) and
Minucianus began first, and asked Cerea, what
was the watchword he had received that day
from Caesar? for the afront which was offered
Cerea, in giving the watchwords, was famous
Caesar; and when no delay was made, the
long as to reply to that question, out of the
way he had that Minucianus would have such con-
idence in him as to discourse with him. "But
I do thou (said he) give me the watchword of
Liberty. And if I am read of about this action,
the thou hast so greatly encouraged me to exert myself
after an extraordinary manner; nor do I stand
in need of many words to encourage me, since
both thou and I are of the same mind, and per-
that, and this may day we have conferred together.
I have indeed but one sword gilt 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, or else I will err. If thou will assist me,
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 uses to
nor am I solicitous what I myself undergo;
for I am not at leisure to consider the dangers
that may come upon myself, so deeply am I trou-
bled at the slavery our once free country is now
under, and at the contemptuous contempts of our
laws, and at the destruction which hangs over
all men by the means of Caius. I wish that I
can be judged by these, and that thou mayest
seek me worth one in these matters, seeing we,
are both of the same opinion, and there
is herein no difference between us."
5. When Minucianus saw the vehemency with
which Cerea delivered himself, he gladly em-
bar her; but Cerea, having made the at-
act, commending him, and embracing him; so
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 Cerea entered into the city, the
report runs, that a voice came from among the
multitude to encourage him, which bad him
finish what he was about, and take the opportun-
ity of disposing of his goods. Caius, therefore, and
was from all suspicion that he
should be then assaulted by any body; and
although the gods should afford him no divine as-
sistance to enable him to take away his life, yet
had he strength himself sufficient to despach
Caius, even without a sword: thus was the
angry at his fellow-conspirators, for fear they
should suffer a proper opportunity to pass by;
and they were themselves sensible that he had
just cause to be angry at them, and his
sagacity was not without advantage; yet did they
desire he would have a little longer patience,
lest, upon any disappointment they might meet
with, they should put the city into disorder, and
an inquisition would be made of their
racy, and should render the courage of those
that were to attack Caius without success, while
he would then secure himself more carefully
than ever against them; that it would therefore
be the best to suffer to pass, and works that those
were exhibited in the palace. These shows
were acted in honor of that Cesar who first of
all changed the popular government, and trans-
ferred it to himself; galleries being fixed before
the palace, there the Roman
icians became spectators, together with their chil-
dren and their wives, and Cesar himself was
not to be a spectator; and they reckoned, among
those many ten thousands, who would there be
assembled, that they might have a favorable oppor-
tunity to make their attempt
upon him as he came in; because his guards
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. Cicheras consented to this delay, and when
the shows were exhibited, it was resolved to do
the work the first day. But fortune, which al-
lowed a further delay to his slayers, was too
hard for the conspirators; for the first few 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 Cicheras called the
beasts to a greater action, and works that those
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give him any assistance.
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 alive, any one else should kill Caius, and deprive me of the honor 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. But when they were about to execute their purpose; but Caius took hold of his garment, in an obliging way, and said to him, "O brave man! whither art thou going?" Whereupon, out of reverence to Cæsar, as it were, he returned not a word; but his face was turned to the wall, and he prevented the execution of the design, by going out and returning again; but his face prevailed over him, and in a little time he got up again, and then Caius did nowary oppose his going out, as thinking that he went out to perform some necessaries of nature. And Asprenas, the equestrian, who was very fond of Caius, and had given him much money, made him go to the bath, and to dinner, and then to come in again, as desirous that what had been resolved on might be brought to a conclusion immediately.

The equestrians, who associated placed themselves in order, as the time would permit them, and they were obliged to labor hard, that the place which was appointed should not be left by them; but they had an indignation at the conduct of those who were appointed to do about should be put off any longer, for it was already about the ninth hour of the day, and Cherea, upon Caius's sorrowing so long, had a great mind to go in, and fall upon him in his seat. So heretofore they could not go without much bloodshed, both of the senators, and of those of the equestrian order that were present; and although he knew this must happen, yet had he a great mind to do so, as thinking it a right method of weakening the power of the state, to all, at the expense of such as might perish at the same time. And as they were just going back into the entrance to the theatre, word was brought them that Caius was arisen, whereby a tumult arose: but hereupon they perceived the threataway the crowd, under pretense as if Caius was angry at them, but in reality as desirous to have a quiet place, that should have none in it. So they defended him, while they set about his slaughter. Now Claudius, his uncle, was gone out before, and Marcus Vinius, his sister's husband, as also Valerius of Asia; whom, though they had had such a mind to put out of their way all the senators, yet he knew that they could not be done so to do; then followed Caius, with Paulus Arruntius; and because Caius was now gotten within the palace, he left the direct road, along which those his servants stood that were in waiting; but then, in the night, he designed to have gone before; Caius turned aside into a private narrow passage, in order to go to the place for bathing, as also in order to take a view of the boys that 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 of dancing upon the theatres. So Cherea met him, and asked him for the watchword; upon Caius's giving him one of his ridiculous words, he believed it to be a word of that kind, I esteem him the greatest of all fools, in pleasing himself in his spite against Caius, rather than immediately procuring safety to himself and to his confederates from the dangers they were in, - Pontonius says, Caius was slain about the seventh hour of the day; Josephus about the ninth. The writer of the narration favors Josephus.
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because there might many things still happen for helping Caius' escape, if he had not already given up the ghost; for certainly Cherea would have regard, not so much to the punishment of Caius, as to the addiction 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' defenders, and not to leave it to uncertainty whether he should gain the end he aimed at, and the boldness and undertaking to act as if he had a mind to ruin himself, and lose the opportunity that lay before him; but every body may guess, as he pleases about this matter. However, Caius was staggered with the first blow, and being that he was so unmindful of the sword falling in the middle between the shoulder and the neck, was hindered by the first bone of the breast from proceeding any farther. Nor did he either cry out, in such astonishment was he, nor did he call out for any of his friends; whether it were that he had no confidence in them, or that his mind was otherwise disorder'd, but he groaned under the pain he endured, and presently went forward and fled; when Corsican Saulus, or some of them, being of the same mind so to do, thrust him down upon his knee, where many of them stood round about him, and struck him with their swords, and they cried out, saying: "This was a man that did not give us a second look at him again; but all agree that Aquila gave him the finishing stroke, which directly killed him. But one may justly ascribe this act to Cherea; for although many concurred in the act itself, yet will you not give it to any of those that did it, but to the first before all the rest to prepare for it, and was the first man that boldly spoke of it to the rest; and upon their admission of what he said about it, he got the dispersed conspirators together; he persuaded them, if they gave him the mouth of the act, and, by suggesting good advice, showed himself far superior to the rest, and made obliging speeches to them, insomuch that he even compell'd them all to go on, who otherwise would have stood clear of it. He did not suffer them to use his sword in hand, he appeared first of all ready so to do, and gave the first blow in this virtuous slaughter; he also brought Caius easily into the power of the rest, and made a sort of fire of him, now he had the mouth of the act, but just to ascribe all that the rest did, to the advice, and bravery, and labors of the hands of Cherea."

Thus did Caius come to his end, and lay dead, by the many wounds which had been given him. Now Cherea, and his associates, upon Caius' slaughter, saw that it was impossible for them to save themselves, if they should all go the same way, partly on account of the astonishment they were under: for it was no small danger they had incurred by killing an emperor, who was honored and loved by the madness of the people, especially when the soldiers were likely to be a bloody inquisition after his murderers. The passages also were narrow wherein the work was done, which were also crowded with a great multitude of Caius' attendants, and of such of the soldiers as were of the emperor's guard, that day, with him. It was that they went by other ways, and came to the house of Germanicus, the father of Caius, whom they had now killed, (which house adjoined to the palace; for while the edifice was one, it was built along; and this was with very judicious persons who had been emperors, and those parts bore the names of those that built them, or the name of him who had begun to build any of its parts.) So they got away from the insult of the multitude, that was for the inquisition of them, as danger, that is, so long as the misfortunes which had overtaken the emperor was not known. The Germans were the first that perceived that Caius was slain. The Germans were Caius' guard, and carried the name of the country whence they were chosen, and composed the Celtic legion. The men of that country are naturally passionate, which is commonly the temper of some other of the barbarous nations also, as not being usual to consider much about what they do; they are of robust bodies, and fall upon their enemies as soon as ever they are attacked by them; and which way soever they go, they perform great exploits. We must therefore, the story is understood that Caius was slain, they were very sorry for it, because they did not use their reason in judging about public affairs, but measured all by the advantages themselves received, Caius being beloved of them, because of the money he gave them, by which he had purchased their kindness to him: so they drew their swords, and Sabinus led them on. He was one of the tribunes, not by the means of the virtuous actions of his progenitors, for he had a generous soul; but he had obtained that post in the army by his having a robust body. So these Germans marched along the houses in quest of Caesar's murderers, and cut Asprenus to pieces, because he was the first man that fell for Caius, and it was that the blood of the sacrifice stained, as I have said already, and which foretold that this his meeting the soldiers would not be for his good. And these men must not be estimated from the principal sobriety of the city, and could show many generals of armies among his ancestors, but they paid no regard to his dignity; yet were he of such great strength, that he wrested the sword of those who stript him of the ends 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 assailants, and died by the multitude of the wounds which they gave him. The third day after he died, a senator, and a few others with him. He did not meet with these Germans by chance, as the rest did before, but came to show his hatred to Caius, and because he loved to see Caius lie dead with his own eyes, and to be pleased in that sight; for Caius had dishonored Anteius' 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 this man, new dead, and now all in a tumult, when he was aiming to hide himself, he could not escape that accurate search which the Germans made, while they barbarously slew those that they were not guilty, and this equally also. And thus were these [three] persons slain. 16. But when the rumor that Caius was slain reached the theatre, they were astonished at it, and could not believe it; even some that entered attained his destruction with great pleasure, and were more desirous of its happening than almost any other satisfaction that could come to them. They were under such a fear, that they could not believe it. There were also those who greatly trusted it, because they were unwilling that any such thing should come to Caius, nor could believe it, though it were ever so true, because they thought no man could possibly have so much power as to kill Caius. The most of them 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 tyrannized with him, and had abused the best of his citizens, in being subservient to his unjust command. The advantages and advantages to themselves; but for the women, and the youth, they had been inveigled with shows, and the fightings of the gladiators, and certain distributions of flesh among them, which the law was to deprive, but were desired 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 despise
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS

ed to do to the spectators, which would have been the greatest instance of cruelty. And so it appeared to even these savages, when they had once fixed the heads of those that were slain. With this the spectators were so exasperated, that they fancied all the money their masters had, they might soon obtain both riches and liberty, as the rewards of their accusations, because the reward of these informers was the eighth part of the criminal's substance. As to the nobles, although the report appeared credible to some of them, either because they knew of the plot beforehand, or because they wished it might be true; however, they concealed not only the joy they had at the accusation of it, but that they hated, say things at all about it. These last acted so out of the fear they had, that if the report proved false, they should be punished, for having so soon let men know their minds. But those that knew Caius was dead, because they were partners with the conspirators, they concealed all still more cautiously, as not knowing one another's minds; and fearing lest they should speak of it to some of those to whom the continuance of tyranny was advantageous; and, if Caius should prove to be alive, they might be informed against, and punished. And another report went about, that although Caius had been wounded indeed, yet was not he dead, but still alive, and under the physicians. Nove had one looked upon by another as faithful enough to be trusted, and to whom any one would open his mind; for he was either a friend to Caius, and therefore suspected to favor his tyranny; or, he was one that had the physicks for his secret, and was supposed to deserve the less credit, because of his illwill to him. Nay, it was said by some, (and this indeed was that deprived the nobility of their hopes, and made them sad,) that Caius was in a condition of danger because of the danger he was in, and took no care of healing his wounds, but was gotten away into the market-place, and, bloody as he was, was making a harvest to the people. And these were the conjectural reports of those that were so unreasonable as to endeavor to raise tumults, which they turned different ways, according to the opinions of the hearers. Yet did they not leave their seats, for fear of being caught, but they should go on till before the rest; for they should not be sentenced according to the real intention with which they went out, but according to the supposals of the accusers, and of the judges.

But the multitude of Germans had surrounded the theatre, with their swords drawn; all the spectators looked for nothing but death, and at every one's coming in a fear arose upon them, as if they were to be cut in pieces immediately; and in great distress they were, as neither having courage enough to go out of the theatre, nor believing themselves safe from dangers if they tarried there. And when the Germans came upon them, the cry was so great, that the theatre was filled with the cries of the multitude of the spectators to the soldiers; pleading that they were entirely ignorant of every thing that related to such seditious contrivances, and that if there were any sedition raised, they knew nothing of it. They were afraid that they would spare them, and not punish those that had not the least hand in such bold crimes as belonged to other persons, while they neglected to search after such as had really done whatsoever it was they wished to speak of. This made these people appeal to God, and deplore their inactivity with shedding of tears, and beating their faces, and said every thing that the most imminent danger, and the utmost concern for their lives, could dictate to them. There was hope that they would be favored, and made them repent of what they mind.

The rewards proposed by the Roman laws to informers were sometimes an eighth part of the criminal's
and that he intended to claim the government, unwillingly indeed in appearance, but in reality by his own free consent, stood up in the senate, and without being disarmed, made an exhortatory oration to them, and such a one indeed as was fit for men of freedom and generosity, and spoke thus:

2. "Although it be a thing incredible, O Romans, because of the great length of time, that so unexpected an event hath happened, yet are we now in possession of liberty. How long indeed this will last is uncertain, and lies at the disposal of the gods, whose power it is as sufficient to make us rejoice, and be happy for the present, although we may soon be deprived of it; for one hour is sufficient to those that are exercised in virtue, wherein we may live with our free consent, upheld by our own country, now free, and governed by such laws as this country once flourished under. As for myself, I cannot remember our former time of liberty, as being born after it was gone; but I am, discoursed, as filled with joy at the thoughts of our present freedom. I also esteem those who were born and bred up in that our former liberty, happy men, and that those men who are not worthy to be the sons of themselves, who have given us a taste of it in this age; and I heartily wish, that this quiet enjoyment of it, which we have at present, might continue to all ages. However, this single day is sufficient to make us confident that we are in the life of Caesar, who put an end at this time an air of great assurance, and appeared with great magnanimity, as if the administration of the public affairs were already devolved upon them.

CHAP. II.

How the Senators determined to restore the Democracy; but the Soldiers were for preserving the Monarchy. Concerning the Slaughter of Caesar's Wife and Daughter. A Character of Caesar's Morals.

1. When the public affairs were in this post, the Senators, and the Senate, decided to take out of his house: for the soldiers had a meeting together, and when they had debated about what was to be done, they saw that a democracy was incapable of managing such a vast weight of public affairs, and that if it should be set up, it would not be for their advantage; and if in any one of those already in the government should obtain the supreme power, it would in all respects be to their grief, if they were not assisting to him in casting off them, they might be the first toRight for them, while the public affairs were unsettled, to choose Claudius emperor, who was uncle to the deceased Caesar, and of a superior dignity and worth to every one of those that were assembled together in the senate, both on account of the virtues of his ancestors, and of the learning he had acquired by his education, and who, if once settled in the empire, would reward them according to their deserts, and bestow largesses upon them. These were their considerations, and they executed the same immediately.

Claudius was therefore seised upon suddenly by thesoldiers. But Cæsar Seæus Saturinus, although he understood that Claudius was seised,
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 his 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 inden- cement to the acquiring of Tiberius soared after the highest pitch of that sort of reputation; and Caius soared after the like glory for eloquence, being induced thereto by the letters of his friends and the emperor. He was also among the first rank of free citizens. But the advantages he received from his learning did not counterbalance the mischief he brought upon himself, in the exercise of his authority; so difficult it is for the topics of virtue that is necessary for a wise man, who have the absolute power to do what they 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; who insti- tuted their zealous 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 they raised against him, and wherein 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 that was so mighty, and by a sad accident of the murder of Caius, he was in great distress how to save himself, and was found to have hidden himself in a certain narrow place, though he had other things to do, and was hurried by any dangers, besides the dignity of his birth; for, while he was a private man, he beheld himself with moderation, and was contented with his present fortune, applying himself to learning. Other men, and especially the Germans, who inaugi- rating himself entirely clear from every thing that might bring on any disturbance. But as at this time the multitude were under a consternation, and the whole palace was full of the soldiers' madness, and he was under the like fear and disorder with private persons, the band called pretorian, which was the purest part of the army, was in consultation what was to be done at this juncture. Now all those that were at this consultation, had little regard to the punishment Caius had suffered, because he justly deserved such his fortune; but they were rather considering their own circumstances, how they might take the best care of themselves, especially while the Germans were strong in punishing the murderers of Caius; which yet 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 Aspersas and his partners carried about. His station had been on a certain elevated place, whither a few steps led him, and whither he had retired in the dark by himself. But when God raised up a man that belonged to the palace, saw him, but did not well know by his countenance who he was, 1

1 This Caius was the son of that excellent person Germanicus, who was the son of Drusus; the brother of Tiberius the emperor.

2 This first place Claudius came to was inhabited, and called Aspernas, as Sestinon here informs us from Sestinon, in Claud. chap. x.
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 of their enemies, while all lovers of liberty and 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 abundant mischiefs they have brought on these men, they know, if they have borne their hard fortunes, they cannot but be sensible what evils they have done, and thence only depend on security from what they are suspicious of. If it may be in their power to take them quite out of the way, they prefer that route; since, more than ten clear of such great misfortunes, and are only accountable to one another, (which form of government affords us the best assurance of our present concord, and promises us the best security) rather than any hazard of danger to come upon them; because they have now no lord set over them, who, without fear of punishment, so far as hath been done to the contrary, and had gained an uncontroulable power to take off those that freely declare their opinions. Nor has any thing so much contributed to this increase of tyranny as this vile counsel, and a timorous forbearance of 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, or saw the miserable state of near us, out of the dread of dying virtuously, endured a death joined with the utmost infancy. We ought, then, in the first place, to decree the greatest honors we are able to those that have taken off the tyrant, especially Caius; for this one man with the assistance of the gods, hath by his counsel, and by his actions, been the procurer of our liberty. Nor ought we to forget him now we have recovered our liberty, who, under the foregone counsel of before, and beforehand hazarded himself for our liberties, but declined honors, and thereby freely declare, that he from the beginning acted with our approbation. And certainly it is a very excellent thing, when what becomes of freemen, to make these things requisite their benefactors, as this man hath been a benefactor to us all, though not at all like Caesar and Brutus, who slew Caesar Julius Cesar; for those men laid the foundations of sedition any from war in peace, and this most together with his slaughter of the tyrant, hath set our city free from all those sad miseries which arose from the tyranny."

And this was the purport of Sentius's oration, which was received with pleasure by the senators, and by as many of the equestrian order as were present. And now one Trebellius Maximus rose up hastily, and took off Sentius's finger a ring. Caius, whose name was a stone, with the image of Caius engraved upon it, and which, in his zeal in speaking, and his earnestness in doing what he was about, as it was supposed, he had forgotten to take off himself. This sculpture was broken immediately, and it was not far in the night, Chereas demanded of the consuls the watch-word, who gave him this word—Liberty. These facts were the subjects of admiration to them, and almost incredible; for it was a hundred years since the democracy had been laid aside, when this giving the watch-word returned to the consuls; for, before the city was subject to their soverain, they were the commanders of the soldiers. But, when Chereas had received that watchword, he delivered it to those who were on the senate's side, which were four regiments, who esteemed the government without respect to names. And they have now got away with their tribunes. The people also now departed very joyful, full of hope and courage, having recovered their former Democracy, and were no longer under an emperor; and the consuls had made it a law to keep the senate in all the former authority, and to prevent them from having any other assembly without their consent. And now Chereas was very uneasy that Caius's daughter and wife were still alive, and that all his family did not perish with him; since it was left of them must be left for the ruin of the city, and of all such men as, in order to finish this matter with the utmost zeal, and in order to satisfy his hatred of Caius, he sent Julius Lupus, one of the tribunes, to kill Caius's wife and daughter. They proposed this office to Lupus, as to be a punishment, that he might be so far a partaker of this murder of the tyrant, and might rejoice in the virtue of having assisted his fellow-citizens, and that he might make of his wife and daughter the noblest persons that were first 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 to a woman, because Caius did more indulge his own revenge than use her advice. In all this, he did; from which nature it was that the city was in such a desperate condition with the miseries that were brought on it, and the flower of the city was destroyed. But others accused her of having conspired with him to these things; and they ascribed all that Caius had done to her as the cause of it, and said she had given a portion to Caius, which had made him obnoxious to her, and had tied him down to love her by such vile contrivances. For Caius for this one man with him distracted, was become the author of all the mischiefs that had fallen the Romans, and that habitable world which was subject to them. So that at length it was determined that she must die; and that she should be kept alive at all cost, and that all should be avoided to have saved her; and Lupus was sent accordingly. Nor was there any delay made in executing what he went about, but he was subserivient to those that sent him on the first opportunity, and this conspired to, that might be done for the advantage of the people. So when he came into the palace, he found Cesonias, who was Caius's wife, lying by her husband's dead body, which also lay down on the ground, and that the consuls, in order to avoid the law allows to the dead, and all over herself be smeared with the blood of her husband's wounds, and bewailing the great affliction she was under, was begging her to avoid all the charge of Calus, as if he had not regarded what she had often told him beforehand; which words of hers were taken in a different sense from what was intended by him; and they were ambiguous by those that hear of them, and are still interpreted according to the different inclinations of people. Now some said that the words denoted, that she had advised him to leave off his designs, and made her example 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 Sartorius, we may see the great value virtuous men put upon public liberty, and the sad misery they underwent, while they were tyrants. See also the consuls and the emperor, as in the case of Pompey's own short but pithy reflection at the end of the chapter: "Be difficult," says he, "it is for those to obtain the virtues that is necessary to a wise man, who have the absolute power to do what they please without control." *

The means we learn that, in the opinion of Sartorius, the sovereign authority of the consuls and senate had been taken away from Caius, A. D. 41, or in the 90th year before the Christian era, when the first triumvirate began under Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus.
But some said, that, as certain words had passed concerning the conspirators, she desired Caius to make no delay, but immediately to put them all to death, and whether they were guilty or not, and that thereby he would be clear of any danger; and that this was what she re-approached him for, when she advised him so to do; but he was too slow and tender in the matter. And this was what Cæsaria said, and what the others also accused him of. As for Lupa, she, seeing Caius’s dead body, and persuaded him to come nearer with lamentation and tears: and as she perceived that Lupa was in disorder, and approached her in a kind of frenzy, she held herself in herself, as she was well aware for what purpose he came, and stretched out her naked throat, and that very cheerfully to him, bewailing her case, and not uttering a single syllable of her life, and bid- ding him not to boggle any longer, as they had only resolved upon waiting to her. So she boldly received her death’s wound at the hand of Lupa, as did the daughter after her. So Lupa made haste to inform Ceres of what he had done.

5. This was the end of Caius, after he had reigned four years within four months. He was, even before he came to be emperor, ill-natured, and one that had arrived at the utmost pitch of wickedness; he had branded his whole body with calumny; greatly affected by every terrible accident, and on that account of a very murderous disposition, where he durst show it. He enjoyed his exorbitant power to this only purpose, to injure those who least deserved it. By his unreasonable insolence, and got his wealth by murder and injustice. He labored to appear above regarding either what was divine or agreeable to the laws, but was a slave to the commandments of the prophet, under whom he employed his efforts. He was too shamed, and punished, that he esteemed more honorable than what was virtuous. He was unkind of his friends, how intimate soever, and though they were persons of any kind of the eminence of his time, and angry at any of them, he would inflict punishment upon them on the smallest occasions, and esteemed every man that endeavored to lead a virtuous life his enemy. And whatsoever he commanded or ordered, and with any absolute authority, he did with the greatest indignation. How that he had in criminal conversation with his own sister; from which occasion chiefly it was also, that a bitter hatred first sprang up against him among the crowd of people. He was also long known of a long time; and so this provoked men to distrust him, and to hate him that was guilty of it. And for any great or royal work that he ever did, which might be for the present and for future ages, nobody can speak advantage to the navigation. Yet was not this work brought to perfection by him, but was the one-half of it left imperfect, by reason of his want of application to it; the cause of which was this, that he lived too much in studies about useless matters, and that by spending his money upon such pleasures as concerned no one’s benefit but his own, he could not exert his abilities in things that were undesirably of great consequence.—Other accounts say, they were all very much acquainted with the Greek tongue, as well as his own country or Roman language.

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 incitement to him by the letters of his kinsman and his emperor. He was also of a very liberal mind to his fellow citizens. But the advantages he received from 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; for they have the absolute power to do whatever they 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 instilled their opinions upon them and the danger 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 when he was to be king in them; from which hatred came that plot which they raised against him, and wherein he perished.

CHAP. III.

How Claudius was seized upon, and brought out of his House, and brought to the Camp, and how the Senators 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 of the house of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius was the sad accident of the murder of Caius, he was in great distress how to save himself, and was found to have hidden himself in a certain narrow place, though he had no other occasion for suspicion of any danger, 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 from the company of tumult and of riot, because he thought it might bring on any disturbance. But as at this time the multitude were under a consternation, and the whole palace was full of the soldiers’ madness, and the very guards seemed under the like fear and disorder with private persons, the band called pretorian, which was the purest part of the army, was in consultation what was to be done at this juncture. Now all those that were at this consultation, had little regard to the punishment Caius had suffered, because he justly deserved such his fortune; but they were rather considering their own circumstances, how they might take the best care of themselves, especially while the Germans were upon the camp and advantage to the navigation. Yet was not this work brought to perfection by him, but was the one-half of it left imperfect, by reason of his want of application to it; the cause of which was this, that he lived too much in studies about useless matters, and that by spending his money upon such pleasures as concerned no one’s benefit but his own, he could not exert his abilities in things that were undesirably of great consequence.—Other accounts say, they were all very much acquainted with the Greek tongue, as well as his own country or Roman language.

1. This Cæsarius was the son of that excellent person Germanicus, who was the father of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius the emperor.

3. This first place Claudius came to was inhabited, and called Hellenon; but we here inform us from Suetonius, in Cæsæar, chap. x.
and in the veneration 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 of their enemies, and how the greater number of 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 abundant mischiefs they have brought on these men, and how unanimously these have borne their hard fates, they cannot but be sensible what evils they have done, and hence only depend on security from what they are suspicious of. If it may be in their power to take them quite out of the world. Since, they are now got clear of such great misfortunes, and are only accountable to one another, (which form of government allows us the best assurance of our present concord, and promises us the best security from within us, and of and to the laws. Moreover, in order to finish this matter with the utmost zeal, and in order to satisfy his hatred of Caesar, he sent Julius Lepus, one of the tribunes, to kill Caesar's wife and daughter. They proposed this office to Lepus, as to aieron of Clement, that he might be so far a partaker of this murder of the tyrant, and might rejoice in the virtue of having assisted his fellow-citizens, and that he might appear to have been a partaker with those that were the objects of the great and just resentment; that did this action appear to some of the conspirators to be too cruel, as to this using such severity to a woman, because Caesar did more indulge his own ill-nature, than use her advice in all that he did, and that it was difficult to conceive how it 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 accused her of doing it by command of Caesar, which, being nothing but a threat, was principally joined with the cause of it, and said she had given a potion to Caesar, which had made him obnoxious to her, and had tied him down to love her by such evil methods; insomuch that she, having rendered him distracted, was become the author of all such mischiefs that had befallen the Romans, and that habitable world which was subject to them. So that at length it was determined that she must die, nor could those of the contrary opinion at all prevail. She was sent accordingly. Nor was there any delay made in executing what he went about, but he was subordinate to those that sent him on the pretence of the duties, and of doing what might be done for the advantage of the people. So when he was come into the palace, he found Cesonia, who was Caesar's wife, lying by her husband's dead body, which also lay down on the ground, and at the injunction of all such things as the law allows to the dead, and all over herself smeared with the blood of her husband's wounds, and bewailing the great affliction she was under, her daughter lying by her also; and nothing else was heard in the ears of the people but the complaint of Calus, as if he had not regarded what she had often told him of beforehand; which words of hers were taken in a different sense even at that time, and are now esteemed equally true and just. But now, before the last word is still interpreted according to the different inclinations of people. Now some said that the words denoted, that she had advised him to leave off his mad behavior and his barbarous cruelty to the citizens, and to pass the line of his just limitation and virtue, lest he should perish by the same way, upon their using him as he had used them.

In this oration of Sentius Saturinus, we may see the great value virtuous men put upon public liberty, and the sad misery they underwent, while they were tyrannized over by such emperors as Calus. See Josephus' own account of his death on the 27th of May, A.D. 14. At the end of the page.
BOOK XIX.—CHAP. III.

But some said, that, as certain words had passed concerning the conspirators, she desired Caius to make no delay, but immediately to put them all to death, and this whether they were guilty or not, and that thereby he would be out of the fear of any danger; and that she had reproached him for, when she advised him so to do; but he was too slow and tender in the matter.

And this was what Cæsaria said, and what she was about to do. But she saw Lupus approach, she shewed him Caius's dead body, and persuaded him to come nearer with lamentation and tears: and as she perceived that Lupus was in disorder, and approached her in order to succour and comfort her, and to help herself, she was well aware for what purpose he came, and stretched out her naked throat, and that very cheerfully to him, bewailing her case, take one utterly despairing of her life, and bidding a spending up her body, she was too industrious a man, to that account of a very murderous disposition, where he durst show it. He enjoyed his exorbitant power to this only purpose, to injure those who least deserved it, with unreasonable cruelty, and got indulgence by murder and injustice. He laboured to appear above regarding either what was divine or agreeable to the laws, but was a slave to the commendations of the populace; and whatsoever he determined was esteemed more honorable than what was virtuous. He was unmindful of his friends, how intimate soever, and though they were persons of reputation, yet he would have them, for he was once angry at any of them, he would inflict punishment upon them on the smallest occasions, and esteemed every man that endeavoured to lead a virtuous life his enemy. And whatsoever he commanded was the end of all; after he had given dictation to his inclinations: whence it was that he had criminal conversation with his own sister; a from which occasion chiefly it was also, that a bitter hatred first sprung up against him among the people, and was known of long time; and this provoked men to distrust him, and to hate him that was guilty of it. And for any great or royal work that he ever did, which might be for the present and for future good of the empire, and to the punishment of such as were unfaithful and disorderly, but only the haven that he made about Rhegium and Sicily, for the reception of the ships that brought corn from Egypt; which was indeed a work without dispute very great in itself, and of very great advantage; and when this work was brought to perfection by him, but was the one-half of it left imperfect, by reason of his want of application to it; the cause of which was, that he employed his studies about useless matters, and that by spending his money too much on such pleasures as concerned no one's benefit but his own, he could not exert his liberality in things that were undoubtedly of great consequence.—Otherwise he was an excellent orator, and thoroughly acquainted with the Greek tongue, as well as with his own country or Roman language.

He was also able, of hand and readiness, 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 he increased by much exercise and painstaking; for as he was the grandson of the brother of Tiberius, whose successor he was; this was a strong incen- 

ment to his acquiring of learning, because Tiberius spared not the expense that 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 his own arbiter, and considered every thing there was a power, whether they have the absolute power to do what they 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 states, and they that had been his opponents, 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 they raised against him, and wherein 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 Embassay 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 said accident, the very emperor of the state of Claudius was in great distress how to save himself, and was found to have hidden himself in a certain narrow place, though he had no other occasion for suspicion of any danger, besides the character 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 from company, because it might bring on any disturbance. But as at this time the multitude were under a consternation, and the whole palace was full of the soldiers' madness, and the very emperor's guards seemed to be under the like disorder, and by his sons, the hand called pretorian, which was the purest part of the army, was in consultation what was to be done at this juncture. Now all those that were at this consultation, had little regard to this calamity, because they justly deserved such his fortune; but they were rather considering their own circumstan-nces, how they might take the best care of themselves, especially while the Germans were busy with the war, and they with the orators in punishing. Velleius 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 hands of Asper had his palace carried about. His station had been on a certain elevated place, whither a few steps led him, and whither he had 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 answered, "If this is 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 Caius, he bade them spare him, putting them in mind how quietly he had demeaned himself, and that he was unacquainted with what had been done. Hereupon Gratus smiled upon him, and took him by the right hand, and then let him go on, and these few thoughts of saving yourself, while you ought to have greater thoughts, even of obtaining the empire, which the gods, out of their concern for the habitable world, by taking Caius out of the way, are therefore, and accept of the throne of thy ancestors." So they took him up and carried him, because he was not then able to go on foot, such was his dread and his joy at what was told him.

2. This Gratus was already heard of before about Gratus a great number of the guards; and when they saw Claudius carried off, they looked with a sad countenance, as supposing that he was to be executed for the mischiefs that had been brought about; but while yet Gratus thought a man who never meddled with public affairs all his life long, and one that had met with no contemptible dangers under the reign of Caius; and some of them thought it reasonable that the consul, who was of such a conduct, should not have that greatest honor decreed to him that a free people could bestow, and by subjecting himself to the law, would obtain this branch of commendation, that he acted like a man of virtue, but they gave him to understand that they would act foolishly, and learn no wisdom by Caius's death, they would not permit him to go on; that a great part of the army was got together for them, with plenty of means, and that they would make use of: that good hope was a great matter in such cases, as was also good fortune, and that the gods would never assist any others but those that undertook it 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 Brocchus, who were both of them tribunes of the army, were the first which came to the palace, and finding the Emperor dead, they fell down upon their knees, begged of him, that he would not throw the city into wars and misfortunes; but when they saw what a multitude of soldiers encompassed a. d guarded Claudius, and that the gods should not make use of them in comparison of them, perfectly inconsiderable, they added, that "if he did desire the government, he should accept of it as given by the senate; that he would prosper better, and be happier, if he came to it, not by the injustice, but by the good will of those that bestowed 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 and that an insolent manner the senate had sent to him, yet did he, according to their advice, behave himself for the present with moderation; but not so far that he could not recover himself out of his fright, so as he was encouraged [to an assault] partly by the holiness of the soldiers, and partly by the persuasion of king Agrippa, who exhorted him not to let such a domination slip out of his hands, when it came thus to him of his own accord. Now, this king Agrippa, sues us that, by a decree of the senate, the surname of Germanicus was bestowed upon Druses, and his posterity also. In Claud, ch. i.
with relation to Caesar, did what became one that had been so much honored by him; for he embraced Caesar's body after he was dead, and laid it upon a bed, and covered it as well as he could, and went out to the guards, and told them that Caesar was still alive, but he said that they should call for physicians, since he was very ill of his wounds. But when he had learned that Claudius was carried away violently by the soldiers, he rushed through the crowd to him, and when the soldiers were about to resign up the government to the senate, he encouraged him, and desired him to keep the government; but when he had said this to Claud- ius, he retired home. And upon the senate's sending him a commission, he anointed him with oint- ment, as if he had lately accompanied his wife, and had dismissed her, and then came to them: he also asked of the senators what Clau- dius had no mind to, but he said that nothing was to receive what was most agreeable to them; for that those who grasp at government, will stand in need of weapons, and soldiers to guard them, unless they will set up without any preparation for it, and so fall into the error of those who said that "they would bring them weapons in abundance, and money, and that as to an army, a part of it was already collected together for them, and they would raise a larger one by giving the senate what was due to them; and as this was what the senators; may you be able to compass what you have a mind to; yet will I immediately tell you my thoughts, because they tend to your preser- vation: take notice, then, that the army which you command, and which Claudius hath to contend in warlike affairs: but our army will be no better than a rude multitude of raw men, and those such as have been unexpectedly made free from slavery, and are uncertain whether to fight against those that are skillful in war, with men who know not so much as how to draw their swords. So that my opinion is, that we should send some persons to Claudius, to persuade him to be with us, and I am ready to be one of your ambassadors."

2. Upon this speech of Agrippa, the senate complied with him, and he was sent among others, and privately informed Claudius of the discourse that had been made to the guards, to answer them in a somewhat commanding strain, and as one invested with dignity and authority. Accordingly, Claudius said to the ambassadors, that "he did not wonder the senate had not mind to have an emperor set up, because they had been harassed by the barbarity of those that had formerly been at the head of their affairs; but that they should taste of an equitable government under him, and moderate discipline. And when the soldiers asked how many they intended to dictate to them, he said that the guards every man five thousand drachmee splice," and a proportionable quantity to their captains, and promised to give the same to the rest of the armies wherever they were. 3. And now the consuls called the senate to

*This number of drachmee was distributed to each private soldier, or to each man of the guards, the number being distributed to all, or at least to a number of soldiers, or at least to a number of guardsmen, as many as there were in the army, and it was distributed to them in order to prevent them from deserting.

2161 scholars, seems much too large, and directly contradicts Suetonius, chap. x. who makes them in all but 15 sentences, or 24. 64. Yet might Josephus have

the temple of Jupiter the Conquer or, 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 foreseeing whether the public affairs were going, and despairing of liberty; nay, these supposed it much better for them to be slaves without danger to themselves, and to live a laborious and inactive life, than by claiming the dignity of free men, to expose themselves to 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 change was made, and into the city they ran the senators that were on their 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 their sentiments to the people, and the public sentiment was to the same effect not to all, but to one; but they gave the senate leave to look out for a person worthy to be set over them, meacum, that now the affairs of the senate were much worse than before; because they had not only failed in the recovery of their liberty, which they boasted themselves of, but were in dread of Claudius also. Yet were there those that hastened after the government, both on account of the dignity of their families, and that accruing to them by their many friends. Marcus Minucius was illustrious, both by his own nobility, and by his having married Julia, the sister of Calus, who accordingly was very ready to claim the government, although the consul discouraged him, and another in proposing it: that Minucius also, who was one of Caesar's murderers, restrained Valerius of Asia from thinking of such things, and a prodigious slaughter there had been, if leave had been given to them to sacrifice themselves and oppose Claudius. There were also a considerable number of gladiators besides, and of those soldiers that kept watch by night in the city, and runners by day, who all run into the camp, insomuch, that those of those that put in for the government, some left off their pretensions in order to spare the city, and others out of fear for their own persons.

4. But as soon as it was day, Chera, and those that were with him, came into the senate, and attempted to make speeches to the soldiers. However, the multitude of those soldiers, when they saw that they were making signals for silence, and were in agreement with their own persons, as to not to speak to them, grew tumultuous, and would not let them speak at all, because they were all zealous to be under a monarchy; and they demanded of the senate one for their ruler, as not enduring any longer delays; but the senate hesitated about either their own governing, or how they should themselves be governed, while the soldiers would not admit them to govern, and the murderers of Caesar would not permit the senate to dictate to them. When the soldiers, in these circumstances, Chera was not able to contain the anger he had, and promised, that if they desired an emperor, he would give them one, if any one would come forward. So the ambassadors, upon their hearing this his answer, were dismissed. But Claudius discoursed with the army which was there gathered together, who took oath that they would persist in the matter. After which, Claudius made the guards every man five thousand drachmee.
should commit the government to a fool." Yet were they not moved with his words, but drew their swords, and took up their ensigns, and went in Claudius to join in taking the guilt of fidelity to him. So the senate were left without any body to defend them, and the very consuls differed nothing from private persons. They were also under consternation and sorrow, men not knowing whether they would become objects of execrations, because Claudius was very angry at them; so they fell to reproaching one another, and reproached of what they had done. At which juncture Sabinius, one of Caius's murderers, threatened that he would shoot the midle of them, and kill himself, than consent to make Claudius emperor, and see slavery returning upon them: he also abused Cereas for loving his life too well, while he was now about to end his in the 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, they found it impossible to do it. But Cereas said, he had no manner of doubt upon him about killing himself; that yet he would first sound the intention of Claudius before he did it.

5. These were the debates about the senate; but in the camp every body was crowding on all sides to pay their court to Claudius, and the other consuls of Rome. But Pompeius, as he was approached by the soldiers, as having rather exhorted the senate to recover their liberty; whereupon they drew their swords, and were going to assault him, and they had done it, if Claudius had not hindered. The soldiers, who snatched him as casual out of the danger he was in, and set him by him. But he did not receive that part of the senate which was with Quintus in the like honorable manner; say, some of them received blows, and were threatened as they came to salute Claudius; say, Aponius went away wounded, and they were all in danger. 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 senate together into the palace, and was carried thither himself through the city, while the soldiers, who were in the streets, and in the great vexation of the multitude; for Cereas and Sabinius, two of Cauis's murderers, went in the forefront of them, in an open manner, while Pollio, whom Claudius a little before had made consul of Cæsars, had written an epistle to Claudius, to forbid them to appear in public. Then did Claudius, upon his coming to the palace, get his friends together, and desired their sufferings about Cereas. They said, that the work he had done was but one, but they accused him that he did it of perfidiousness, and thought it just to inflict the punishment [of death] upon him, to discountenance such actions for the time to come. So Cereas was led to his execution, and

*Lupus, and many other Romans with him; now it is reported that Cereas bore his calamity courageously, and this, not only by the firmness of his own behavior under it, but by the way he laid upon Lupus, who fell into tears; for when Lupus had laid his garment aside and complained of the cold,* he said, that cold was never hurtful to lupus, [i. e. a wolf.] And as a great many men wished himself to be Pecorus, because of his brother, who was so wounded, when Cereas came to the place, he asked the soldier who was to be their executioner, whether his office was what he was used to; or whether this was the first time of his using his sword in that manner; for him to bring him that very sword with which he himself slew Caesar. So he was happily killed at one stroke. But Lupus did not meet with such good fortune in going out of the city when he was sent away; for the manners, and the blows levell'd at his neck, because he did not stretch it out boldly [as he ought to have done.]

6. Now, a few days after this, as the parental solemnities were near at hand, the Roman multitude mad gave usual obligations to their several ghosts, and put portions into the fire, in honor of Cereas, and besought him to be merciful to them, and not continue his anger against them for their ingratitude. And this was the end of the delivery of Pompeius. For he was, though Claudius not only set him at liberty, but gave him leave to retain his former command in the army; yet did he think it would be unjust in him to fail of performing his obligations to his friends. For he would be 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, the Kingdom of Asia, and augmented his Dominions: and how he published an edict in behalf of the Jews.

§ 1. Now, when Claudius had taken out of the way all those soldiers whom he suspected, which he did immediately, he published an edict, and therein confirmed the kingdom to Agrippa, which multitude had given him; and likewise commended the king highly. He also made an addition to it, of all that country over which Herod, who was his grandfather, had reigned, that is, Judæa and Samaria: and this he restored to him as due to himself; for he, by this means, altho' they lay at mount Libanus, he bestowed upon him, as out of his own territories. He also made a league with Agrippa, confirmed by oaths in the middle of the forum, in the city of Rome, where the just and equal donation by which he was possessed of, but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Commagena: he also set Alexander Ly Bamachus, the alarbash, at liberty, who had been his old friend, and afterward to his commission from God, without any such commission, and confirmed the law of his grandfather, to have killed Abas's great men, and acquiescence, and priests, and forty-two of the kindness of Abasiah, 2 Kings x. 11-14. See Res. l. 4. I and Jerome Eusebius Eusebius picturesquely represented the executions of God's vengeance on those wicked tyrants, who had unjustly oppressed God's own people under their thraldom; who, as they appear to have done, in the Res. l. 15, 16. 20. Justin l. xiv. 6. Res. l. 32. See also p. 429.

I Here St. Luke is in some measure confirmed, when he says that, on the night of the verse, when the nunnery was in sacred and profound histories, and seem generally indications of divine vengeance on such murderers. Nor is it unworthy of notice, that such murderers of tyrants do suffer any thing, on such principles, in such a cruel manner, and as ready to involve the innocent with the guilty, which was represented in Agrippa, l. sec. 14, 15. and 16. but, as here, so justly deserved the divine vengeance upon them. Which seems to have been the case of Jehu also, when, besides the house of Ahab, for whose slaugther he had a
BOOK XIX.—CHAP. VI.

mother, Antonia, but had been imprisoned by Caius, whose son [Marcus] married Bernice, the daughter of Agrippa. But when Marcus, Alexander's son was dead, who had married her when she was a virgin, Agrippa gave her in marriage to her eldest son, Agrippa, that Agrippa of Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis.

2. Now, about this time, there was a sedition between the Jews and the Greeks, at the city of Alexandria; for, when Caius was dead, the nation of the Jews thought, as they were their own laws and the old men of their state, and being bound to do. And I do charge them also to use this my kindness to them with moderation, and not to show a contempt of the superstitious observances of other nations, but to keep their own.

And I will also say that this decree of mine be engraved on tables by the magistrates of the cities and colonies, and on municipal places, both those within Italy, and those without, both kings and governors, by the means of the ambassadors, to have and to show them to the public for full thirty days, in such a place, whence it may plainly be read from the ground.

CHAP. VI.

What things were done by Agrippa at Jerusalem, when he was returned back into Judea; and what it was that Petronius wrote to the inhabitants of Doris, in behalf of the Jews.

1. Now Claudius Caesar, by these decrees of his which were sent to Alexandria, and to all the habitable earth, made known what opinion he had of the Jews. So he soon sent Agrippa away from Judea, and took his crown in his stead, not from the whole nation of the Jews, but from those presidents who have at divers times been sent thither; and that no dispute had been raised about those rights and privileges, even when Aquila was governor of Alexandria; and that the nation of the Jews, who had so much prosperity, and did not prohibit the making such ethnarchs, as willing that all men should be so subject to the Romans, as to continue in the observation of their own customs, and not be forced to transgress their own religion; but that, in the time of Caius, the Alexandrians became insolent towards the Jews that were among them, which Caius, out of his great madness and want of good understanding, reduced the nation of the Jews to poverty, because they would not transgress the religious worship of their country, and call him a god. I will, therefore, that the nation of the Jews be not deprived of their rights and privileges, on account of the exercise of the Caesars, but that the rights and privileges which they formerly enjoyed, be preserved to them, and that they may continue in their own customs. And I charge both parties to settle their matters that may arise after the promulgation of this edict.

And such were the contents of this edict on behalf of the Jews that were sent to Alexandria. But the edict that was sent into the other parts of the habitable earth was this which follows:—

as Tiberius Claudius Cesar Augustus Germanicus, high priest, tribune of the people, chosen consul the second time, ordains thus. Upon the petition of king Agrippa and king Herod, who are persons very dear to me, that they would grant the same rights and privileges should be preserved to the Jews which are in all the Roman empire, which I have granted to those of Alexandria, I very willingly comply therewith; and this I do in the name of theCaesar, not to be of the petitioners, but as judging those Jews for whom I have been petitioned worthy of such a favor, on account of their fidelity and friendship to the Romans. I think it also very just that so great a city 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 religion, without being hindered to do so. And I do charge them also to use this my kindness to them with moderation, and not to show a contempt of the superstitious observances of other nations, but to keep their own.

Josephus shows both here and ch. vii. sect. 3, that he had a much greater opinion of king Agrippa than Simeon the learned rabbi, than the people of Canaan and Sebae. chap. vii. sect. 4, and chap. ix. sect. 3, and indeed than his double dealing between the senate and

This form was so known and frequent among the Romans, as Dr. Hudson here tells us, from the great Sedar of Antiquities.

Josephus, chap. iv. sect. 2, than his slaughter of James, the brother of John, and his imprisonment of Peter, or his sanguinolent. aggrandisement. See Acts xii. 1, 2, 3, and here, chap. iv. sect. 1, will justify or allow. Josephus's character was probably taken from his son, Agrippa.

This treasury chamber seems to have been the very same in which our Saviour taught, and where the people offered their charity money for the repairs or other uses of the temple. Mark xii. 41, 42, Luke xix. 10, John viii. 50
ANTIOCH AND JERUSALEM.

3. When the king had settled the high priesthood under this manner, he returned the kindness which he had shown to the king of the Jews, for it had been shown him: he also made Silas the general of his forces, who was a man of wisdom and partaken with him in many of his troubles. But after a very little while, the young men of Doris preferring a rash attempt before pious, and being warned by an earnest exhortation, made a statue of Caesar into a synagogue of the Jews, and erected it there. This procedure of theirs greatly provoked Agrippa; for it plainly tended to the dissolution of the laws of his country. So he came without delay to Publius Petronius, who was the then president of Syria, and accused the people of Doris. Nor did he less respect what was done than did Agrippa: for he judged it a piece of impiety to transgress the laws that regulate the actions of men. So he wrote the following letter to the people of Doris in an angry strain:—"Publius Petronius, the president under Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, to the magistrates of Doris as follows: Since some of you have had the boldness, or madness rather, after the edict of Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus was published for permitting the Jews to observe the laws of their country, not to obey the magistrates, and act in entire opposition therein, 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 statute they were bound to obey, even as they are commanded in his own temple than in a foreign one, where is the place of assembling together; while it is but a part of natural justice, that everyone should have the power over the place belonging particularly to those whom he is accustomed to observe; for nothing has so much to do with the acknowledgment 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 ordained, that Proculus Vitellius, the centurion, bring those men to me, who, contrary to Augustus's edict, have thereby attempted 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 violence of the multitude, which may give an account of what hath been done. I also exhorted 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 some seem to me to hunt after who encourage such doings; while both myself and King Agrippa, for whom I have the highest honor, have nothing more under our care, than that the nation of the Jews may have no occasion given them of getting together under the pretense of avenging themselves, and become furious, and that it may be brought publicly known what Augustus has resolved about this whole matter, I have subjoined those edicts which he hath lately caused to be published at Alexandria, and which, although they may be well known to the chief of you, yet I wish that among whom I have the highest honor, read them at that time before my tribunal, and pleaded that the Jews ought not to be deprived of those rights which Augustus had granted them. I therefore charge you, that you do not, for the time being, be ready for any occasion of sedition or disturbance, but that every one be allowed to follow their own religious customs."
ever? for the king hath not let me keep those original marks of the good-will I bore him, which once had swayed me; but he hath so treated 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 labors 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 this, and in that, it was so that he exhibited the several antagonists, in order to please the spectators; no fewer indeed than seven hundred men to fight with seven hundred other men, and allotted all the malefactors he had for this exercise, that both the malefactors might receive their punishment, and that this operation of war might be a recreation in peace. And thus were these criminals all destroyed at once.

CHAP. VIII.

What other Acts were done by Agrippa until his Death: and after what manner he died.

§ 1. When Agrippa had finished what I have above related at Berytus, he removed to Tiberias, a city of Galilee. Now he was in great esteem among other kings. Accordingly, there came to him Antiochus, king of Commagena, and Sampsigeramus, king of Elymais, who was king of the Lesser Armenia, and Polemeus, who was king of Pontus, as also Herod his brother, who was king of Chalcis. All these were treated with agreeable entertainments, and after an obliging manner, and to see the greatness and nobleness of his mind, and to appear worthy of those respects which the kings paid to him, by coming thus to see him. However, while these kings stayed with him, Marcus, the president of Syria, came thither to him, and he spoke to him thus respecting that which was due to the Romans, went out of the city to meet him, as far as seven furlongs. But this proved to be the beginning of a difference between him and Marcus, for he took with him in his chariot those other kings as his assessors. But Marcus had a suspicion what the meaning could be of so great a friendship of these kings one with another, and did not think it an object of so close an alliance as might be for the interest of the Romans. 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 Agrippa, who said that he had rather die: and now he took the high priesthood away from Matthias, and made Eileoneus, the son of Cantherus, high priest in his stead.

§ 2. Now when Agrippa had reigned three years over all Judea, he came to the city Cesarea, which was formerly called Strato's Tower; and there he exhibited shows in honor of Cesar, upon his being informed that there was a certain festival celebrated to make vows for his safety. At which festival all the people went together of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity through his province. On the second day of which shows he put on a garment made wholly of silver, and of a contexture truly wonderful, and came into the theater early in the morning; at which time the silver of his garment being illuminated by the fresh reflection of the sun's rays upon it, shone 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 1000
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

CHAP. IX.

What things were done after the Death of Agrippa; and how Claudius, on account of the Yeath and Unprofitableness of Agrippa, junior, sent Caiphas, the First to Be the Procureur of Judges, and of the entire Kingdom.

1. And thus did king Agrippa depart this life. But he left behind him a son, Agrippa by name, a youth in the seventeenth year of his age, and three daughters; one of whom, Bernice, was the daughter of Agrippa, and was sixteen years old; the other two, Marianne and Drusilla, were still virgins; the former was ten years old, and Drusilla six. Now these his daughters were then espoused by their father, Marianne to Julius Archelaus, the son of Antiochus the son of Cleopatra, the son of Herod the king of Commagene. But when it was known that Agrippa was departed this life, the inhabitants of Commagene and of Sebaste forsook the dead bodies which he had bestowed on them, and added the part of the bitterest enemies; for they cast such reproaches upon the deceased as were not fit to be spoken of; and so many of them as were then in the suburbs, and the part of the city that was nearest to his house, and hastily carried off the statues of this king's daughters, and all at once carried them into the brothel houses, and when they had set them on the tops of those houses, they abused them. But the friends of Agrippa were sorry for joy that the king was expired. Nay, they were not only unmindful of Agrippa, who had extended his liberality to them in abundance, but of his grandson Herod also, who had his liberality, and even raised them to navens and temples at vast expenses.

2. Now Agrippa, the son of the deceased was at Rome, and brought up with Claudius Caesar. And when Caesar was informed that Agrippa had departed, and that the inhabitants of Sebaste and Commagene had abused him, he was sorry for the first news, and was displeased with the ingratitude of those cities. He was therefore disposed to send Agrippa junior away presently to sacred places, and to have him take him to Rome, that he might confirm him in it by his oaths. But those freedmen and friends of his, who had the greatest authority with him, dissuaded him from it, and said that it was a dangerous experiment to permit

Josephus's proper word οἰκονομός or οἰκονόμος, and the foregoing words διάκοπτης ἢ συνάπτως, to be inserted, Eusebius's text will truly represent that in Josephus. Had this impersonation been in some heathen author, that was in good esteem with our modern critics, they would have readily corrected these, as hardly answers to the context; but being in an ancient Christian writer, not so well relished by many of these critics, nothing will serve but the ill-grounded supposition of wild and strange affected and improved, ye 18,000,000 shekels, which is equal to 3,000,000 drachmas, 1 e. at 10l. a shekel equal to £322,500 sterling, was Agrippa the Great's yearly income; he having abated the tax upon houses at Jerusalem, ch. vi. sect. 3, and was not so tyrannical as Herod had been to the Hasmonean nation, now, not to confirm him in it by his oaths. But those freedmen and friends of his, who had the greatest authority with him, dissuaded him from it, and said that it was a dangerous experiment to permit

* We have a mighty cry made here by some critics, as if the great Eusebius had on purpose falsified this account of Josephus, so as to make it agree with the parallel account in the Acts of the Apostles; because the present copies of his citation of it, Hist. Eccles. b. ii. ch. x. omit the words διάκοπτης ἢ συνάπτως, in e. c. e. o. etc., which Josephus is said to have retained, and only have the explanatory word ἀγαθός or ἀγαθόν, as if he meant that ἀγαθόν of the Lord which St Luke interpreted, by omitting Herod, Acts xii. 23, and not that word which Josephus was said to have omitted, and which he says of former good, but now of bad men, to Agrippa. This accusation is a somewhat strange one in the case of the great Eusebius, who is not reported to have been so accurate or so faithfully produced a vast number of other ancient records, and particularly not a few out of our Josephus also, who brought upon himself many discourses, yet not to allege how uncertain we are, whether Josephus's or Eusebius's copies of the fourth century were just like the present copies of his text, which words are thus retained, and only have the explanatory word ως ἀγαθός or ἀγαθόν, as if he meant that ἀγαθόν of the Lord which St Luke interpreted, by omitting Herod, Acts xii. 23, and not that word which Josephus was said to have omitted, and which he says of former good, but now of bad men, to Agrippa. This accusation is a somewhat strange one in the case of the great Eusebius, who is not reported to have been so accurate or so faithfully produced a vast number of other ancient records, and particularly not a few out of our Josephus also, who brought upon himself many discourses, yet not to allege how uncertain we are, whether Josephus's or Eusebius's copies of the fourth century were just like the present copies of his text, which words are thus retained, and only have the explanatory word ως ἀγαθός or ἀγαθόν, as if he meant that ἀγαθόν of the Lord which St Luke interpreted, by omitting Herod, Acts xii. 23, and not that word which Josephus was said to have omitted, and which he says of former good, but now of bad men, to Agrippa. This accusation is a somewhat strange one in the case of the great Eusebius, who is not reported to have been so accurate or so faithfully produced a vast number of other ancient records, and particularly not a few out of our Josephus also, who brought upon himself many discourses, yet not to allege how uncertain we are, whether Josephus's or Eusebius's copies of the fourth century were just like the present copies of his text, which words are thus retained, and only have the explanatory word ως ἀγαθός or ἀγαθόν, as if he meant that ἀγαθόν of the Lord which St Luke interpreted, by omitting Herod, Acts xii. 23, and not that word which Josephus was said to have omitted, and which he says of former good, but now of bad men, to Agrippa. This accusation is a somewhat strange one in the case of the great Eusebius, who is not reported to have been so accurate or so faithfully produced a vast number of other ancient records, and particularly not a few out of our Josephus also, who brought upon himself many discourses, yet not to allege how uncertain we are, whether Josephus's or Eusebius's copies of the fourth century were just like the present copies of his text, which words are thus retained, and only have the explanatory word ως ἀγαθός or ἀγαθόν, as if he meant that ἀγαθόν of the Lord which St Luke interpreted, by omitting Herod, Acts xii. 23, and not that word which Josephus was said to have omitted, and which he says of former good, but now of bad men, to Agrippa. This accusation is a somewhat strange one in the case of the great Eusebius, who is not reported to have been so accurate or so faithfully produced a vast number of other ancient records, and particularly not a few out of our Josephus also, who brought upon himself many discourses, yet not to allege how uncertain we are, whether Josephus's or Eusebius's copies of the fourth century were just like the present copies of his text, which words are thus retained, and only have the explanatory word ως ἀγαθός or ἀγαθόν, as if he meant that ἀγαθόν of the Lord which St Luke interpreted, by omitting Herod, Acts xii. 23, and not that word which Josephus was said to have omitted, and which he says of former good, but now of bad men, to Agrippa. This accusation is a somewhat strange one in the case of the great Eusebius, who is not reported to have been so accurate or so faithful...
so large a kingdom to come under the government of so very young a man, and one hardly yearned at years of discretion, be able to take sufficient care of its administration; while the weight of a kingdom is heavy enough to a grown man. So Cæsar thought would be very soon to come to the administration; be sent Cæpius Fadus to be procurator of Judea, and of the entire kingdom; and paid that respect to the decessed, as not to introduce Marcus, who had been at variance with him, into his kingdom. But he determined, in the first place, to send the ambassadors to Cæsar, that he should chastise the inhabitants of Cæsarea and Sebaste for those abuses they had done to him that was deceased, and their madness towards his daughters that were still alive; and that he should remove that body of soldiers that were at Cæsarea and Sebaste, with the five regiments to Rome. For these, that might do their military duty there, and that he should choose an equal number of soldiers out of the Roman legions that were in Syria, to supply their place. Yet were not those that had such orders actually in the field; for, when the ambassadors to Cælius, they mollified him, and get leave to abide in Judea still; and these were the very men that became the source of very great calamities to the Jews in after times, and sowed the seeds of that war which began under Florus, when 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 Sedition of the Philippians against the Jews; and also concerning the Vestments of the High Priest.
1. Upon the death of king Agrippa, which was related in the foregoing book, Cælius Cæsarius sent Casius Longinus as successor to Marcus, out of regard to the memory of king Agrippa, who had often desired of him by letters, while he was alive, that he would be suitors for his kingdom. But Fadus, as soon as he was come procurator into Judea, found quarrelsome doings between the Jews that dwelt in Perea, and the people of Philippi, about their borders, at a village called Mio; that was wrested with men of a violent temper; for the Jews of Perea had taken up arms without the consent of their principal men, and had destroyed many of the Philippians.—When Fadus was informed of this proceeding, it provoked him very much that they had not left the determination of the matter to him, if they thought that the Philippians had done them any wrong, but had rashly taken up arms against them. So, as soon as he proceeded from three of their principal men, who were also the causes of this sedition, and ordered them to be bound, and afterward had one of them slain, whose name was Hannibal, and he banished the other two, Amaris and Phyllus, belonging to them, under their own houses, where a robber, 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 robbers 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 make amends that they had lost to nobody but the high priest to wear, in the tower of Antonia, that it might be under the power of the Romans, as it had been formerly. Now the Jews durst not contradict what he said, but desired Fadus, however, and Longinus, which last was come to Jerusalem, and had brought a great army with him, out of a fear that the [rigid] injunctions of Fadus should force the Jews to rebel, that they might, in the first place, have leave to send ambassadors to Cæsar, to petition him that they may have the holy vestments under their own power, and that, in the next place, they would tarry till they knew what answer Cælius should give to their petition. So they replied, that they would give them leave to send their ambassadors, provided they would give them their sons as pledges [for their peaceable behavior]. And when they had agreed so to do, and had given the pledges they desired, the ambassadors were sent accordingly. But when, upon their coming to Rome, Agrippa junior, the son of the deceased, under the pretense of the reason why they had here dwelt, did speak, to Cælius Cæsarius, as we said before, he besought Cæsar to grant the Jews their request about the holy vestments, and to send a message to Fadus accordingly.
2. Hereupon Cælius called for the ambassadors, and told them, that "he granted their request;" and bade them to return their thanks to Agrippa for this favor which had been bestowed on them upon this entreaty. And answers of his, he sent with following letter by them: "Cælius Cæsarius Germanicus, tribune of the people the fifth time, and designed consul the fourth time, and imperator the tenth time, the father of his country, to the magistrates, senate and people, and the whole nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. Upon the presentation of your ambassadors to me by Agrippa, my friend, whom I have brought up, and have now placed in his state with me, and whom I know who are come to give me thanks for the care I have taken of your nation, and to entreat me, in an earnest and obliging manner, that they may have the holy vestments, with the crown belonging to them, under their own power, as they have request, as that excellent person Vitellus, who is very dear to me, had done before me. And I have coupled 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 aware of, and with whom I have the greatest friendship, and whom I highly esteem, and look on as persons of the best character. Now I have written about these affairs to Cæpius Fadus, my procurator. The names of those that brought me your letter are, Cornelius the son of Cero, Trypho the son of Theudio, Dorotheus the son of Nathaniel, and John the son of John. This was dated before the fourth of the Kalends of July, when Rufus and Pomponius Sylvanus were consuls." 3. Herod also, the brother of the deceased Agrippa, who was then possessed of the royal authority over Chalcis, petitioned Cælius Cæsarius for the authority over the temple, and the money of the sacred treasure, and the choice of the high priests, and obtained all that he peti
tioned for. 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 Cantherus, and bestowed that dignity on his successor Joseph, the son of Canus.

CHAPTER 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 of Jerusalem.

1. About this time it was that Helena, queen of the Arians, and her son Izates, changed their course of life, and embraced the Jewish customs, and this on the occasion following: Monobazus, the king of Adiabene, who had also the name of Bazeus, fell in love with his sister Helena, and that sister's husband, the high priest, in Jerusalem, where God's providence, would be safely born, and have a happy end. This voice put him into disorder; so he awakened immediately, and told the story to his wife; and when his son was born, he called him Izates, and Monobazus, his eldest brother, by Helena also, as he had other sons by other wives besides. Yet did he openly place all his affections on this his only begotten son Izates, which was the origin of that envy, while other people in the kingdom hated him, and were all under great affliction that their father should prefer Izates before all. Now although their father was very sensible of these passions, yet did he forgive all, and pass over their ill disposition, but out of a desire each of them had to be beloved by their father. However, he sent Izates with many presents to Abennerig, the king of Chosroes, and that out of the great dread he was in about him, lest he should come to some misfortune by the hatred his brethren bore him; and he committed his son's preservation to him. Upon which Abennerig gladly received the young man, and had a great affection for him, and married him to his own daughter, whose name was Sanscha; he also bestowed a country upon him, from which he received large revenues.

2. But when Monobazus was grown old, and saw his son Izates had a mind to come to the sight of his son before he died. So he sent for him, and embraced him after the most affectionate manner, and bestowed on him the country called Carra; it was a soil that bare such a fruit, though it was very great; there are also in it the remains of that ark, wherein is related that Noah escaped the deluge, and where they are still shown to such as are desirous to see them. Accordingly, Izates abode in that country until his father's death. But the very fact that Monobazus died, queen Helena sent for all the grandees, and governors of the kingdom, and for those that had the armies committed to their hand, when they were come, she made the following speech to them: "I believe you are not unacquainted that my husband was desirous Izates should succeed him in the government, and thought him worthy so to do. For besides, he was of a great determination; for happily 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 who were invited, and to discover their sentiments. Upon the hearing of which, they first of all paid their homages to the queen, as their custom was, and then they said that "they confirm the king's determination and would assent to it; and they rejoiced that Izates' father had preferred him before the rest of his brethren, as being agreeable to all their wishes: but that they would not consent of all to say his brethren had kinship, that so the government might continue securely to Izates; because if they were once destroyed all that fear would be over which might arise from their hatred and envy to him. He-"...
for the present persuaded him to forbear. And when he had related what she had said to Aneas, he confirmed what his mother had said, and when he had also threatened to leave him, unless he complied with him, he went away from him, and said that "he was afraid lest such an action being once made public to all, he should himself be in danger of punishment, for having been the occasion of it, and having been the king's instructor in actions that were of ill repute, he wished the king would turn away from God without being circumcised, even though he did resolve to follow the Jewish law entirely, which worship of God was of a superior nature to that of his. Having thus said, he left the house, and went to Alexandria with money to buy a great quantity of corn, and others of them to Cyprus, to bring a cargo of dried figs. And as soon as they were come back, it had brought the famine 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 who, as the place where she informed him of this famine, he sent great sums of money to the principal men in Jerusalem. However, what favors this king and queen conferred upon our city of Jerusalem, shall be further related hereafter."

CHAP. III.

How Aratus, the King of Parthia, out of Fear of the secret Contrivances of his subjects against him, went to Iasus, and was by him reinvited in his Government; as also how Bardanes, his Son, denounced War against Iasus.

1. But now Aratus, king of the Parthians, perceiving that the governors of his provinces did frame a plot against him, did not think it safe for him to continue among them, but resolved to go to Iasus, in hopes of finding some way for his preservation by his means, and if possible, for delivering Iasus from the miseries of the famine, and of the Iasites, and brought a thousand of his kindred and servants with him, and met him upon the road, while he well knew Iasus, but Iasus did not know him. When Aratus stood near him, and in the first place, which Iasus being according to the custom, he then said to him, "O king! do not thou overlook me thy servant, nor do thou proudly reject the suit I make thee: for, as I am reduced to a low estate by the change of fortune, and of a king and great of mine, I stand in need of thy assistance. Have regard, therefore, unto the uncertainty of fortune, and esteem the care thou shalt take of me to be taken of thyself also; for if I be neglected, and my subjects go off ungoverned, my case will become the more insolent towards other kings also." And this speech Aratus made with tears in his eyes, and with a dejected countenance. Now as soon as Iasus heard Aratus's suppliant suit and saw him stand as a suppliant before him, he leaped down from his horse immediately, and said to him, "Take courage, O king! nor be disturbed at thy present calamity, as it were incurable; for the change of thy condition shall be sudden, for thou shalt find me to be more thy friend and thy assistant than thy hopes can promise thee; for I will either re-establish thee in the kingdom of Parthia, or lose my own."

2. Whereupon the king, and all the inhabitants of Aratus expressed had said a little afterward, ch. v. sect. 2, that "Thebes Alexander succeeded Cypselus Fadus as procurator," he immediately unjoins, "That under these procurators there was no law, and there was no danger of death, and," 12. Thereupon this faint remained for many years, on account of its duration under these procurators. Now the faint maintained during the death of king Afrispe, i.e., towards the latter end of the fourth year of Claudius: so that this faint forestold by Aratus, happened upon the 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th years of Claudius, as says Vell. in his Insul. 12, 12. Of this faint also, and queen Iasus's supplies, and her monument, see Moses Chron. p. 144, 145, where it is observed in the notice, that Pausanias mentions her monument also.
on his horse, and followed him on foot, in honor of a king whom he owned as greater than himself; which, when Artabanus saw, he was very uneasy at it, and swore by his present fortune and honor, that he would get down from his horse, and now he would get on his horse again, and go before him. So he conciliated with his desire, and leaped upon his horse: and when he had brought him to his royal palace, he showed him all sorts of respect, when they sat together, and gave him the upper place at feasts also, as regarding not his present fortune, but his former dignity, and that upon this consideration also, that the changes of fortune are common to all men. He also wrote to the Parthians, to let him have Artabanus again; and gave him right hand and faith, that he should forget what was past and done, and that he would undertake for this as a mediator between them. Now the Parthians did not themselves refuse to receive him again, but pleaded that it was not now in their power so to do; because they had committed the government to another person, who had accepted of it, and was of his own nation, and that they were afraid lest a civil war should arise against their account. When Cinnamus understood their intentions, he wrote to Artabanus himself, for he had been brought up by him, and was of a nature gentle and mild, and desired him to put confidence in him, and to come and take his own dominions again. Accordingly Artabanus trusted him, and returned home; when Cinnamus met him, worshipped him, and saluted him as king, and laid down the crown of Isates and his own hand, and put it on the head of Artabanus.

3. And thus was Artabanus restored to his kingdom again by the means of Isates, when he had lost it by the means of the grandees of the kingdom, for the benefit of the benefits he had conferred upon him, but rewarded him with such honors as were of the greatest esteem among them; for he gave him leave to wear his tiara upright, and to sleep upon a golden bed, with twelve thousand stands of perfumes spread around, and gave him Antioch of Myndonia. And these were the honors that were paid Isates by the king of the Parthians.

But in no long time Artabanus died, and left his kingdom to his son Bardanes. Now this Bardanes came to Isates, and would have persuaded him to join him with his army, and to assist him in the war he was preparing to make with the Romans, but he could not prevail with him. For Isates so well knew the strength and good fortune of the Romans, that he took Bardanes to attempt what was impossible to be done; and having besides sent his sons, five in number, and they but young also, to learn the manner of the language of our nation, together with our learning, as well as he had sent his mother to worship at our temple, as I have said already, he was the more backward to a compliance, and restrained Bardanes from his purpose, and restrained of the great armies and famous actions of the Romans, and thought thereby to terrify him, and desired thereby to hinder him from that expedition. But the Parthian king was provoked at this his behavior, and resolved to make war immediately upon Isates. Yet did he gain no advantage by this war, because God cut off all his hopes therein; for the Parthians, perceiving Bardanes's intention, and how he had determined to make war with the Romans, slew him, and gave his kingdom to his brother Gotarzes. He also in no long time perished by a plot made against him, and Vologases, his brother, succeeded him, who committed two of his provinces to two of his brothers by the same father; that of the Medes is the elder, Pictoros, and Armenia to the younger, Tiridates.

CHAP. IV.

How Isates was betrayed by his own Subjects, and fought against by the Arabians. How the Parthian Grandees, by the Providence of God, were delivered out of their Hands.

4. Now when the king's brother, Monobamos, and his other kindred, saw how Isates, by his piety to God, was become greatly esteemed by the Parthians, they betook themselves to the region of their country, and to embrace the customs of the Jews; but that act of theirs was discovered by Isates's subjects. Whereupon the grandees were much displeased, and could not concern their anger at them: but had an intention, when they should find a proper opportunity, to inflict a punishment upon them. Accordingly, they wrote to Abia, king of the Arabians, and promised him great sums of money, if he would aid them to get rid of the king; and they farther promised him, that on the first onset they would desert their king, because they were desirous to punish him, by reason of the hatred he had borne to the Jews, and those that obeyed 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 desires, and brought a great army into the field. He saluted the cultivated of Isates, and the evening of the first onset, and before they came to a close fight, those grandees, as if they had a panic terror upon them, all deserted Isates, as they had agreed to do, and turning their backs ran away, and then the Parthians dismayed at this: but when he understood that the grandees had betrayed him, he also retired into his camp, and made inquiry into the matter; and as soon as he knew who they were that made this conspiracy; with the king of Arabia, he cut off those that were found guilty; and renewing the fight on the next day, he slew the greatest part of his enemies, and forced all the rest to betake themselves to flight. And he returned, and returned to a fortress called Aramus, and following on the siege vigorously, he took that fortress. And when he had plundered it of all the prey that was in it, which was great, and returned to Abia, and he said not Abia alive; because, when he found himself encompassed on every side, he slew himself.

2. But although the grandees of Adiaben came failed in their first attempt, as being delivered up by God into their king's hands, yet would they even then be quiet, but wrote again to Vogases, who was then king of Parthia, and desired that he would kill Isates, and set over them some other potentate, who should be of a Parthian nobility; for they said, that "they hated their own king for abrogating the laws of their forefathers, and embracing foreign customs." When the king of Parthia heard this, he boldly made war upon Isates; and as he had just pretence for this, he received both those hommage which he had, and those privileges which had been bestowed on him by his father, and threatened, on his refusal, to make war upon him. Upon hearing of this Isates was under no small trouble of mind, and being moved with an answer upon him, to appear to resign those privileges that had been bestowed upon him, out of cowardice; yet because he knew, that though the king of Parthia should receive back those hommage which he had, notwithstanding, he would not be quiet, he resolved to commit himself to God in a protector, in the present danger he was in of his cular to (great) kings, from Xenophon and others, as Dr. Hudson observes here.
three forlorn 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.

Conceiving Thuddas, 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, while Fadus was procurator of Judea, and a certain magician, whose name was Thuddas, persuaded a great part of the people to take their effects with them and to follow him to the river Jordan; for he told them that he was a prophet, and that he would, by his own command, divide to 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 unawares, and many of them, and took many of them alive. They also took Thuddas alive, and cut off his head, and carried it to Jerusalem. This was what befell the Jews in the time of Cuspius Fadus's government.

2. Then came Tiberius Alexander as successor to Fadus: he was the son of Alexander the alarbach of Alexandria, which Alexander was a very great and principal person in his time, 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 Judaea, in which few corn is Egypt, at a very great expense, and distributed it to those that were in want, as I have related already. And besides this, the sons of Judas of Galilee were now slain; I mean that of the people who continued in the sect of Simon, who was called Canyodus, from the high priesthood, and made Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, his successor. And now it was that Cumanus came as successor to Tiberius Alexander; as also that of Herod, brother of the great king, the son of Herod the tetrarch, departed this life, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Caesar. He left behind him three sons, Aristobulus, who he had by his first wife, with Bernocatus and Hyrcanus, both whom he had by Bernice's daughter. But Claudius Caesar bestowed his dominions on Agrippa junior.

3. Now, whilst 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 derived. When that feast which is called the Passover was at hand, at which time unleavened bread is eaten, and a great multitude was gathered together from all parts to that feast, Cumanus was afraid lest some attempt of innovation should then be made by them; so he ordered that one regiment of the horse, and the other of the foot, should take their arms, and stand in the temple cloisters, to repress any attempts of innovation, if perchance any such should begin: and this was no more than what


* This mourning and fasting, used by Izates, with pros- tration of hands before the king's image, is a sign, says Dr. Hudson, that he was become either a Jew, or an Ebionite Christian; who indeed differed not much from proper Jews. See ch. ii. sect. 1. How to Jerusalem, their words were heard, and he was providentially delivered from that imminent danger he was in.

** This Thuddas, who arose under Fadus the procura- tor, about A. D. 45, or 46, could not be that Thuddas who was slain in the days of the king under Cyrenius; or about A. D. 7. Acts x. 37. That which earlier Thuddas was [This note is on b. xvi. ch. x. sect. 5. (basis: v. 401, 20.5.x.vi.12)]
the former procurators of Judea did at such fest-
ivals. But on the fourth day of the feast, a cer-
tain soldier let down his breeches, and exposing his private parts 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 pre-
tenred the soldier that came among them, 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 sedi-
ous attempts, and not to raise a tumult at the festi-
val. But they could not induce him to be quiet;
for they still went on in their reproaches to him,
he gave order that the whole army should take
their entire armor, and come to Antonia, which
was a fortress, as we have said already, which
covered all the town. And when the multitude
saw the soldiers there, they were affrighted at
them, and ran away hastily; but as the passages
out were but narrow, and as they thought their
mischief was follow'd, they were crowded to-
gether in their flight, and great numbers were
pressed to death in these narrow passages; nor
indeed was the number fewer than twenty thou-
sand that perished in this tumult. So, instead of
a tumult, he 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
indescribable losses of a single soldier bring upon
them.  

4. Now before this their first mourning was
over, another mischief befell them also; for some
of those that raised the foregoing tumult, when
they were travelling along the public road, about
a half mile from the city, fell upon and clubbed Stepha-
inus, a servant of Cesar, as he was journeying,
and plundered him of all that he had with him.
Which things when Cumanus heard of, he sent
soldiers immediately, and ordered them to plunder
the house of the chief officers, and to take the most
eminent persons among them in bonds to him.
Now, as this devastation was making, one of the
soldiers seized the laws of Moses that lay in one
of those villages, and brought them out before
the eyes of all present, and great numbers were
piec'd and this was done with reproachful language,
and much scurrility. Which things when the Jews
heard of, they ran together, and that in
great crowds, and came down to Cesar's,
where Cumanus then was, and besought him
that he would avenge, not themselves, but God
himself, whose laws had been affronted; for that
they could not bear to live any longer, if the
laws of their forefathers were to be affronted 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 soldier that had offered the affront to the
laws should be hang'd, and thereby put an end 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 Claudioius put an
End to their Differences.  

1. Now there arose a quarrel between the
Samaritans, on the occasion following: it was the custom of the Galileans, when
they came to the holy city at the festivals, to

* This, and many more tumultus and seditions, which
arose at the Jewish festivals, in Josephus, Illustrate the
cautious procedure of the Jewish governors, when they
said Matt. xvi. 2. "Let us not take Jesus on the feast-
day, lest there be an uproar among the people," as Re-
land well observes on this place. Josephus also takes
notice of the tumults at the Feast of the Passover, "The

* This constant passage of the Galileans through the
country of Samaritans, as they went to Judea and Jerusa-
lem, is noticed by the gospels to the same purpose, as Dr. Hudson rightly of. serv.'s. See Luke

take their journey through the country of the
Samaritans; and at this time there lay, in
the road they took, a village that was called
Gamala, which was situated in the borders of
Samaria and the great plain, where certain per-
sons thereto belonging fought with the Galileans, and
killed a great many of them. But, when the
principal of the Galileans were informed of what
had been done, they sent from Gamala, and
charged him to avenge the murder of those that
were killed: but he was induced by the Samari-
tans, with money, to do nothing in the matter;
upon which the Galileans were much displeased
and assembled in council, and said they would
be take themselves to arms, and to regain their
liberty, say ing, that "slavery was in itself a bitter
thing, but that, when it was joined with direct
injuries, it was perfectly intolerable." And when
the consul then was present, who had made his
abode in the mountains, with which assistance
they plundered many villages of the Samaritans.
When Cumanus heard of this action of theirs,
he immediately took a guard, and he with it last
a month at Gamala; and they all of them forgot their prayers and
sacrifices, and betook themselves to lamentation
and weeping; so great an affliction did the
indescribable losses of a single soldier bring upon
them.  

2. But the principal of the Samaritans went
up to Cumanus, and accused him of the
murder, 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 so much displeased at what they had suffered,
but that they were much more angry at the
Romans; while, if they had received any
injury, they ought to have made them the judges
of what had been done, and not presently to make
such devastation, as if they had not the Romans
for their governors; on which account they came
to him, in order to obtain the vengeance they
wanted." This was the accusation which the
Samaritans brought against the Jews. But the
Jews affirmed, that the Samaritans were the
authors of the tumult and fighting that took
place, in the first place, Cumanus had been corrupted by
their gifts, and passed over the murder of those
that were slain in silence. Which allegations
being put off the hearing of the cause, and promised that he would come to
s镊ence when he should come into Judas, and
xvii. 11, John iv. 4. See also Josephus in his own life,
sect. 59, where that journey is determined to three days.
1 Our Saviour had forsook that the Jews' rejection of his
gospel would bring upon, among other misfor-

rises, those three, which they themselves here show they
expected would be the consequences of their present re-

maining in the same darkness as before; his
![Carse,]{-0.01w}
should have a more exact knowledge of the truth of that matter. So these men went away without success. Yet was it not long ere Quadratus came to Samaria, where, upon hearing the cause, he supposed that the Samaritans were the authors of that disturbance. But, when he was informed that certain of the Jews were making innovations, he ordered those to be crucified whom Cumanus had taken captives. From thence he came to a certain village called Lydde Aricka, near Antioch of Pisidia, 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, and a most learned rabbinus, had consented to join with him, and there four, to revolt from the Romans; whom Quadratus ordered to be put to death; but still he sent away Ananias the high priest, and Ananus the high priest, to the emperor in 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 tribune of the eunuchs, to the emperor; that 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 innovation; and he did with them the same civilities of state, 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 Rome, to give an account of what they had done to Claudius Caesar.

3. Now Cumanus, 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 quarrels they had with the Jews, and the violence of the freed-men, 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 at the time of the revolt from the Roman government—Whenceupon Claudius Caesar was disposed beforehand, that when he had heard the cause, and found that the Samaritans had been the ring-leaders, and that Cumanus and the others had been ordered to go 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 streets 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 seems to have been somewhat of that sort, is often mentioned by the magicians, in the Acts of the Apostles, VIII, 9. as some are ready to suppose. This Simon mentioned in the Acts is not the Simon who was called a robber, and of the town of Gilead, in the country of Samaria, as the Apostolic Constitutions, VI, 7, The Recognitions of Clement, II, 6, and Justin Martyr, himself or in the country of Samaria, Apology, L, 24, informs us. He was also the author, not of any ancient Jewish, but of the first Gnostics heretics. As the former crosses the boundary, as I suppose him a different person from the other. I mean this only upon the hypothesis, that Josephus was not writing so tersely, and in the same otherwise the time, the name, the profession, and the wickedness of them both would strongly incline one to believe them the very same. As to that Drusilla, the sister of Agrippa junior, as Josephus informs us here, and a Jewess, as St. Luke informs us, Acts, XXXIV, 24, whom this Simon mentioned by Josephus pretended to leave behind him in the name of Agrippa junior, it is a point of justice, and to marry Felix, the heathen procurator of Judas; Tacitus, Hist. v. 9, supposes her to have been a heathen then, and the grand-daughter of Antonius and Cleopatra, contrary both to St. Luke and Josephus. Now Tatian lived somewhat too long both as to time and place, to be compared with either of those Jewish writers, in a matter concerning the Jews in Judaea in their own days, and concerning a sister of Agrippa junior, with which Agrippa Josephus was himself so well acquainted. It is probable that Tactius may say true when he informs us that this Felix (who had in Roman wives or queens, as St. Luke in Claudius sect. 23, assures us,) did once marry such a grandchild of Antonius and Cleopatra, and finding the name of one of them to have been Drusilla, he mistook the other for that other wife, whose name he did know. This enquirer of Xenophon was one of the greatest we have in history. See Blainth's curious and important observations on this Xenophon, and if it is several great eruptions, with their remains vitrified, and still existing in so many different strata under the earth, the diggers came to the antediluvian waters, with their proportionable interstices, implying the delays to have been very great, and seen above, which agree with the Christian era, according to our exactest chronology. This is now wanting.
marriage, and the Jewish religion: and, at the same time, Marianna put away Archelaus, and was about to marry to Domitianus, the principal man among the Alexandrian Jews, both for his family and his wealth; and indeed he was then their alabarch. So she named her son whom she had by him Agrippina. But of all those particulars we shall hereafter treat more exactly.\(^*\)

**CHAP. VIII.**

*After what manner, upon the Death of Claudius, Nero succeeded in the Government; as also what barbarous things he did. Concerning the Robbers, Murderers, and Impostors that arose while Felix and Patus were Procurators of Judea.*

\(^1\) Now Claudius Cesar died when he had reigned nineteen years, eight months, and twenty-five days: and a report went about that he was poisoned by his wife Agrippina. Her father was Germanicus, the brother of Cesar. Her husband Domitius Eobabaus, 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 as his father. He had before this slain his wife Messalina, out of jealousy, by whom he had his children Britannicus and Octavia; their eldest sister was Antonia, whom he had by Pelins his first wife. He also married Octavia to Nero for that was the reason that Cesar gave him afterward, upon adopting him for his son.

\(^2\) But now Agrippina was afraid, lest, when Britannicus should come to usan’s estate, he should succeed his father in the government and desire to seize upon the principality beforehand for her own son [Nero] upon which the report went, that she thence compassed the death of Claudius. Accordingly, she sent Burrhus, the general of the legions in Italy, to bring him to her, with him the tribunes, and such also of the freed-men as were of the greatest authority, to bring Nero away into the camp, and to salute him emperor. And when Nero had thus obtained the government, he got Britannicus out of the city, and desired the multitude should not perceive it; although he publicly put his own mother to death not long afterward, making her this requital, not only for being borne, but for bringing it about by her contrivances that he obtained the government of Rome. And he also slew Octavia his own wife, and many other illustrious persons, under the pretense that they plotted against him.

\(^3\) I will now rather 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 favor, 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 been in their things pretended history as to those facts that were earlier than his time, even when the actors could have nowry incurred their hatred, since those writers lived a long time after them. But as to those that have not nowry a hatred, they may write as they please for it is they that take delight: but as to ourselves, who have made truth our direct aim, we shall briefly touch upon what only belongs remotely to this undertaking, but shall relate what hath happened in the affairs of the Jews with great accuracy, and shall not grudge our pains in giving an account both of the calamities we have suffered, and of the crimes we have been guilty of. I will now therefore return to the relation of our own affairs. And in the eighth year of the reign of Nero, upon the death of Arius, king of Esna, Soes mus, his brother, succeeded in his kingdom, and Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis, was intrusted by Nero with the government of Lacedaemon; and as there was a certain part of Galilee, Tiberias, and Tarchicha, and ordereth them to submit to his jurisdiction. He gave him also Julius, a city of Pe- rsea, with the fourteenth of those which he had abovesaid.

\(^5\) Now, then, for the affairs of the Jews, they grew worse and worse continually; for the country was again filled with robbers and imposters, who deluded the multitude. Yet did Felix cast away the city of Jericho, for that was the cause that Cesar gave him afterward, upon adopting him for his son. So Felix contrived a method whereby he might get rich himself, and the government, and disposed to act unjustly. Wherefore Felix persuaded one of Jonathan’s most faithful friends, a citizen of Jericho, at the time the robbers were greatly in number, to kill him; and this he did by promising to give him a great deal of money for so doing. Doras complied with the request; but presently he found what 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, slew Jonathan, and as this murder was never avenged, the robbers went up with the solent reflection on the gross wickedness of that nation, as the direct cause of their terrible destruction, is well worthy the attention of every Jewish and of every Christian reader. And there are soon coming to be in the catalogue of the Jewish high priests, it may not be easier with Roland, to insert this Jonathan among them, and to transcribe his particular catalogue of the last twenty-six years, which was taken down from Josephus, the same Ananias who was made by Herod the great. See [ch. 5, xvi. ch. ii. sect. 4, and the note there.]

\(^*\) This also is now wanting.

\(^*\) This duration of the reign of Claudius agrees with Dio, as Dr. Hudson here remarks; as he also remarks, that Nerus’s name, which appears at Pet. L. Domitius Ab- barbus, after Claudius had adopted him, was Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus.

\(^*\) This sence is elsewhere mentioned [by Josephus in his own Life, sect. 11], as also by Dio Cassius and Tacitus, as Dr. Hudson informs us.

\(^*\) This sence with Josephus’s frequent accounts elsewhere in his Life, that Tetraíras, and Tarichees, and Gamala were under this Agrippa, junior, till Jesus, the son of Piscus, seized upon them for the Jews upon the breaking out of the war.

\(^*\) This treacherous and barbarous murder of the good high priest Jonathan, by the contrivance of this wicked persecutor Felix, was the immediate occasion of the ensuing murders by the Stari or ruffians, and one great cause of the following horrid cruelties and miseries of the Jewish nation, as Josephus here supposes, whose acc-
greatest security at the festivals after this time, and having weapons concealed in like manner as before, and mingling themselves among the multitude, they slew certain of their own enemies, and were subservient to other men for money, and slew others, not only in remote parts of the city, but in the temple itself also; for they had the boldness to murder men there, without thinking of being afterwards known, for fear of those who were there, and had a covering of the multitude, and those who sowed the crime, and also; and thus it was, till at length they came to throwing stones at one another, and several were wounded, and fell on both sides, though still the Jews were the conquerors. But when Felix saw that this quartet was only an incitement to the Romans upon us, and threw a fire upon the city to purge it, and brought upon us, our wives and children, slavery, as desirous to make us wiser by our calamities.

6. These works that were done by the robbers, filled the Jews with great amazement, and were subservient to other men for money, and slew others, not only in remote parts of the city, but in the temple itself also; for they had the boldness to murder men there, without thinking of being afterwards known, for fear of those who were there, and had a covering of the multitude, and those who sowed the crime, and also; and thus it was, till at length they came to throwing stones at one another, and several were wounded, and fell on both sides, though still the Jews were the conquerors. But when Felix saw that this quartet was only an incitement to the Romans upon us, and threw a fire upon the city to purge it, and brought upon us, our wives and children, slavery, as desirous to make us wiser by our calamities.

7. Now these impostors* and deluders persuaded the multitude to follow them into the wilderness, and pretended that they would exhibit manifest wonders and signs that should be performed by them with their God, and they prevailed on them by the pleasure of their folly: for Felix brought them back, and then punished them. Moreover, there came out of Egypt† about this time, to Jerusalem, a man that devised the multitude of the common people to go along with him to the Mount of Olives, as it was called, which lay over against the city, and at the distance of a mile and a half, at the end of the broaddest street; and he would show them thence, how, at his command, the walls of Jerusalem would fall down; and he promised them, that he would procure them an entrance into the city through those walls, which were twelve cubits thick. Now, as soon as these people were informed of these things, he ordered his soldiers to take their weapons, and came against them with a great number of horsemen and footmen from Jerusalem, and attacked the Egyptians, and killed four hundred of them. Now, in these matters the Jews were in such affright, that the Syrians did not dare what was alleged about Herod; but they said, that Cæsarea was formerly called Silva's Tower, and that then there was not one Jew inhabiting. When the president of the council heard of these matters, they caught the authors of them on both sides, and tormented them with stripes, and by that means put a stop to the disturbance for a time. But

8. Now, when Porcius Festus was sent as successor to Felix by Nero, the principal of the Jewish inhabitants of Cæsarea went up to Rome to accuse Felix; and he had certainly been brought to promote the narrative, and to require the importunate solicitations of his brother Paul, who was at that time had in the greatest honor by him. Two of the principal Syrians in Cæsarea persuaded Burchus, who was Nero's tutor, and secretary for his literary plans, to take away those tithes that were due to the priests; insomuch that it so fell out that the poorest sort of the priests died for want. To this degree did the violence of the seditious prevail over all right and justice; and边境 upon itself, and plundered them.

7. And now it was that a great sedition arose between the Jews and the Romans and the Jews, and the Syrians who dwelt there also, concerning their equal right to the privileges belonging to citizens, for the Jews claimed the pre-eminance, because Herod their king was the builder of Cæsarea, and they said that he was his own city; but the Syrians did not dare what was alleged about Herod; but they said, that Cæsarea was formerly called Silva's Tower, and that then there was not one Jew inhabiting. When the president of the council heard of these matters, they caught the authors of them on both sides, and tormented them with stripes, and by that means put a stop to the disturbance for a time. But

† Of this Egyptian impostor, and the number of his followers in Josephus, see Acts xxv. 36.
‡ The wickedness here was very peculiar and extraordinary, that the high priests should suppress their brethren the priests, and then be put out of the temple, and be put to death. See the like presently, ch. xxvi. sect. 9. Such fatal crimes are conspicuous and tyrannous in the clergy, as well as in the laity, in all ages.
of this epistle* to the Syracusians, they were more disorderly than before; till a war was kindled.

10. Upon Festus's coming into Judæa, it hap-
pened that Judæa was afflicted by the robbers, while 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 nu-
nmerous, and used to rob the villages, by the use of small swords, not much different in length from the Persian, scie-
matæ, but somewhat crooked, and like the Ro-
man sicae [or sickles], as they were called: and from these weapons these robbers got their de-
nomination, and a great many; for they mingled themselves among the multitude at their festivals, when they were come up in crowds from all parts to the city to worship; and so they easily bid those that had a mind to spy. They also came frequently upon the villages belonging to their enemies, with their weapons, and plundered them, and set them on fire. So Festus sent them into the forest, both horsemen and footmen, to fall upon those that had been seduced by a certain impostor, who promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries they were under, if they would but follow him as far as the wilderness.

And so this impostor took several of them, and destroyed both him that had deluded them, and those that were his followers also.

11. About the same time king Agrippa built himself a very large dining-room in the royal palaces, in the city of Caesarea. Now this palace had been erected of old by the children of Asmonæus, and was situate upon an ele-
vation, and afforded a most delightful prospect to those that had a mind to take a view of the city, and the sea coast, and the countries by the sea; and there he could lie down, and eat, and thence observe what was done in the temple: which thing, when the chief men of Jerusalem saw, they were very much displeased at it; for it was more than their country and the institution of the law, that what was done in the temple should be viewed by others, especially what belonged to the sacrifices. They therefore erected a wall upon the uppermost building which belonged to the inner court of the temple towards the west, which wall, when it was built, did not only inter-
cept the prospect of the dining-room in the palace, but also of the western cloisters that be-
longed to the outer court of the temple also, where it was that the Romans kept guards for the temple at the festivals. At these doings both king Agrippa, and principally Festus the pro-
curator, were much displeased; and Festus or-
dered to pull down the wall within, but the king of 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, then they sent ten of their principal men to Nero, as also Helcia the high priest, and Helcias, the keeper of the sacred treasure. And when Nero had heard what they had to say, he not only forgave them what

* We have here one eminent example of Nero's mildness and clemency, which did not distinguish him from the Jews, during the five first years of his reign, so famous in ant-
iquity; we have perhaps another in Josephus's own Life, sect. 3; and a third, though of a different nature however, in Jerus. lib. 1. where several acts of kindness were obtained of Nero by his queen Pop-
pæa, who was a religious lady, and perhaps privately a Jewess; and so were not offending entirely to Ne-
or's own goodness.

1 It here evidently appears, that Sadducees might be high priests in the days of Josephus, and that these Sa-
ducees were usually very severe and inexcusable judges, while the Pharisees were much milder, and more merci-
ful: but the last chapter is an instance of the note on this

place, and on Josephus's Life, sect. 34; and those taken from the New Testament, from Josephus himself, and from free and good stories in his government, with any Sadducees later than this high priest in all Josephus.

they had already done,* but also gave them leave to let the wall they had built stand. This was greatly liked them, in order to gratify Poppæa. Nero's wife, as was a religious woman, and had requested these favors of Nero, and who gave order to the ten ambassadors to go their way home; but retained Helcias and Isthmeal as hostages in his person. As soon as the king heard this news, he wrote the high priest to Joseph, who was called Cabi, the son of Simon, formerly high priest.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning Albinus, under whose procurator-
ship James was slain; as also what Edicas did to Agrippa.

1. And now Comes, 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 Ananias, who was also him-
self called Ananias. Now this younger Ananias proved a most fortunate man; for he had five sons, who had all performed the office of a high priest to God, and he had himself enjoyed that dignity formerly, a long time, which had never happened to any before. And this younger Ananias, who, as we have told you already, took the high priesthood, was a bold man in his temper, and very insolent; he was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are very rigid and severe in the laws. And so the Jews, as we have already observed: when, there-
fore, Ananias was of this disposition, he thought he had now a proper opportunity to exercise his authority. Festus was now dead, and Albinus was under the king, that he might lose no time in the

sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others, or some of his companions. And when he had formed an answer against them on the country and laws, he delivered them to be stoned: but as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and such as were the most uneasy at the laws, they could not say what was done; they also sent to the king, [Agrippa,] des-
iring him to send to Ananias that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done was not to be justified: nay, some of them went also to the king of Chæsus and besought him from Alexandria, and informed him that it was unlawful for Ananias to assemble a sanhedrim with out his consent. Whereupon Albinus complied with what they said, and wrote in anger to An-

anias, and to theSanhedrim of judges, to put to death by punishment for what he had done; on which king Agrippa took the high priesthood from him, when he had ruled but three months, and made Jesus the son of Damæsus high priest.

2. Nor as soon as Albinus was come to the city of Jerusalem, he used all his endeavors and care that the country might be kept in peace, and this by destroying many of the Sicarii. But as for the high priest Ananias, he increased in

1 Of this condemnation of James the Just, and its cause, we have related part, but not the whole, as is in the Prin. Christ. Revised, vol. iii. ch. 43-45. The Sanhed-

rim condemned our Saviour, but could not put him to death without the approbation of the Roman procurator; nor could therefore Ananias and the Sanhedrim of judges, derti, since they never had Albinus's approbation for the putting this James to death.

This Ananias was not the son of Nehemiah, as we take it, but he who was called Anna, or Ananus the elder, the 9th in the catalogue, and who had been esteemed high priest for a long time, and besides Cestus, the son-in-law, had five of his own sons high priests after him, which were those of numbers 11, 13, 15, 17, 24, in the foregoing catalogue. And so we are to understand what Josephus here says of this Ananus or Ananias, that he was high priest a long time before his children were so; he was son of Pethæus, and is set down first for high priest in his foregoing catalogue, under number 9, the
glory every day, and this to a great degree, and had obtained the favor and esteem of the citizens in a signal manner, for he was a great poet and a man of music also. He, therefore, derived the friendship of the Albigensians, and of the high priest [Jesus,] by making them presents; he also had servants who were very wicked, who joined themselves to the boldest sort of the people, and went to their parishes, he forged the entire symbols that belonged to the priests by violence, and did not refrain from beating such as would not give these tithes to them. So the other high priests set in the like manner, and did those same same things in the high priest's behalf also, and gave them; as that of this priests that of old were wont to be supported with those tithes, died for want of food.  

5. But when Albina heard that Cassius Flores was coming to succed him, he was desirous 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 accordingly. But as to those who had been put into prison on some trifling occasion, he forgave them, and caused them to give them leave to wear linen garments, as well as the priests; for they said, that this would be a work worthy the times of his government. And if he would have caused them to give, he might have caused them to wear linen ones as they desired; and as a part of this tribe ministered in the temple, he also permitted them to learn those hymns as they had besought him for. Now all this was contrary to the laws of our country, which, whenever they have been transgressed, we have never been able to avoid the punishment of such transgressions.

6. And now it was that the temple was finished. So when the people saw that the workmen were unemployable, and the booty was immense, and that, they, receiving no wages, were in want, because they had earned their bread by their labors about the temple, and while they were unwilling to keep them by the treasures that were committed to their care, they conceived of the priests, and moved them by the chief of the sectaries, and moved Albina to rebuild the outer courts. These courts belonged to the outer court, and were situated in a deep valley, and the temple itself 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 six cubits. This was the work of king Solomon, who had finished all the temple, but king Agrippa, who had the care of the temple committed to him by Claudius Caesar, considering that it is easy to demolish any building, but hard to build it up again, and that it was particularly hard to do it to these courtiers, which would require a considerable time, and great sum of money, he denied the petitioners their request about that matter; but he did not obstruct them when they desired the city might be paved with white stone. He also ordained Jesus the son of Gamaliel of the high priesthood, and gave it to Matthias, the son of Theophilus, under whom the Jews' war with the Romans took its beginning.

CHAP. X.

An Enumeration of the High Priests.

1. And now I think it proper and agreeable to this history to mention an account of all the high priests; how they began, who those are which are capable of that dignity, and how many of them have freedom and contempt the haughty high priest had now brought their brethren the priests into; of which shall mention, ch. vii. sect. 1. and th. ii. 1.

1. Of this finishing, not of the Nese, or holy house, but of the ite, or courts, about it, called in general the temple, see the now ch. vii. sect. 3.

2. Of these cloisters of Solomon, see the description of the temple, ch. xii. They seem, by Josephus's words, to have been built from the bottom of the valley.
them there had been at the end of the war. In the first place, therefore, history informs us, that Aaron, the brother of Moses, officiated as God to a high priest, and that, after his death, his sons succeeded him immediately; and that this dignity hath been continued down from them all to their posterity. Whence it is, in some villages 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, cannot obtain that high priesthood. Accordingly, the number of all the high priests from Aaron, of whom we have spoken already, as of the first of them, until Phasmas, who was made high priest during the war by the senate, hath been, I suppose, from thirteen, as officiated as high priests in the wilderness, 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 seventy years' captivity under the Aaron of their life, although afterward 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 from another; for their number was not maintained as an aristocracy, and after that 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 were cast out of Egypt, to the time of Moses their leader, until the building of that temple which King Solomon erected at Jerusalem, were six hundred and twelve. After those thirteen high priests, eighteen took the high priesthood at Jerusalem, and in those six hundred and twelve years, the days of king Solomon, until Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, made an expedition against that city, and burnt the temple, and removed our nation into Babylon, and then took over the high priest's care; the time of these high priests were four hundred sixty-six years, eighteen months and ten days, while the Jews were still under the regal government. But after the term of the seventy years' captivity under the Aaronians, Cyrus, king of Persia, sent the Jews from Babylon to their own land again, and gave them leave to rebuild their temple; at which time, Jesus, the son of Josedak, took the high priesthood, and came into possession when they were returned home. Now he and his posterity, who were in all fifteen, until king Antiochus Epiphat, were under a democratic government for four hundred and fourteen years; and then the foremost temple, and Lycon of the army, deprived Onias, who was also called Meleabas, of the high priesthood, and slew him at Beroa, and driving away the son [of Onias the third,] put Jason into the place of the high priest, who was not in the stock of Aaron, but not of the family of Onias. On which account, Onias, who was the nephew of Onias that was dead, and bore the same name with his father, came into Egypt, and got into the friendly and gentle Ptolemeus, the king's wife, and persuaded them to make him the high priest of that temple which he built to God in the prefecture of Heliopolis, and this in imitation of that at Jerusalem; but as for that temple which was built in Egypt, we have spoken of it frequently already. Now, when Jason had retained the high priesthood three years, he died, and there was no one that succeeded him, but the city continued seventeen years without a high priest, but then the posterity of the sons of Asmoneus, who had 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 when he had been slain by the treacherous contrivance of Trypho, as we have related somewhere. Simon his brother took the high priesthood; and he was destroyed at a feast by the treachery of his son-in-law, his own son, whose name was Hyrcanus, succeeded him, after he had held the high priesthood one year longer than his brother. This Hyrcanus enjoyed that dignity thirty years, and died one of the seven Judges, who was also called Aristobulus, whose brother Alexander was his heir; which Judas died of a sore distemper, after he had kept the priesthood, together with the regal authority, (for this Judas was the first that put on his hands a diadem,) for one year. And when Alexander had been both king and high priest for twenty-seven years, he departed this life, and permitted his wife Alexandra to appoint his son according to his will. And she, the wife of Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, had for the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, but retained the kingdom herself nine years, and then departed this life. The like duration [and no longer] did her son Hyrcanus enjoy the high priesthood; for after he was made king, he judged, and performed the office of high priest to God. But when he had reigned three years and as many months, he had to fight against the inhabitants of the city of Jerusalem by force, and put him and his children in bonds, and sent them to Rome. He also restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, and made him governor of the province, but permitted him to reign for four years. This Hyrcanus ruled, besides his first nine years, twenty-four years more, when Bambaphernes and Piscorus, the generals of the Parthians, passed over Europe, and fought with Hyrcanus, and took the city and the rest of Egypt, and made them their own subjects. Then the son of Aristobulus, king; and when he had reigned three years and three months, Simon and Herod besieged him, and took him, when Antony had brought to Antioch, and slain them both by the Parthians, but did no longer appoint high priests out of the family of Asmoneus; but made certain men to be so that were of no eminent families, but barely of those that were his intimate, excepting that he gave the dignity to Aristobulus; for when he had made this Aristobulus, the grandson of that Hyrcanus who was taken by the Parthians, and had taken his sister Mariamme to wife, he thereby aimed to make a government under the semblance of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; and this was the government of Jesus, the son of Hyrcanus, his predecessor, which we have already related that matter; but after this man he never intrusted the high priesthood to the posterity of the sons of Asmoneus. Archelaus also, Herod's son, did like his father in the appointment of his high priests, as did the Romans also, who took the government over the Jews into their hands afterward. Accordingly the numbers of the high priests, from the days of Herod until the day when Titus took the temple, and killed his son in twenty-eight; the time also that belonged to them was a hundred and seven years. Some of these were the political governors of the people under the reign of Herod, or the reign of Archelaus his son, although, after their death the government became an aristocracy, and the high priests were intrusted with a domination over the nation. And thus much may suffice to be said concerning our high priests.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Florus the Procurator, who assassinated the Jews to take up Arms against the Romans. The Conclusion.

I. Now Gessius Florus, who was sent as successor to Abinaeus, alias Judas, with
abundance of miseries. He was by birth of the city of Cæsarea, and brought along with him his wife Clesopatra, (by whose friendship with Porcius Florus in the interval of the war,) he had also carried down the succession of our kings, and related their actions, and political administration, without considerable errors; as also the power of our magistrates; and all according to what is written in other places. For, I promised to do in the beginning of this history. And I am so bold as to say, now I have so completely perfected the work I proposed to myself to do, that no other person, whether he were a Jew or a foreigner, be rewarded for great an elucidation to it, could so accurately deliver the same accounts to the Greeks as is done in these books. For those of my own nation freely acknowledge, that I far exceed the learning of the Hebrews belonging to Jews; I have also taken a great deal of pains to obtain the learning of the Greeks, and understand the elements of the Greek language, although I have so long accustomed myself to speak our own language; that is, such as the Greeks, with sufficient exactness; for our nation does not encourage those that learn the languages of many nations, and so adorn their discourse with the smoothness of their periods; because this would in this sort of work be in general, not only to all sorts of free men, but as many of the servants as please to learn them. But they give them the testimony of being a wise man, who is fully acquainted with our laws, and is able to interpret the meaning of the actions and accounts, as there have been many who have done these endeavors 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 born free and men. 3. And now it will not be perhaps an invidious thing, if I treat briefly on my own family, and of the actions of my own life, and while there are still living such as can either prove what is said to be false, or can attest that less true, with which accounts I shall put an end to these Antiquities, which are contained in twenty books, and six thousand verses. And if God permit me, I will briefly run over those events, that are now extant in his works, including himself as well as others, ever cite any such abridgment, I am forced rather to suppose that he never did publish any such work at all. I mean as distinct from his own life, written by himself, for an Appendix to these Antiquities, and this at least seven years after these Antiquities were finished. Nor latterly does it occur to me, that Josephus ever published that other work here mentioned, as intended by him for the public also. I mean the three or four books concerning God and his actions, and concern ing the Jews, which I have observed to him, on a thing or two, and I have also promised, if God permitted, as the conclusion of his passion to these Antiquities; nor do I suppose that he ever published any of them. The health of all his friends is at court, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, and the coming of those he had no acquaintance with the crown, I mean Nero and Tiberius. Nor does he come to Judea, with what followed it, might easily interrupt such his intentions, and prevent his publication of those works.
THE WARS OF THE JEWS; OR, THE HISTORY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

PREFACE.

1. Whereas the war which the Jews made with the Romans had 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; of both of those wherein cities have fought 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 after a sophistical manner; and while those that were there present have given false accounts of things, and this either out of humor or flattery to the Romans, or of hatred towards the Jews; and while their writings contain sometimes, in the neighborhood of those causes, 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, which I formerly consulted in the Latin; and I have dedicated my work to our country, and sent it 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 what was done afterward, [I am the author of this work.]

2. Now at the time when this great concusion of affairs happened, the affairs of the Romans were themselves in great disorder. Those Jews who were in Egypt for their trade, or for their sons as common men, were, as the times were disturbed; they were also in a flourishing condition for strength and riches, inasmuch that the affairs of the east were than exceedingly tumultuous, while some hoped for gain, and others dreaded, or feared it of loss, for the Jews hoped that all of their nation who were beyond Euphrates, would have raised an insurrection together with them. The Gauls also, in the neighborhood of those nations, were in motion, and the Celts were not quiet; but all was in disorder after the death of Nero. And the opportunity now offered induced many to aim at the royal power; and the soldiers affected change on the one hand, and hoping more on the other, I thought thereupon 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 what was done, and to read empty fictions and stories of actions, while the Parthians and the Babylonians, and the remotest Arabsians, and those of our nation beyond Euphrates, with the Assyrians, by my means, knew accurately both whence the war began, what miseries it 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 prior to the time they have 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 by the multitude of the Roman forces who were greatly suffered in it, or the might of the commanders; whose great labors about Jerusalem will be deemed inglorious, if what they achieved be reckoned but a small matter.

4. However, I will not get the other extremes out of opposition to those men who entitl the Romans, nor will I determine to raise the scions of my countrymen too high; but I will procure to them the judgment of both parties with accuracy. Yet shall I correct the language to the passages I am under, as to the affairs I describe, and must be allowed to indulge some intimations upon the miseries undergone by my own country. For that are they indicative of them in the narrative that destroyed it, and that they were the tyrants among the Jews who brought the Roman power upon us, who unwillingly attacked us, and occasioned the burning of our holy temple; that I do not conceal, what I do endeavor to show; it is myself who, during the entire war, pitied the people, who were kept under by the seditious, and did often voluntarily delay the taking of the city, and allowed time to the siege, in order to let the war, upon the comparison, quite eclipse the old wars. But if any one makes an unjust accusation against us, when we speak so passionately about the tyrants, or the robbers, or sorely bewail the misfortunes of our country, let him indulge my affections in my work. I am not a writer for writing history; because it had so come to pass, that our city, Jerusalem, had arrived at a higher degree of felicity than any other city under the Roman government; and yet at last fell into the lowest calamities again. Accordingly, it appears to me, that the misfortunes of all men, from the beginning of the world, if they be compared to these of the Jews, are not so considerable. And hence it is not foreign to me, nor to foreigners neither. This makes it impossible for me to contain my lamentations. But if any one be inflexible in his censures of me, let him attribute the facts themselves to the historian, and the lamentations to the writer himself only.

5. However, I may justly blame the learned among the Greeks, who, when such great actions have been done in their own times, which, upon the comparison, quite eclipse the old wars, do yet sit as judges of those affairs, and pass bitter censures upon the labors of the best writers of antiquity; which moderns, although they may be superior to the old writers in eloquence, yet have not the advantage of knowing what they intended to do. While these also write...
new histories about the Assyrians and Medes, as it the ancient writers had not described their affairs as they ought to have done; although these be not so far from the truth as might at first sight be supposed; and yet they are different in their notions from them. 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 pro-

many of his auxiliaries were cut off in all Galilee; and how he took some of its cities entirely and by force, and others of them by treaty, and on terms. Nor was it, when I came to write, to describe the good order of the Romans in war, and the discipline of their legions; the amplitude of both the Galilees, with its nature, and the limits of Judea. And, besides this, I shall particularly go over what has been written concerning the rivers and fountains that are in them, and what miseries happened to every city as they were taken, and all this with accuracy as I saw the things done, or suffered the effects of the calamities I myself endured, since I shall relate them to such as know the truth of them. 

9. After this, I shall relate how, when the Jews' affairs were become very bad, Nero died, and Vespasian, being led by the desire of 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 any way relate the terror 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 the power of the people. Yet shall the real truth of historical facts be preferred by us, how much soever it be neglected among the Greek historians.

6. To write concerning the Antiquities of the Jews from the beginning, and generally, and how they revolted from the Egyptians, and what country they travelled over, and what countries they seized upon afterward, and how they were removed out of one of them; this took not to be a fit opportunity, and on other accounts also, to us; and because many Jews before me have composed the histories of our ancestors very exactly; as have some of the Greeks done it also; and have transferred to us our writings in their own tongues, and have not much mistaken the truth in their histories. But then, where the writers of these affairs, and our prophets leave off, thence shall I take my rise, and begin my history with a more propitious opportunity, and shall provide that the manner of which happened in my own time, I will go over it very largely, and with all the diligence I am able; but for what preceded mine own age, that I shall run over briefly.

11. And I shall relate how Antiochus, who was named Epiphanes, took Jerusalem by force, and held it three years and three months, and was then ejected out of the country by the sons of Asmoneus; after that, how their power quarreled about the government, and brought upon their settlement the Romans and Pompey; how Herod also, the son of Antipater, dissolved their government, and brought Sossias upon them; as also how our people made a sedi-

12. I have comprehended all these things in seven books; and have left no occasion for cavil or complaint to such as have been acquainted with this war; and have written it down for the sake of those that love truth, 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.

The Rabbins make ten degrees of them, as Beland these informs us.

3. These seven, or rather five, degrees of purity, or purification, are numbered hereafter, b. v. ch. v. sect. 6.
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, had disappointed him, he behaved himself with great circumspection 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, and sought the favor and protection for his security; for the tyrant Trypho, who was guardian to Antiochus's son, laid a plot against him; and, besides, that, endowed to take off his front, conceived a design against Jonathan by a wire, as he was going to Ptolemais. He also forewarned, with a few 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 from the Roman nation of the Macedonians, enraged at his defeat, he put Jonathan to death.

2. However, Simon managed the public affairs after a courageous manner, and took Gaza, and Joppa, and Jamnia, which were cities in the neighborhood, and made a garrison under and demolished the citadel. He was afterward an auxiliary to Antiochus against Trypho, whom he besieged in Dora, before he went on his expedition against the Medes; yet could not make the same success, that the king might assist him in killing Trypho; for it was not 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, continued a brave and valorous 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 ambush, and got a great many men in ambush in many places of the pass, 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 wives from the Roman nation of the Macedonians, after a hundred and seventy years of the empire of Seleucus.

3. This Simon had also a plot laid against him, and was slain at a feast by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who put his wife and two of his children to death, and some persons to kill John, who was also called Hyrcanus.* But when the young man was informed of their coming beforehand, he made much haste to get to the city, as having a very great fear. So he had an 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; so he returned presently to one of the fortresses that were about Jericho, which was called Dagon. Now, when he had received the high priesthood, which his father had held before, and had offered sacrifice to God, he made great haste to attack Ptolemy, that he might afford relief to his mother and brethren.

4. They came against the fortress, and was superior to Ptolemy in other respects, but was overcome by him as to the just affection [he had for his relations;] for when Ptolemy was defeated, he brought forth his mother and his brethren, and set them upon the wall, and beat them with rods in every body's sight, and threatened

* Why this John the son of Simon, the high priest, and governor of the Jews, was called Hyrcanus, Josephus here nowhere informs us; nor is he called other than John at the end of the first book of the Maccabees. However, Sestus Sessenas when he gives us an epitome of the Greek version of the book here abridged by Josephus, or of the chronicles of this John Hyrcanus, than extant, observes that he was called Hyrcanus, from his conquest of one of that name. See Antiqu. Bk. part 1 p. 87. But of this younger Antiochus, see Dean Alford's note here.
WARS OF THE JEWS.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SEVEN YEARS.—FROM THE TA

KING OF JERUSALEM BY ANTIochus Epiphanes, TO THE DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT.

CHAP. I.

How the City of Jerusalem was taken, and the Temple polluted by Antiochus Epiphanes. It also concerning the Actions of the Maccebees, 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 Judæa, and they had a contention about obtaining the government; while each of those that were of dignity could not endure to be subject to their equals. However, Onias, one of the high priests, got the better, and cast the sons of Tobias out of the city; who fled to Antiochus, and besought him to make use of them for his leaders, and to make an expedition into Judæa. The king being then of the same mind, and having an army, and Solomon had been 250

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2. However, Simon managed the public affairs after a courageous manner, and took Gaza, and Joppa, and Jaminis, which were cities in the neighborhood. He also drove garrison under, and demolished the citadel. He was afterward an auxiliary to Antiochus, against Trypho, whom he besieged in Dora, before he went on his expedition against the Medes; yet could not he make the Medes fight on foot. He also sent and assisted him in killing Trypho; for it was not long ere Antiochus sent Cendebeus his general with an army to lay waste Judaea, and to subdue Simon; yet he, though he was now in years, continued a great warrior and a great 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 in the army and put to flight a great many of them, and in ambush in many places of the mountain, 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 Medes, in about a hundred and seventy years of the empire [of Seleucus].

3. This Simon had also a plot laid against him, and was slain at a feast by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who put his part in, which brought to death some persons to kill John, who was also called Hyrcanus. But when the young man was informed of their coming beforehand, he made much haste to get to the city, as having a very great confidence of the 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; so he returned presently to one of the fortresses that were about Jericho, which was called DAGOS. Now, when Simon had received the high priesthood, which his father had held before, and had offered sacrifice to God, he made great haste to attack Ptolemy, that he might afford relief to his mother and brethren.

4. He hastened to the fortress, and was superior to Ptolemy in other respects, but was overcome by him as to the just affection [he had for his relations] for when Ptolemy was defeated, he brought forth his mother and his brethren, and set them upon the wall, and beat 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 commiseration and concern were too hard for his son. But his mother was de- mayed, neither at 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 means of Ptolemy than to live ever so long, provided he might be punished for the injuries he had done to their family. Now John's case was this: when he considered the courage of his mother, and also the enmity of Trypho about his attacks; but when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces with the stripes, he grew feas- bie, and was entirely overcome by his affections. And as the siege was delayed by this war, the year of rest came on, upon which the Jews met 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 Seleucia, which was also called Cotyla, 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 set down Dora, and besieged Jerusalem, and besieged Hyrcanus; but Hyrcanus opened the sepulchre of David, who was the richest of all kings, and took thence about three thousand talents in money, and induced Antiochus, by the great plenty of corn he found, to raise the siege. Moreover, he was the first of the Jews that had money enough, and began to hire foreign auxiliaries also.

6. However, at another time, when Antiochus was gone on another 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 will he do? He had already come to him, and had them empty of good troops. So he took Medes and Sameas, with the towns in their neighborhood, as also Shechem and Gerizim; and besides these [he subdued] the nation of the Cathenians, who dwell round about that temple which was built in imitation of the temple at Jerusalem; he also took a great many other cities of Idumeas, with Adoreone and Marsia.

7. He also proceeded as far as Samaria, where is now the city of Sabath, which was built by Herod the king, and encompassed it all round with a wall, and set his sons Aristobulus and Antigou- nus over the siege; who pushed it on so hard, that a famine so far prevailed within the city, in it they were not able to get sufficient food. They also invited Antiochus, who was called Cyscicus, to come to their assistance: whereupon he got ready, and complied with their invitation, but was beaten by Aristobulus and Antigonus; and indeed he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by these brethren, and fled away from them. So they returned back to Sa- maria, and sent the multitude again within the wall; and when they had taken their situation, demolished it, and made slaves of its inhabitants.

And, as they had still great success in their undertakings, they did not suffer their zeal to cool, but marched with an army as far as Scythopolis, and made an halt in the desert, and so spread out the whole country that lay within Mount Carmel.

8. But then, these successes of John and his sons made them be enviied, and occasioned a se- dition 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

Greek version of the book here abridged by Josephus, or of the chronicles of this John Hyrcanus, then extant, as- smes as that he was called Hyrcanus, from his conquest of one of that name. See Antiqu. Rec. part i. p. 37. But of this younger Antiochus, see Dean Aldridge's note here.
WARS OF THE JEWS.

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 behind him. He was certainly 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, the government of his nation, and the 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 the events that would undoubtedly come to pass. He was one of the most wealthy men in the land, and was called a rich man. And, when he was going along that dark passage, which was called Strato's Tower, he was slain by the body guards, and became an eminent instance how calumny destroys all good-will and natural affections: For none of our good nations are strong enough to resist evil peremptorily.

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 the interests of his district. Nevertheless, he also saw Antigonus as he was passing along by the temple, and cried out to his acquaintance, (they were not a few who attended upon him as his scholars,) 'O strague!' said he; 'it is good for no man to live now; for the truth is dead both here and abroad: I hive somewhat that I have foretold hath proved false; for this Antigonus is this day alive, who ought to have died this day; and the place where he ought to die now, is straitly guarded by the body guards, who are called the body guards of Strato's Tower, which is at the distance of six hundred furlongs from this place; and yet four hours of this day are over already, which point of time renders the prediction impossible to be fulfilled.' And, when he had said this, he was dejected in his mind, and so continued. But, in a little time, news came that Antigonus was slain in a subterranean place, which was itself also called Strato's Tower, by the same name with that of Caesar, which lies 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 distress. For, he became worse and worse, and his soul was constantly disturbed at the thoughts of what he had done, till his very bowels were torn to pieces by the intolerable grief he was under, he threw up his neck, and was thrown into his chamber, where he was informed of all that had been done, and were determined upon; and, when the servants that attended him carried out that blood, he, by some supernatural providence, slipped and fell down in the very place where Antigonus was slain, and an eternal steel was formed in the first 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 prosperous manner the armed men came, and with what insolence Antigonus marched, and that such his insolence was too great for a private person, and that accordingly he was come with a great band of men to kill him; for that he could not endure the sight of a man of royal blood on 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 on account of any accidents: so he placed the guards of his body in a dark subterranean passage, for he lay sick in a place called formerly the Citadel, though afterward his name was changed to Antigonus. He then, as he had always done, if Antigonus came unarmed, they should let him alone; but if he came to him in his armor, they 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-
5. Yet did Alexander meet both these forces with one thousand horsemen, and eight thousand mercenaries that were on foot. He had also with him that part of the Jews which favored him, to the number of ten thousand; while the adherents of Antiochus had three thousand horsemen, and fourteen thousand footmen. Now, before they joined battle, the kings made proclamation, and endeavored to draw off each other's soldiers, and make them engage, while Demetrius induced Alexander's mercenaries to leave him, and Alexander hoped to induce the Jews that were with Demetrius to leave him. But, since neither the Jews would leave off their rage, nor the Greeks their idolatries, so each made up their minds to engage, and to close fight with their weapons. In which battle Demetrius was the conqueror, although Alexander's mercenaries showed the greatest exploits, both in soul and body. Yet did the prophet of the event, and the different result, 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 he was conqueror; and they, 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 supposing that Alexander was already become a most determined enemy, and that the nation would [at length] run to him, he left the country and went his way.

6. However, the rest of the [Jewish] multitude did not lay aside their quarrels with him, when they saw Alexander not only consulting with his friends, but having recourse to armed forces; for on those feasts asidiae 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, the Parthians and Cilicians, assisted him. And, when he saw that his safety depended upon his mercenary troops, on account of their innate enmity against the Jewish nation. And when he had slain more than six thousand of the rebels, he made an incursion into Arabia, and having subdued it, he returned to Jerusalem. In which he was not so sanguinary as to be without a perpetual war with Alexander, until he had slain the greatest part of them, and driven the rest into the city Bemaesa; and when he had demolished that city, he carried the captives to Jerusalem. He also took great care, that his barbarity proceeded to the degree of impiety; for, when he had ordered eight hundred to be hung upon crosses in the midst of the city, he had the throats of their wives and children cut off, and their other extremities he saw as he was drinking and lying down with his concubines. Upon which so deep a surprise seized on the people that eight thousand of his opponents were slain, and the women and children of all Judea, whose flight was only prevented by Alexander's death; so at last, though not till late and with great difficulty, he, by such actions, procured a quiet kingdom, and left off fighting any more.

7. Yet did that Antiochus, who was also called Dionysius, become an origin of troubles again. This man was the brother of Demetrius, and the last of the race of the Seleucids. Alexander was afraid of him, when he was marching against the Arabsians; so he cut a deep trench between Antipatrus, 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 him. Nay, his rage was so extra-ordinary, that 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 upon taking his revenge on Antiochus, he was not desisting to stop him, but, as a thing of less consequence, he marched directly against the Arabsians, whose king retired into such parts of the country as were fittest for engaging the enemy, and stood on the north, and then on the west, and at last on the mountain. They were in number ten thousand, and fell upon Antiochus's army while they were in disorder, and a terrible battle ensued. Antiochus's troops, so long as he was alive fought it out, although though a mighty slaughter was made among them by the Arabsians; but when he fell, for he was in the foremost, in the utmost danger in rallying his troops, they all gave ground, and the officers heretofore present became terrified, and were not able to do anything; whereas they might have hoped against their enemies; so Antiochus was taken prisoner, and led the Roman commander Scipio, whose name was Tribune of the soldiers, and thus was the whole war brought to a conclusion.

*Josephus here calls this Antiochus the last of the Seleucids, although there remained still a priest of another king of that family, Antiochus Aëtatus, of Sanda, who reigned, and then, a century later on, Antiochus the Great was called Antiochus the last of the Seleucids.
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greatest part of his army was destroyed, either in the action or the flight; and for the rest, who fled to the village of Canna, it happened that they were all consumed by want of necessaries, a few only excepted.

8. About this time it was that the people of Damascus, out of their hatred to Pontius, the son of Meaneus, invited Aretas [to take the government], and the king of Palmyra. This man also made an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle; but afterward retired by mutual agreement. But Alexander, when he had taken Pella, marched to Gerasa again out of the consent of Aretas; and he had of the Thracians for forsworn enemies; and when he had built a triple wall about the garrison, he took the place by force. He also demolished Golan, and Seleucis, and what was called the Valley of Antiochus; besides which, he took the strong fortress of Damascus, and stripped Demetrius, who was governor there, of which he had, on account of the many crimes laid to his charge, and then returned into Judea, after he had been three whole years in that country, and was kindly received of the nation, because of the good success he had. So, when he was at rest from war, he fell into a distemper; for he was afflicted with a quartana ague, and affected by a remarkable lethargy; in a word, he could make no motion at all. In his last extremity, upon being advised by his attendants and his ministers of war, that he should get rid of this distemper, but, by making such expeditions at unseasonable times, and forcing his body to undergo greater hardships than it was able to bear, he brought himself to his end. He died, therefore, in the midst of his troubles, after he had reigned seven and twenty years.

CHAP. V.
Alexandra reigns nine Years, during which time the Pharisees were the real Rulers of the Nation.

1. Now Alexander left the kingdom to Alexander his wife, and dependent upon it that the Jews cared very little about it, 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 mistaken in this, for this was a moment to keep the dominion, by the opinion that the people had of her piety; for she chiefly studied the ancient customs of her country, and cast those means upon the government that offended against their holy laws. And, as she had two sons by Alexander, she made Hyrcanus the elder high priest, on account of his age, as also on account of his inactive temper, which noways disposed him to disturb the public. But she retained the younger, Aristobulus, with her, as a private person, by reason of the warmth of his temper.

2. And now the Pharisees joined themselves to her, to assist her in the government. There were a certain sect of the Jews that are more religious than others, and seem to interpret the laws more accurately. Now, Alexander heard them to an extraordinary degree, as being herself a woman of great piety towards God. The Pharisees also insinuated themselves into her favor by little and little, and became themselves the real administrators of the public affairs: they banished and reduced what they pleased; they bound and loosed, as they pleased, as at their pleasure; and, at once, they had the enjoyment of the royal authority, while the expenses and the difficulties of it belonged to Alexander. She was a sagacious woman in the management of great affairs, and intent always upon gathering soldiers together; so that she increased her army the one hundred thousand, and procured a great body of foreign troops, till her own nation became not only powerful at home, but terrible also to foreign potentates, while she governed other people, and the Pharisees governed her.

3. Accordingly they themselves slew Diogene, 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 elder Hyrcanus. He also had prevailed with Alexander to put to death the rest of those who had irritated him against them. Now, she was so superstitious as to comply with their desires, and accordingly she slew whose the number of marauders they had, and put those that were in danger fled to Aristobulus, who persuaded his mother to spare the men on account of their dignity, but to expel them out of the city, unless they were to be innocent; so some were offered to go unpunished, and some dispersed all over the country. But when Alexander sent out her army to Damascus, under pretense that Pontus was always oppressing that city, she procured her army to march against the inaccessible resistance. She also prevailed with Tigranes, king of Armenia, who lay with his troops about Polemais, and besieged Cleopatra, by agreements and presents, to go away. Aristobulus, however, sallied forth, because he was by reason of those domestic tumults which happened upon Lucullus's expedition into Armenia.

4. In the meantime, Alexander fell sick, and Aristobulus, her younger son, took hold of this opportunity with his domestics, of which he had a great many, who were all of them his friends on account of the warmth of their youth, and got possession of all the fortresses. He also used the sums of money he found in them, to get together a number of mercenaries; and, one half, and procured himself self king; and besides this, upon Hyrcanus's com plaint to his mother, she compassionated his case, and put Aristobulus's wife and sons under restraint in Antonia, which was a fortress that Alexander had built. And therefore she says, "I have already said, of old called the Ciudadel; but afterward got the name of Antonia, when Antony was lord of the East, just as the other cities, Seleucia and Ephraim, got the name of their chance, and these given them, from Sebastus and Agrippa. But Alexander died before she could punish Aristobulus for his disinherititing his brother, after she had reigned nine years.

CHAP. VI.
When Hyrcanus, who was Alexander's Heir, received from his Claim of the Crown, Aristobulus is made King, and afterward the same Hyrcanus, by the means of Antipater, is brought back by Aretas. At last Pompey is made the Arbitrator of the Dispute between the Two Hyrcanuses.

1. Now Hyrcanus was heir to the kingdom, and told him his father commit it before she died; but Aristobulus was superior to him in power and magnificence; and when there was a battle between them, to decide the dispute about the crown, the king of Judah sent one of his embassadors, named Hyrcanus, and went over to Aristobulus; but Hyrcanus, with those of his party who stood with him, fled to Antonia, and got into his power awhile in prison, he put her to death. Dean Aldrich supposes here that Strabo contradicts Josephus, which does not appear to me; for although Josephus speaks here and in the Antiquities, b. xii. ch. xxii. sect. 7, that Tigranes besieged her now in Polemais, and that he took the city, the Antiquities inform us, yet does he nowhere intimate that he now took the city on the benefit so that both the narrations of Strabo, and Josephus may be still true notwithstanding.

* Matt. xvi. 10; xviii. 18.
† Here we have the oldest and most authentic Jewish authorities. The observations of the Jews, in being superstitious, are for punishing or abolishing men, not for declaring actions lawful or unlawful, as some more modern Jews and Christians prefer it.
‡ Strabo, b. xvi. p. 740, relates, that this Scipio Cestius was besieged by Tigranes, not in Polemais, as here, but after she had left Syria in Seleucia, a citizen in Mesopotamia; and adds, that when he had kept her
1. **BOO K I.**—CHAP. VI.**

2. The hostages that might be for his preservation (which were Aristobulus's wife, with her children); to the presence of the hostages, things should come to extremities, that Aristobulus should be king, and Hyrcanus should resign that up, but retain all the rest of his dignity, being the king's brother. Hereupon they were taken to Jerusalem, and there in the temple, and embraced another in a very kind manner, while the people stood round about them: they also changed their houses, while Aristobulus went to the royal palace, and Hyrcanus retired to the house of Aristobulus himself in Jerusalem, as relying on the bribes that Scaurus had received: he was also there himself, and adorned himself after a manner the most agreeable to royalty that he was able. But he soon thought of the force that came in as soon in the manner, and could not endure to serve his own ends in a way so much more abject than he was used to; so he departed from Diospolis.

3. Now, those other people who were at variance with Aristobulus were afraid upon his unexpected obtaining the government; and especially the sons of Aristobulus, who hated old. He was by birth an Idumeese, 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 Areata, the king of Arabia, and to lay claim to the kingdom; as also he persuaded Areata to receive Hyrcanus, and to bring him back to his kingdom: he also cast great reproaches upon Aristobulus, as to his morals, and gave to Areata a pledge of the inheritance: and the envoys that were from Scaurus to receive him, and told him how becoming a thing it would be for him, who ruled so great a kingdom, to afford his assistance to such as are injured; alleging that Hyrcanus was a man of good character, most sagacious, and that his dominion which belonged to him by the prerogative of his birth. And when he had predisposed them both to do what he would have them, he took Hyrcanus by night, and ran away from the camp, and with his best soldiers, and in a great swiftness, he escaped to the place called Petra, which is the royal seat of the king of Arabia, where he put Hyrcanus into Areata's hand: and by discovering much with him, and gaining upon him with many presents, he prevailed with him to give him an army that might restore him to his kingdom. This army consisted of fifty thousand footmen and horsemen, against which Aristobulus was not able to make resistance, but was deserted in his first onset, and was driven to Jerusalem: he also had been taken at first by force, if Scaurus, the Roman general, had not come and sanguinely interposed himself, and raised the standard of the Romans, and Scaurus was sent into Syria: the Arameans by Pontius the Great, and he fought against Tigranes: so Scaurus came to Damascus, which had been lately taken by Metellus and Lollius, and caused them to leave the place; and the Roman commanders that were his friends, and stood, he made haste thither as to a certain booty.

3. As soon therefore 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 sum, when Scaurus had received it, he sent a herald to Hyrcanus and the Arabians, and threatened them with the resentment of the Romans, if he was informed that his brother had the siege. So Areata was terrified, and retired out of Judea to Philadelphia, as did Scaurus return to Damascus again: nor was Aristobulus satisfied with escaping [out of his brother's hands], but when he was left in the camp, he fell upon his enemies, and fought them at a place called Paphos, and slew about six thousand of them, and, together with them, Antipater's brother, Phasael.

4. When Hyrcanus and Antipater were thus deprived of their hopes from the Arabians, they transferred the same to their adversaries; and because Pompey had passed through Syria, and was come to Damascus, they fled to him for assistance; and without any bribes, they made the same equitable pleas that they had used to Areata, and he brought him to the shores of Egypt, and left him, and embraced another in a very kind manner, while the people stood round about them: they also changed their houses, while Aristobulus went to the royal palace, and Hyrcanus retired to the house of Aristobulus himself in Jerusalem, as relying on the bribes that Scaurus had received: he was also there himself, and adorned himself after a manner the most agreeable to royalty that he was able. But he soon thought of the force that came in as soon in the manner, and could not endure to serve his own ends in a way so much more abject than he was used to; so he departed from Diospolis.

5. At this his behavior Pompey had great indignation; Hyrcanus also and his friends made great intercession to Pompey; so he took not only his Roman forces, but many of his Syrian auxiliaries, and marched against Aristobulus. But when he had passed by the river Euphrates, and had abandoned Areata to receive him, and told him how becoming a thing it would be for him, who ruled so great a kingdom, to afford his assistance to such as are injured; alleging that Hyrcanus was a man of good character, most sagacious, and that his dominion which belonged to him by the prerogative of his birth. And when he had predisposed them both to do what he would have them, he took Hyrcanus by night, and ran away from the camp, and with his best soldiers, and in a great swiftness, he escaped to the place called Petra, which is the royal seat of the king of Arabia, where he put Hyrcanus into Areata's hand: and by discovering much with him, and gaining upon him with many presents, he prevailed with him to give him an army that might restore him to his kingdom. This army consisted of fifty thousand footmen and horsemen, against which Aristobulus was not able to make resistance, but was deserted in his first onset, and was driven to Jerusalem: he also had been taken at first by force, if Scaurus, the Roman general, had not come and sanguinely interposed himself, and raised the standard of the Romans, and Scaurus was sent into Syria: the Arameans by Pontius the Great, and he fought against Tigranes: so Scaurus came to Damascus, which had been lately taken by Metellus and Lollius, and caused them to leave the place; and the Roman commanders that were his friends, and stood, he made haste thither as to a certain booty.

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7. *That this Antipater, the father of Herod the Great, who lived with Joseph, affords us here, see the note on Antq. b. xiv. ch. xv. sect. 2.* It is somewhat probable, as Havercamp supposes, and as some have been of opinion, that it were the tent, that Pompey did take the many presents offered him by Hyrcanus, as he would have done the others from Aristobulus, sect. 6; although his remarkable absentness from the 9000 talents that were in the Jewish temple, when he took it a little afterward, see the notes in Havercamp's edition, both here and b. ii. ch. ix. sect. 1. They are somewhat too long to be transcribed in this place.
also promised him money, and that he would deliver up both himself and the city into his disposal, and thereby mitigate the anger of Pompey. Yet did not he perform any of the conditions he had agreed to: for Aristobulus's party would not so much as admit 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; as also, what were his other Exploits in Judas.

1. At this treatment Pompey was very angry, and determined to send Gabinius into the city. And when he came to the city, he looked about where he might make his attack; for he saw the walls were so firm, that it would be hard to overcome them, and that the valley before the walls was terrible; and that the temple, which was within that valley, was itself encompassed with a very strong wall, insomuch that if the city were taken, the temple would be a second place of refuge for the enemy to retire to. So Pompey had a long time to deliberate about this matter, a sedition arose among the people within the city: Aristobulus's party being willing to fight, and to set their king at liberty, while the party of Hyrcanus were for opening the gates to Pompey, lest the dread of the latter should be in occasioned these last to be a very numerous party, when they looked upon the excellent order the Roman soldiers were in. So Aristobulus's party was not able to repulse the Romans in the temple, and the temple was cut off from the communication between the temple and the city, by breaking down the bridge that joined them together; and prepared to make an opposition to the utmost; but as the others had resolved on setting the Romans into the city and had delivered up the palace to him, Pompey sent Piso, one of his great officers, into that palace with an army, who distributed a garrison about the city, because he could not persuade any one of those that had fled to the temple to come to terms of accommodation; he then disposed all things that were round about them so as might favor their attacks, as having Hyrcanus's party very ready to assist them both counsel and assistance.

2. But Pompey, in a pitch that was on the north side of the temple, and the entire valley also, the army itself being obliged to carry the materials for that purpose. And indeed it was a hard thing to fill up that valley, by reason of its immense depth, especially as the Jews used all the means possible to repel them from their superior station: nor had the Romans succeeded in their endeavors, 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 Tyre near to the wall, and tried to batter it down, and the slingers of stones beat off those that stood above them, and drove them away; but the towers on this side of the city made very great resistance, and were indeed extraordinary both for largeness and magnificence.

3. Now here it was, that upon the many hardships which the Romans underwent, Pompey could not but admire not only at the other instances of the Jews' fortitude, but especially that they did not at all intermit their religious services, even when they were encompassed with

...
one Demetrius, who was of Gades, and was one of his own freed-men. He also made other cities free from their dominion, that lay in the midst of the country, such as means they had not demolished before that time, Hippo, and Scythopolis, as also Pella, and Samaria, and Marissa; and besides these, Ascalon, and Jannia, and Arethusa; and in like manner dealt he with the maritime towns, as Tyre, and Dora, and others; that which was anciently called Strato’s Tower; but was afterward rebuilt with the most magnificent edifices, and had its name changed to Cesarea, by king Herodes, by which means the town grew to be the greatest city in the province of Syria; which province, together with Judea, and the countries as far as Egypt and Ethiopia, he committed to Scænus as his governor, and put his sons, and put the sons of these cities, and the whole of Syria in his power; while he made all the haste he could himself to go through Cilicia, in his way to Rome, having Aristobulus and his children along with him, as his captives. They were two daughters and two sons; the one of his first wife, the other of his second. A tale king as he was going; but the younger, Antigonus, with his sisters, were carried to Rome.

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander, the Son of Aristobulus, who ran away from Pompey, makes an expedition against Hyrcania, but being overpowered by Gabinius, he delivers up the Fortresses to him. After this Aristobulus escapes from Rome, and gathers an Army together; but being beaten by the Romans, he is brought back to Rome; with other things relating to Gabinius, Cæsarea, and Carthaginians.

1. At the same time, Scænus made an expedition into Arabia, but was stopped by the difficulty of the places about Petra. However, he laid waste the country about Pella, though even there he was under great hardships; for his army was debouched upon wild and savage people, which want, Hyrcanus afforded him some assistance, and sent him provisions by the means of Antipater, whom also Scænus sent to Aretas, as one well acquainted with him, to induce him to pay him money, or buy his peace. A Tazit king of Arabia, complied with the proposal, and gave him three hundred talents; upon which Scænus drew his army out of Arabia.

2. But as for Alexander, that son of Aristobulus, as Pompey, in some time he got a considerable band of men together, and lay heavy upon Hyrcanus, and overran Judea, and was likely to overturn him quickly; and indeed he had come to Jerusalem, and had begun to rebel; but a wall that was drawn down by Pompey, had not Gabinus, who was sent as successor to Scænus into Syria, showed his bravery, as in many other points, so in making an expedition against Alexander; who, as he was afraid that he would attack him, as he got together a large army, composed of ten thousand armed footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen. He also built walls about proper places, Alexandria, and Hyrcanium, and Macherus, that lay upon the mountains of Arabia.

3. However, Gabinus sent before him Marcus Antonius, and followed himself with his whole army; but for the select body of soldiers that were to accompany Aristobulus’s party, for which Alexander, under the command of Malichus and Pitholus, these joined themselves to those captains that were about Marcus Antonius, and met Alexander; to which body came Gabinus with his main army soon afterward; and as Alexander was not able to sustain the charge of the enemies’ forces,

Take the like attestation to the truth of the subduing of Aretes, king of Arabia, to Scænus the Roman general, in the words of Dean Aldrich. "Hence," says he, "is derived that old and famous Damieri belonging to the Ethnic family, incorporated in Havana's ed.

now they were joined, he retired. But when he was come near to Jerusalem, he was forced to fight, and lost six thousand men in the battle; of whom three thousand were slain and fell dead, and three thousand were taken alive; so he fled with the remainder to Alexandria.

4. Now, Gabinus was come to Alexandria, because he found there a great many there exposed and undermined by promises and threats of former offences, to induce them to come over to him, before it came to a fight; but when they would not hear to no terms of accommodation, he slew a great number of them, and shut up the greatest number of them in the city. And now Marcus Antonius, their leader, signalized himself in this battle, who, as he always shewed of great courage, so did he never show it so much as now; but he shewed it in another manner. When the citizens, went out himself, and settled the cities that had not been demolished, and rebuilt those that had been destroyed. Accordingly, upon his injunction, the following cities were restored: Sciponoplis, Samaria, Anderdon, Galatia, Iassia, Raphia, Marissa, Adoris, Camela, Ascalon, and many others; while a great number of men readily ran to each of them, and became their inhabitants.

5. When Gabinus had taken care of these cities, he returned to Alexandria, and pressed on the siege. So when Alexander despaired of ever obtaining the government, he sent ambassadors to Rome, and prayed for what he could with his forces, and submitted himself to the Romans, and promised, as remaining a fortress, Hyrcanium and Macherus, as he put Alexandria into his hands afterward; all which Gabinus demolished, at the persuasion of Alexander’s mother, that they might not captivate, or hold in the second war. She was now there in order to mollify Gabinus, out of her concern for her relations that were captives at Rome, who were her husband and her other children. And Gabinus, having come to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him; but ordained the other political government to be by an aristocracy. He also parted the whole nation into five conventions, assigning one portico to Jerusalem, another to Gades, that another should belong to Anathus, a fourth to Jericho, and to the fifth division was allotted Sephoris, a city of Galilee. So the people were glad to be thus freed from monarchial government, and were governed for the future by an aristocracy.

6. Yet did Aristobulus afford another foundation for new disturbances. He fled away from Rome, and got together again many of the Jews that were dispersed 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 Gabinus had sent an army against him under the conduct of Sisenna, Antonius, and Servillius, he was aware of it, and retreated to Macherus. And as for the unprofitable multitude, he dismissed them, and only marched on with those that were armed, being to the number of eight thousand in all; of whom was Pitholus, who had been the lieutenant at Jerusalem, but deserted to Aristobulus with a thousand of his men: so the Romans followed him, and when it came to a battle, Aristobulus lost a great part of his army; but seriously: but at length they were overborne by the Romans, and of them five thousand fell dead, and about two thousand fled to a certain little hill, but the thousand that remained with Aristobulus broke through the Roman army, and marched together to Macherus; and, when the
PARTHIS from repassing it; concerning which matter we shall speak elsewhere. 

CHAPTER IX.

Aristobulus is taken off by Pompey's Friends. * As is 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 of the senate, beyond the Ionian Sea, Caesar got Rome and the empire under his power, and released Aristobulus from his bonds. He also commuted two legions to him, and sent him in haste into the province, that by his forces he might easily conquer that country, and the parts adjoining to Judea. But envy prevented any effect of Aristobulus's alacrity, and the hopes of Caesar; for he was taken off by poison given him by his enemies. Plutarch, in his Life of Caesar, says, he had not so much as a burial vouchsafed him in his own country; but his dead body lay [above ground], preserved in honey, until it was sent to the Jews by Antony, in order to be buried in the temple.

2. His son Alexander also was behaved by Scipio at Antioch, and that by the command of Pompey, and upon an accusation laid against him by a certain tribunal, for the mischief he had done to the Romans. But Plutarch, in his Life of Mithridates, who was then ruler of Chalcis under Labienus, took his brethren to him, by sending his son Philippus for them to Ascalon, who took Antigonus, as well as his sisters, away from Aristobulus's wife, and brought them to his father, and falling in love with the younger daughter, he married her, and was afterward slain by his father, on her account; for Ptolemy himself, after the death of Alexander, married her, whose name was Alessandra; on account of which marriage, he took the greater care of her brother and sister.

3. Now, after Pompey was dead, Antipater changed sides, and cultivated a friendship with Caesar. And, since Mithridates of Pontus, with the forces he led against Egypt, was excluded from the avenues about Ptolemais, and was forced to stay at Ascalon, he persuaded the Egyptians, among whom he had lived, to assist him. And Alexander himself, at the head of three thousand armed men. He also encouraged the men of power in Syria to come to his assistance, as also of the inhabitants of Libanus, Ptolemy, and Jamblicus, and another Ptolemy, by his persuasion. He also ventured ready into this war; insomuch that Mithridates ventured now, in dependence upon the additional strength that he had gotten by Antipater, to march forward to Ptolemais; and when they refused his terms, he besieged the city: in the attack of which place, Antipater principally signified himself, for he brought down that part of the wall which was over against him, and opened first of all into the city, with the help of men that were about the walls. But they were not willing to march on, those Egyptian Jews that inhabited the country, called the country of Onias, who had formerly been brought to Egypt by the king of the Parthians; they did Antipater not only persuade them not to stop them, but to afford provisions for their army: on which account the people about Memphis would not fight against them, but of their own accord joined Mithridates. Whereupon Antipater, in the meantime called the Jews' Camp: nay, when he was in danger in the battle with all his right wing, Antipater wheeled about, and came along the bank of the river, and ordered the men that opposed him as he led the left wing. After which success he fell upon those that pursued Mithridates.
BOOK I.—CHAP. X.

5. Whereupon Caesar encouraged Antipater to undertake other hazardous enterprises for him, and that by giving him great commendations, and saying that he was the first thing that he had readily exposed himself to many dangers, and became a most courageous warrior, and had many wounds, almost all over his body, as demented his countrymen. And he added, that he had settled the affairs of Egypt, and was returning into Syria again, gave him the privilege of a Roman citizen, and freedom from taxes, and rendered him an object of admiration by the honors and marks of friendship he bestowed upon him.

On this account it was that he also confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood.

CHAPTER X.

Cæsar makes Antipater Procurator of Judea; as does Antipater appoint Phasaelus to be Governor of Jerusalem, and of Galilee; who, in some time, was called to answer for himself [before the Sanhedrin,] where he is acquitted. Sextus Caesar too strenuously killéd by Bessus, and is succeeded by Marcus.

§ 1. ABOUT this time it was that Antigonus, having overcome his brethren, and became, in a surprising manner, the occasion of Antipater’s farther advancement; for, whereas he ought to have lamented that his father appeared to have been poisoned on account of his goods, to the number of a hundred talents, he made his Scipio’s barbarity towards his brother, and not to mix any inviolable passion when he was suing for mercy; besides these things, he came before Cæsar, and accused Hyrcanus and 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 they had sent him into Egypt, it was not done for any good ends, but that they were in future quarrels, and in order to gain pardon for their friendship to [his enemy] Pompæus.

2. In the mean time Antipater threw away his garments, and showed the multitude of the wounds he had, and said, that “as to his good-will to Cæsar, he had no occasion to say a word, because his body cried aloud, though he said nothing himself; that he wondered at Antigonus’s boldness, while he was himself so other than the son of an enemy to the Romans, and of a fugitive, and had inheritance from his father to be freed of innovations and seditions, that he should understand so good a creature as he the Roman governor, and endeavor to gain some advantage to himself, when he ought to be contented that he was suffered to live; for that the reason of his desire of governing public affairs, was not so much an irreproachable want of it, but because if he could once obtain the same, he might stir up a sedition among the Jews, and use what they should gain from the Romans, to the disservice of the Jews; a thing he gave it.”

3. When Cæsar 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. These honorary grants to Cæsar sent orders here engraved in the council, that they might stand there as indications of his own justice, and of the virtues of Antipater.

4. But as soon as Antipater had conducted Cæsar out of Syria, he returned to Judea, and in the first thing he did, he released all who were in prison, and then, when he was himself free, he readily exposed himself to many dangers, and became a most courageous warrior, and had many wounds, almost all over his body, as described by his countrymen. And he added, that he had settled the affairs of Egypt, and was returning into Syria again, gave him the privilege of a Roman citizen, and freedom from taxes, and rendered him an object of admiration by the honors and marks of friendship he bestowed upon him.

5. Now Herod was an active man, and soon found proper materials for his active spirit to operate upon. He first got the head of the robbers, over the neighboring parts of Syria with a great band of men, he caught him and slew him, and many more of the robbers with him; which exploit was chiefly grateful to the Syrians, insomuch that hymns were sung in Herod’s commendation, both in the villages and in the cities, as having procured their quietness, and having preserved what they possessed to them; on which occasion he became acquainted with some of the great men in the city of Jerusalem, the king, the priests, and the prince 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 good-will of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, by his own management of the public affairs, 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 honors they all yielded him were emacs in the honor due to an absolute lord; yet did he not abate any part of that good-will or fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

6. However, he found it impossible to escape envy in such his prosperity for the glory of these young men affected even Hyrcanus himself already privately, though he said nothing of it to any body; but what he principally was grieved at, was the great actions of Herod, and Cæsar, and that he so much desired was to have involved himself in some of their actions, and informed him of the great reputation he got in all his undertakings. There were also many people in the royal palace itself who inflamed his envy at him; those I mean, who were obstructed in their desires to be the princes and heads of the young men or of Antipater. These men said, that by committing the public affairs to the deputy and minister, although he afterward made a cicer of Hyrcanus, and under great decency of behavior to him took the real authority to himself.

6 Or 25 years after the date. See note on Lch. xib. 2. 3, and 1b. ch. xiv. chap. li. sect. 2; and Of the War, b. ii. ch. vii. sect. 6; and Polyb. b. xiv. p. 783.
not to be entirely confident of success in a case where he is to fight against his king, his supporter, and one that had often been his benefactor. He said to himself, as to the booted king against his own interest! for that they did not now conceal their government of affairs any longer, but were plainly lords of the nation, and had thrust him out of his authority. In the case of these, the many men without his giving him any command to do it, either by word of mouth, or by his letter, and this in contradiction to the law of the Jews; who, 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 hath been condemned in judgment.

2. The Jews was by despair, ashamed with these discourses, and at length could bear no longer, but summoned Herod to take his trial. Accordingly, by his father's advice, and as soon as the affairs of Galilee would give him leave, he came up [to Jerusalem:] when he had first placed garrisons in Galilee: however, he came with a sufficient body of soldiers, so many, indeed, that he might not appear to have with him an army able to overthrow Hyrcanus' government, nor yet to be able to expel him to the confines of those that envied him. However, Sextus Caesar was in fear for the young man, lest he should be taken by his enemies, and brought to punishment; so he sent some to denounce expressly to Hyrcanus, that Caesar had acquiesced of the capital chargés against him; who acquitted him accordingly, as being otherwise inclined also so to do, for he loved Herod.

9. Nor was he mistaken in the conjecture he made, for Herod got his army together, out of the king's lands, he having persuaded him with the accusation in a public court, and led it to Jerusalem, in order to throw Hyrcanus down from his kingdom: and this he had soon done, unless his father and brother had gone out together, and broke the force of his fury, and this by exhorting him to carry his revenge no farther than to threatening and affrighting, but to spare the king, under whom he had been advanced to such power; and that he ought not to be so much provoked at his being tried, as to forget to be thankful that he was acquitted; nor so long to think upon what was of a melancholy nature, as to be ungrateful for his deliverance. God also is the arbiter of success in war, an unjust cause is of more disadvantage than an army can be of advantage; and that therefore he ought

* Many writers of the Roman history give an account of this murder of Sextus Caesar, and of the war at Asia.

** Antiquities, b. xiv. ch. xi. sect. 1, the duration of the reign of Julius Caesar is 43 years 6 months, but here 8 years 7 months, beginning rightly, as we see in A.D. 75, from his second ascertainment. It is probable the real duration might be 3 years and between 6 and 7 months.

It appears evident by Josephus's account, both
caused 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 canning of the man, that he went 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 thoroughly deluded Phasaelus, who was the guardian of Jerusalem, and Herod, who was instructed with the weapons of war, and this by a great and unrighteous means, and forbade open and direct ways to procure his reconciliation to their father. Thus was he preserved against by Antipater, who dissuaded Marcus, the then president of Syria, from his design of calling Malichus on account of his attempts for insulation.

4. Upon the war between Cassius and Brutus, on one side, against the younger Cæsar (Augustus) and Antony, on the other, Cassius and Marcus got together; for Cassius was likely to have a great share in providing necessaries, they then made him a pro- curator of all Syria, and gave him an army of foot and horse. Cassius promised him also, that he would make a promise, if he was willing, to yield the wealth of Judea; but he so happened, that the power and hopes of his son became the cause of his perdition; for as Malichus was afraid of this, he corrupted one of the king's cupbearers with money, and bid him procure an order to have Cassius put to death, as he became a sacrifice to Malichus's wickedness, and died at a feast. He was a man in other respects active in the management of affairs, and one that recovered the government to Hyrcanus, and put it into his hands.

5. However, Malichus, when he was suspected of poisoning Antipater, and when the multitude was angry with him for it, denied it, and made the people believe he was guilty. He prepared to make a great effort, and raised soldiers; for he did not suppose that Herod would be quiet, who indeed came upon him with an army presently, in order to revenge his father's death. But upon urging the advice of his brother, Phasaelus, not to punish him in an open manner, lest the multitude should fall into a sedition, he admitted of Malichus's apology, and professed that he cleared him of the suspicion; he also made a promise of some presents, and yielded the command of his disgraced and humbled army, to his brother, who feared his approach, forbade them to introduce foreigners to mix themselves with the people of the country, while they were purifying themselves; but Herod despised the pretence, and sent that he command, and came in sight. Upon which Malichus came to him, and besought Antipater; Herod also made him believe [be admitted of his lamentations as real,] although he had privately to reprove him at the time. At this, he died himself, before the murder of his father, in his letters to Cassius, who, on other accounts, also hated Malichus; Cassius sent him word back that he should avenge his father, and yield the command of his army, before he went to the tribunes that were under him, that they should assist Herod in a righteous action he was about.

1. And because, upon the taking of Lachis by Herod, he published power over all the rest of the country from all quarters, with presents and crowns in their hands, Herod allotted this time for the punishment of Malichus. When Malichus suspected that, and was at Tyre, he resolved to withdraw himself by sea 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 about the war against Antony, and that he should easily depose Hyrcanus, and get the crown for himself.

2. But fain laughed at the hopes he had; for Herod foresaw what he was so zealous about, and invited both Hyrcanus and him to supper, but calling one of the principal servants that stood by him, to him, he caused him to bring those things which 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 Cassius had given them, and went out of the city with those swords in their hands upon the sea shore, where they encompassed Malichus round about, and killed him with many wounds. Upon which Hyrcanus was immediately slain upon his brother. Now Herod happened to be on the boat; and in the midst of the sea, that he was not surprised, but,, saying so, is uncertain: however, by this method Herod inflicted punishment upon Malichus.

CHAPTER XII.

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, whereas Felix assaulted Phasaelus with an army, that he might avenge the death of Malichus upon Herod, by taking up the cause of his brother. Herod, happened then to be with Fabius, the governor of Damascus, and as he was going to his brother's assistance, he was detained by sickness; in the mean time, Phasaelus was by himself too hard for Felix, and consoled the Jews by his power; (though it is the opinion of his ingratitude both for what assistance he had afforded Malichus, and for over looking Malichus's brother, when he possessed himself of the fortress; for he had gotten a great many of them already and among them the strongest of them all, Masada.)

2. However, nothing could be sufficient for him against the force of Herod, who, as soon as he was recovered, took the other fortresses again, and drove him out of Masada in the posture of a suppliant; he also drove away Marion, the tyrant of the Tyrians, out of Galilee, when he had already possessed himself of three fortified places; but these by chance; but when 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. Marion was indeed able to reclaim those 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 Fabius's account, whom Antigonus had made his associate by land and sea, and had him accordingly 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 matter of the avenge of his brother in the battle, drove away Antigonus, and returned to have proceeded from his true zeal 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 favor him, did join themselves to him now, because of his marriage into the family of Hyrcanus; for as he had formerly married a wife out of his own country of no ignoble blood, who was called Doris, of whom he begot Antipater; so did he marry Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, and was become thereby a royal king.

4. But when Caesar and Antony had slain Cassius near Philippi, and Caesar was gone to Italy, and Antony to Asia, amongst the rest of the cities which sent ambassadors to Antony, into Bithynia, there were the Jews, the Ptolemies, and the Phasaelus and Herod, that they kept the government by force, and that Hyrcanus had so much more than an honorable name. Herod appeared ready to answer this accusation, and, having made Antony his friend by the large sums of money which he gave him, he brought him to such a temper as not to hear the others speak against him, and thus did they part at this time.

However, after this time, he came a hundred of the most valiant men among the Jews to Daphne by Antioch to Antony, who was already in love with Cleopatra to the degree of slavery; these Jews put those men that were the most potent, bold, and eloquent, and as their friends, and accused the brethren. But Menelaus opposed them, and defended the brethren, and that while Hyrcanus stood by him, on account of his relation to them. When Antony had heard both sides, he named the day and hour that he would be at the place; to the governor 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, whom he sent into Judea with Gabinius; so he constituted the brethren tetrarchs, and committed to them the government of Judea.

6. But when the ambassadors had indignation at this procedure, Antony took fifteen of them, and put them into prison, whom he also was going to kill presently, and the rest he drove away with disgrace, on which occasion a still greater tumult arose in Jerusalem; so they sent again a thousand armed men into Tyre, where Antony now abode, as he was gone to Jerusalem; upon these men, who made a clamour, he sent out the governor of Tyre, and ordered him to punish all that he could catch of them, and to seize upon the administration under whom he had made tetrarchs.

7. But before this, Herod and Hyrcanus went out upon the seashore, and earnestly desired of those ambassadors that they would neither bring ruin upon themselves, nor war upon their native country, by their rash contentions; and when they grew still more outrageous, Antony sent out armed men, and slew a great many, and wounded more of them; of whom those that were slain were buried by Hyrcanus, and 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.

The Parthians bring Antigonus back into Judea, and cast Hyrcanus and Phasaelus into Prison.


§ 1. Now two years afterwards, when Barzaphar, a governor among the Parthians, and

Phasaelus and Herod.

This large and noted wood or woodland belonging to Caesar, called by the Septuagint, is mentioned in the Old Testament, 2 Kings xix. 23, and Isaiah x. 18, and by Strabo, b. xvi. p. 758, as both Aldrich and Spanheim here remark very pertinently.

Pacorus, the king's son, and possessed themselves of Syria, and when Lysanias had already succeeded, upon his father Ptolemy the son of Mesaeus's death, in the government of Chalcis, he prevailed with the governor, by promise of a certain number of talents, and five hundred weapons, to bring back Antigonus to his kingdom, and to curb Hyrcanus out of it. Pacorus was by these means induced so to do, and marched along the seacoast, while he ordered Barzapharces to fall upon Jericho. He went along the road he had gone, and saw part of the country; but of the maritime people, the Tyrians would not receive Pacorus, although those of Ptolemais and Sidon had received him: so he committed a troop of his into Antioch, but the Tyrians knew the royal family, of his own name [Pacorus: ], and gave him orders to march into Judea, in order to learn the state of affairs among their enemies, 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 insurrection in the country; so he sent his fleet in that place called Drymus, t (the wood-land,) to seize upon the place; whereupon a battle was fought between them, and they drove the enemy away, and pursued them, and ran after them as far as Jerusalem, and as the numbers increased, they proceeded as far as the king's palace: but as Hyrcanus and Phasaelus received them with a strong body of men, there happened a battle in the market-place, in which Herod's party best turled them; and as they set on fire the houses adjoining as a guard on them. But the people that were tumultuous against the brethren came in, and burst those men, while Herod, in his rage for killing them, fell on and killed six men, and set sixty in the houses adjoining as a guard on them. But the people that were tumultuous against the brethren came in, and burst those men, while Herod, in his rage for killing them, fell on and killed six men, and set sixty in the houses adjoining as a guard on them. But the people that were tumultuous against the brethren came in, and burst those men, while Herod, in his rage for killing them, fell on and killed six men, and set sixty in the houses adjoining as a guard on them.

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 which were the greatest part of them armed men; so he gave Antony, and Herod, with a few, guard the royal palace; and when he made an assault upon his enemies, as they were out of their mans, on the north quarter of the city, he slew a very great number of them, and pursuing them all to the sea, shut them up within the city, and others with the outward rampart.

In the mean time, Antigonus desired that Pacorus might be admitted to be a reconquer between them; and Phasaelus 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 he came to assist Antigonus; however, he laid a plot for Pacorus, and put him to death. So Herod, as ambassador to Barzapharces, in order to put an end to the war, although Herod was very earnest with him to the contrary and exhorted him to take arms, but not expose himself to the snare 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 suspect; he also left some of the hampless to the Freeman, with Herod, and conducted Phasaelus with the rest.

4. But now, when they were come to Galilee, he left the people of that country had revolted, and were in arms, who came very can-
nearly to their leader, and besought him to cancel his treacherous intentions by an obliging behaviour to them; accordingly, he at first made them presents; and afterward, as they went away, laid ambushes for them; and, when they were come to one of the maritime cities called Ecbatana, there they got their provisions for the flight, and set off for them; for they were there informed of the promise of a thousand talents, and how Antigonus had devoted the greatest number of the women that were there with them, among the five hundred, to the king's pleasure; for he was once informed of the treachery of theirs, he would take care of himself; nor was this a mere report, but they saw the guards already not far off from them.

5. Nor would Phanuel think of forsaking Hycranus and flying away, although Ophellus earnestly persuaded him to it: for this man had learned the whole scheme of the plot from Sarmailla, the richest of all the Syrians. But Phanuel took them to be mere idle parleys, and pro urged him to his face for laying this treacherous plot against them, and chiefly because he had done it for money; and he promised him, that he would give him more money for their preservation than he could not obtain, if he were to give for the kingdom. But the sly Parthian endeavored to remove all this suspicion by apologies and oaths, and then went to the other Pocorus; immediately after which those Par thians, who were left, and as it in charge, seized upon Phanuel and Hycranus, who could do no more than curse their perfidiousness and their perfidy.

6. In the meantime the cupbearer was sent before, and laid a plot how to seizure upon Herod, by deceiving him, and getting him out of the city, as he was commanded to do. But Herod suspected the barbarians from the beginning, and leaving them received intelligence that a messenger was to bring him the letters that informed him of the treachery intended, had fallen among the enemy, he would not go out of the city; though Pocorus said very positively, that he had the most perfect security that brought the letters, for that the enemy had not taken them, and that the contents of them were not accounts of any plots upon them, but of what Phanuel had done; yet had he heard from Alexander, the most most degree the most degree of the bravest, and made the end of his life agreeable to the actions of it. There is also another report about his end, that he recovered of that stroke, and that a surgeon, who was sent by Am- tigonus to heal him, filled the wound with poisonous ingredients, and so killed him; whereasover 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 sent his egret to her, and that he said thereupon, "I now die with comfort, since I leave behind me one alive, that will avenge me of mine enemies."

7. Now as Pocorus and his friends were considering how they might bring their plot to bear privately, because it was not possible to circumvent a man of so great prudence, by openly attempting it, they sent away a man to bid him come off with the persons that were the most nearly related to him by night, and this without their enemies being apprized of it. But, as soon as the Parthians perceived it, they pursued after them, and made a great fall of them, for their discos, took all the care they could to keep off the barbarians; and when, at every ses sult, he had slain a great many of them, he came to the strong hold of Masada.

8. Nay, he found by experience that the Jews fell more heavily upon him than did the Parthis, and created him troubles perpetually, and this ever since he was gotten sixty furloongs from the city; these assettas as brought it to a neat of regular battle. Now, in the place where Herod beat them, and killed a great number of them, there he afterward built a castle, in memory of the great actions he did there, and adorned it with the most costly palaces, and erected very strong fortifications, the plain from which he did see all the land of Judea; and this was the reason, why Herod called it Masada. Now, as they were in their flight, many joined themselves to him every day; and at a place called Thresas of Idamias, his brother Joseph met him, and advised him to cease himself of a great number of his followers; for the king Masada would not contain so great a multitude, which were above nine thousand. Herod complied with this advice; and sent away the most commerce part of his retinues, that they might go thence into Idamias, and make them a journey; but he got 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 guard for the walls, and provisions sufficient for a siege, but he made haste himself to Petra of Arabia.

9. As for the Parthians in Jerusalem, they took to themselves plunderers, and fell into the houses of those that were fled, and upon the king's palace, and spared nothing but Hycranus' money, which was not above three hundred talents. They lighted on other men's money also, and, having thus, with the same long time had a suspicion of the per ficiousness of the barbarians, had taken care to have what was most splendid among his treasures conveyed into Idamias, as every one belonging to it he had in his charge. And the Parthians proceeded to that degree of injustice, so to fill all the country with war without destroying, and to demolish the city Samaria, and not only to set up Antigonus for king, but to deliver Phanuel and Hycranus into his hands, in order to their being tormented by him. Antigonus himself also bit off Hycranus' ears with his own teeth, as he fell down upon his knees to him, that he might never be able, upon any incita tion of affairs, to take his high priesthood again for the high priests that succeeded were to his complete and without blemish.

10. However, he failed in his purpose of abusing Phanuel; by means of his power, he neither had the command of his sword, nor of his hands, he prevented all abuses by casting him against a stone; so he demonstrated himself to be Herod's own brother, and Hycranus a most degenerate and most obstinate in his bravery, and made the end of his life agreeable to the actions of it. There is also another report about his end, 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; whereasover 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 sent his egret to her, and that he said thereupon, "I now die with comfort, since I leave behind me one alive, that will avenge me of mine enemies."

11. This was the death of Phanuel; but the Parthians, about whom we have failed of the woman they chiefly desired, yet did they put the government of Jerusalem into the hands of Antigonus, and took away Hycranus, and bound him, and carried him to Parthia.

CHAP. XIV.

When Herod is rejected in Arabia, he makes haste to Rome, where Antony and Caesar join their Interest to make king of the Jews.

1. Now Herod did the more zealously pursue his journey into Arabia, as making haste to get
money of the king, while his brother was yet alive, by which money alone it was that he hoped in the former terms of the bar-
barisms to spare Phaeaeus; for he reasoned thus with himself, that if the Arabian king was too
forgetful of his father's friendship with him, and was too covetous to make him a free gift, he
would not hearken of him so much as might redeem his brother, and put into his hands, as a
pledge, the son of him that was to be redeemed; and accordingly he led his brother's son along with
him, who was of the age of seven years. Now he was driven; given them three hundred talents for his
brother; and intended to desire the intercession of the Tyrians to get them accepted; however, he
had been too quick for his diligence; and since Phaeaeus was dead, Herod's brotherly love was
waxen cold. Moreover, he was not able to find any lasting friendship among 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
king, and was not patient in doing, as though these had denounced to him by their ambassadors
to cast Herod out of Arabia; while in reality they had a mind to keep back what they owed to
Antipater, and not be obliged to make requi-
sition. Or indeed the frien
dship of the father had made them. He also took the impudent advice of those who, equally with himself, were
willing to deprive Herod of what Antipater had de
given them, and that there were the most potent of all whom he had in his kingdom.

2. So when Herod had found that the Arabsians were his enemies, and this for those very reasons whence he hoped they would have been the most friendly, and had given them such an an-
swer as his passion suggested, he returned back and went for Egypt. Now he lodged the first
evening at one of the temp.es of that country, in
erider to meet with those whom he left behind; but the next day forth he had attempted for as
far as he was going to Rhinocurea, that his brother was
dead, and how he came by his death; and when he
had lamented him as much as his present cir-
cumstances could bear, he soon laid aside such
care, and was prettier to be doing. But now,
after some time, the king of Arabia repented of what he had done, and sent presently away mes-
engers to call him back: Herod had prevented them, and was come to Pelusium, where he
stayed till he had sent a message by certain of
him, with the fleet, so he besought their captains to
let him go by them; accordingly, out of the re-
surance they bore to the fame and dignity of the
men, they conducted him to Alexandria; and when he arrived there, Cleopatra with great splendour, 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 tempests
that were now in Italy, he sailed for Rome.  

3. But as he was in part about Pamphylia, and
about the greatest part of the ship
leading, 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, al-
though he was there of his own choice, he fitted out
up a three-decked ship of very great magnitude,
wherein he and his friends sailed to Brundu-
sium, and went thence to Rome with all speed;
where he first of all went to Antony, on account of
the friendship his father had with him, and 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 compas-
sion at the change that had been made in Herod's
affairs, and this both upon his calling to mind
how hospitably he had been treated by Antipat-
ter, but more especially on account of Herod's own
own friendship with him, and as might be supposed, he had upon him a great affection as a seditions person, and an enemy of the Romans; and as for Cesar, Herod found him better prepa-
red than Antony, as remembering very fresh the
wars he had gone through together with his fa-
ther, the hospitable relations with Antipater, and
the benefit he had received 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 Messala, and after him Attains, 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 demonstra-
ted that Antigonus was their enemy, not only
because he soon quarrelled with them, but be-
cause he had been unwilling to give them an advan-
tage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king; so they all gave their votes for it. And when the senate was sepa-
rated, Antony and Cesar went out, with Her-
rod between them; while the consuls and the rest of
the magistrates went before them in order to offer sacrifices, and to lay the decree in the cap-
itol: Antony also made a feast for Herod on the
first day of his reign.  

CHAP. XV.  

Antigonus besieges those that were in Massada, whom Herod sends from Confidantia, when he
comes back from Rome, and presently marches to Jerusalem, where he finds Silo corrupted by
Brives.  

1. Now during this time Antigonus besieged
those that were in Masada, who had all other necessaries in sufficient quantity, but were in
want of victual. In this state of things, Herod's
brother, was disposed to run away to the
Arabians, with two hundred of his own friends,
because he had heard that Malichus repented of his
offences, with regard to Herod; and he had been
persuaded that he could not escape by going to the
fortress already, unless on that very night when
he was going away, there had fallen a great deal
of rain, insomuch that his reservoirs were full of
water, and so he was under no necessity of run-
ning away. After which, therefore, they made an irruption upon Antigonus's party, and slew a
great many of them, some in open battles, and
some in private ambush; nor had they always suc-
cess in their attempts, for sometimes they were
beaten and routed away.  

2. In the mean time Ventidius, the Roman
general, was sent out of Syria, to restrain the a-
cursions of the Parthians, and after he had done
that it was for, and therefore he sailed home acc-
used to Joseph and his party, but in reality to get
money of Antigonus: and when he had pitched his camp very near to Jerusalem, as soon as he
had got money enough, he went away with the
rest of his soldiers, leaving Silo and the other
officers of his rank with Silo with some part of them, lest if he had taken them all away, his taking of bribes might have been too openly discovered. Now Antigonus hoped that the Parthians would come again to his help, and there therefore he cultivated a great understanding with Silo in the mean time, lest any interruption should be given to his hopes.
3. Now by this time Herod had sailed out of Italy, and was come to Ptolemais; and as soon as he had gotten together so small army of for- eigners, and of his own countrymen, he marched through Galilee against Antigonus, wherein he was supported by Ventidius and Silo, both whom Dossias, 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 bribe which had been paid by the bribe that Antigonus had given him; yet was not 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, gave him their support, and he proceeding by himself to set about his most necessary enter- prise, and that was Masada, is order to deliver his relations from the siege they endured. But still Joppa stood in his way, and hindered his going thither; for it was necessary to take that city first, which was in the enemies' hands, that when he should go to Jerusalem, no fortress might be left in the enemies' power behind him. Silo also willingly joined him, as having now a place in the kingdom, with some troops intermixed among them 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 horse, as soon put them to flight, and saved Silo when he was almost discomfited. 4. 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 his previous victories, and some by the re- spect he had already gained himself, and some in order to repay the benefits they had received from them both; but still what engaged the great- est number on his side, was the hopes from him, who was a Roman, and a king: so that he and 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 again prevailed with his relations again that they were in Masada, as well as the fortress Reesa, 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.

5. 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 met him as by Antony, persuaded to those in the forefront; but Herod commanded proclamation to be made at the wall, that he was come for the good of the people and the pres- ervation of the city, without any design to be revenged on his open enemies, but to grant ob- ligation to them, though they had been the most obstinate against him. Now the soldiers that were for Antigonus made a contrary clamor, and did neither permit any body to hear that proclamation, nor to change their party; so that Antigonus gave order to his forces to beat the ene- my from the walls; accordingly, they soon threw their darts at them from the towers, and put them to flight.

6. He marched it was that Silo discovered he had taken bribes; for he set many of the soldiers to clamor 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 pay of those to Antigonus, or his army, because all the parts about the city were laid waste by the means of Antigonus's army, which had

† This Dossias is famous, or rather infamous, in the history of Mark Antony, as Sphanehil and Albrich here note, from the coin of Flutharch and Dio.

This Shechem, the capital of Galilee, is so often mentioned by Josephus, has coins still remaining, ERHOF PHRON, as Sphanehin here informs us.

† This way of speaking, after forty days, is interpreted by Josephus himself on the fortieth day; Antig. B. xiv. ch. xvi. sect. 4, in like manner, when Josephus says, ch. xxxvii. sect. 4, that Herod heard Antipater to be slain after forty days, this is by himself inter- preted, Antig. B. xvii. ch. vii. sect. 1, that he died on the

CHAP. XVI.

Herod takes Sepphoris, and subdues the Robbers that were in the Caves; he after that avenges himself upon Machera, as upon an enemy of his, and goes to Antony as he was besieging Samosos.

1. So the Romans lived in plenty of all things, and rested from war. However, Herod did not lie at rest, but seized upon Iudea, and kept it, with two thousand footmen and four hun- dred horsemen, with great difficulty, and his brother Joseph thither, that no innovation might be made by Antigonus. He also removed his mother, and all his relations that had been in Masada, to Samaria; and when he had settled them securely, he marched to take the remain- ing parts of Galilee, and to drive away the gar- risons placed there by Antigonus.

2. But when Herod had reached Sepphoris, in a very great snow, he took the city without any difficulty; the guards, that should have kept it, flying away before it was assaulted; where 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 he had taken away all 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 to destroy the village of Arbela, or village Arbels, and came himself forty days afterward; with the rest of his forces. Yet were
not the enemy affrighted at this assault, but met him in arms, for their skill was not that of warri-
ors, but the boldness and the boldness of robbers: when, therefore, it came to a pitched battle, they put to flight Herod's left wing with their right 
case; but Herod, wheeiling about on the sudden from his own right wing, came to their assist-
ance, and both made his own left wing return back from its flight, and fell upon the pursuers, and cooled their courage, till they could not bear the attempts that were made directly upon them, and so turned back and ran away. 
And as Herod followed them, he slew them as he followed him, and destroyed a great part of them, till those that remained were scattered be-
yond the river [Jordan], and Galilee was freed from the terror they had been under, excepting from those that remained and remained in the caves, which required longer time ere they could be conquered. In order to which, Herod, in the first place, distributed the fruits of their former labors among them, and caused the caves to be made provision, and to build a wall about Alexandrium, who were called lords of both those in-
junctures accordingly.

4. In the mean time Antony abode at Athens, while Caesar came in the other offer of Silo and Herod to come to the war against the Parthians, but ordered them first to settle the affairs of Judea: so Herod willingly dismissed Silo to go to Ventidius, but he made an expedition himself against those that lay in the precipices of craggy mountains, and could not be come at from any side, since they had only some winding pathways, very narrow, by which they got up to them; but the rock that lay on them from above and the wildness of the place, and remoteness, and of an almost perpendicular declivity; insomuch that the king was doubtful for a long time what to do, by reason of a kind of impossibility there was to use a contrivance that was subject to the utmost hazard; for he let down the most hardy of his men in chutes, and set them at the mouths of the dens. Now these men slew the rest of the band that were in the caves, and those that made resistance, they sent fire in upon them, [and burnt them;] and as Herod was desirous of saving some of them, he had proclamation made, that they should come and deliver themselves up to him; but the word was not, or rather he, and those of those that were compelled to come, many preferred death to captivity. And here a certain old man, the father of seven children, whose chil-
dren, together with their mother, desired him to give them leave to go out, upon the assurance and right hand that was offered them, slew them after the following manner: he ordered every one of them to go out, while he stood himself at the cave's mouth, and slew that son of his per-
ducibly to go, and Herod being so many times to see this sight, and his bowsels of compassion were moved at it, and he stretched out his right hand to the old man, and besought him to spare his children; yet did he not relent at all upon what he said, but over and above reproached Herod on the lowness of his descent; and slew his wife as well as his children; and when he had thrown their dead bodies down the precipi-
tes on which he himself did stand after them.

5. By this means Herod subdued those caves, and the robbers that were in them. He then left 

fifth day afterward. So also what is in this book, chap. xiii. sect. 1, after two years, in Antig. B. xiv. ch. xiii. sect. 3, on the second year. And A.D. 48.

* This Samosata, the metropolis of Commagene, in there a part of his army, as many as he thought sufficient to prevent any sedition, and made Pe-
tro, and several others follow him. He also led also with him three thousand armed footmen and six hundred horsemen, against Antigonus. Now here, those that used to raise tumults in Ga-
line, having liberty so to do upon his departure, fell immediately upon Philon. After several of 
his forces, and slew him: they also laid the coun-
try waste, and then retired to the bogs, and to places not easily to be found. But when Herod 
was informed of this inscription, he came to the 

now their general, and caused the caves to con-
sol the country immediately, and sent to Antony to accuse Macheras of mis-
administration. But Macheras was made over 
ord to serve Titus, and as he came, he soon made an end of 
his in the city, and defended himself against him, 
as against an enemy from the walls; till Mache-
ras was ashamed of what he had done, and re-
tired to Eumason to Herod; and, as he was 

well known from its coins, as Spandolphus here 
says, but that Herod was a great means of making the 
city by Antony, and that from Flaccus and Bib.
should escape him in the war that he was going about, he, in the morning, set forth before the army, when about six thousand of his enemies came running down from the mountains, and began to fight with those in his forrest; yet dared they not be so bold as to engage the Romans hand to hand, but threw stones and darts at them at a distance; by which means they wounded a considerable number, in which action Herod's own side was wounded with a dart.

5. Now as Antigonus had a mind to appear to exceed Herod, not only in his jews, but also in the number of his men, he sent Pappus, one of his companions, with an army against Samaria, whose fortune it was to oppose Machera: but he crossed over Machera's enemies' country, and demolished five little cities, and destroyed two thousand men that were in them, and burned their houses, and then returned to his camp; but his head-quarters were at the village called Cana.

6. Now a great multitude of wars came to see him every day, both out of Jericho, and the other parts of the country. Some were moved so to do out of their hatred to Antigonus, and some out of regard to the glorious actions Herod had done; but others were led on by a common and insatiable desire of change; so he fell upon them immediately. As for Pappus and his party, they were not terrified at either their number or at their zeal, but marched out with great alacrity to fight them, and came upon them in a very mild sort. Now their army made resistance for a while; but Herod running the utmost hazard out of the rage he was in at the murder of his brother, that he might be avenged on those that had been the authors of it, he took the river of Jordan, 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 the rest of the multitude of the village whence they came out; he also pressed hard upon the hindermost, and slew a vast number of them; he also fell into the village with the enemy, where every house was filled with armed men, and the upper rooms of the crowded with soldiers for their defence; and when he had beaten those that were on the outside, he pulled the houses to pieces, and plucked out those that were within; upon many he had the roads shaken down, whereupon they perished by the sword for those that fled out of the ruins, the soldiers received them with their swords in their hands, and the multitude of those slain, and lying on heaps, was so great that the conquerors could not bear along the multitude; Herod, therefore, to bear this blow, so that when the multitude of them which was gathered together, saw that those in the village were slain, they dispersed themselves 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 impediment that lay in the way of this entire glorious expedition, and what hindered Antigonus from being now conquered, who was already disposed to forsake the city.

7. Now when at the evening Herod had already dismissed his friends to refresh themselves after their fatigues, he, that afternoon, went, by himself, while he was still hot in his armor, like a common soldier, to bathe himself, and had but one servant that attended him, and before he was gotten into the bath, one of the enemies met him in the face, and asked him, who was that? and the Sand was a second, and then a third, and after that more of them; these were men who had run away out of the battle into the bath in their armor, and they had lain there for some time in great terror, and in private, and when they saw his kins he trembled for fear, and ran by him in a fright, (although he were naked) and endeavored to get off into the public road; now there was by chance nobody else at hand that might seize upon these
WARS OF THE JEWS.

man, and as for Herod, he was contented to have come to no harm himself, so that they all got away in safety.

8. 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, Pappus, in the same way of the Centurion's slave brother, for he was the man that slew 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 temple, for on that side it might be besieged, and there it was that Pompey took the city. So he parted the work among the army, and chose the soberest men, and raised three banks, and gave orders to have towers built upon those banks, and left the most laborious 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 army in great contempt already.

9. When he had married his bride, he came back to Jerusalem with a greater army; Sophonius also joined him with a large army, both of horsemen and footmen, which he sent before him to hold the city part, while he marched himself along to Ptolemais; and when the whole army was gotten together, which were eleven regiments of footmen and six thousand horsemen, 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 was made king, and Sophonius relied upon Antony, who sent the army that was under him to Herod's assistance.

CHAP. XVIII.

How Herod and Sophonius took Jerusalem by force; and what Death Antigonus came to. Also, concerning Cleopatra's avaricious Temper.

1. Now the multitude of the Jews that were in the city were divided into several factions; for the people that crowned about the temple, being the chief among them, gave it out, that, as at other times, he was the happiest and most religious man who should die first. But as to the more bold and hardy men, they got together in bodies, and fell in upon other vapid manners, and these particularly plundered the places that were about the city, and this because there was no food left either for the horses or the men; 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 these were always inventing new 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 committed, the king contrived that ambushes should be so laid, that they might restrain their excursions as the rest for that purpose, he 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 bold to the utmost degree. Now they durst not come to a plain battle with the Romans, which was certain death, but by their mines under ground they would appear in the midst of them on the sudden, and before they could batter down one wall, they built another in its stead, and, to sum up all at once, they did not show any want either of pensiveness or constiveness, or having resolved to hold out to the very last. Indeed, though they had so great an army lying round about them, they bore a siege of five months, till some of Herod's choicest men ventured to get upon the wall, and there were about the inner walls thousands and thousands after them; and now they first of all seized upon what was about the temple, and upon the poring in of the army, there was slaughter of vast multitudes among the rest of the people who were in the streets, and in houses, or were running away to the temple; nor was there any mercy shows either to infants, or to the aged, or to the weaker sex; inasmuch, that although the king sent about the most earnest manner, whether the enemy could be persuaded to withdraw their right hand from slaughter, but they slew people of all ages like madmen. Then it was that Antigonus, without any regard to his former oath to present himself in the temple, and to yield his head to Sophonius's feet, who, without plying him at all upon the change of his condition, laughed at him beyond measure, and called him Antigonus. Yet did not he treat him like a woman, or let him go free, but put him into bonds, and kept him in custody.

3. But Herod's concern at present, now he had gotten his enemies under his power, was to find of a secure place to lodge them in. For the multitude of the strange people were very eager to see the temple, and what was sacred in the holy house itself; but the king endeavored to restrain them, partly by his exhortations, partly by his stern visages, his watchers menacing, and he shewed the victory worse than a defeat to him, if any thing that ought not to be seen were seen by them. He also forbade, at the same time, the spoiling of the city, taking Sophonius, in the name of all the rest, as well as for the multitude of the strange people were very eager to see the temple, and what was sacred in the holy house itself; but the king endeavored to restrain them, partly by his exhortations, partly by his stern visages, his watchers menacing, and he shewed the victory worse than a defeat to him, if any thing that ought not to be seen were seen by them. 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BOOK I.—CHAP. XIX.

Now, Cleopatra had put to death all her kindred, still no one near her in blood remained alive, and after that she fell to slaying those noway related to her. So she calumniated the principal men among the Syrians to Antony, and persuaded him to have them slain, that so she might win again to be mistress of what they had; nay, she extended her avaricious humor to the Jews and Arabia, and secretly labored to have Herod and Malchus, the kings of both those nations, slain also. 5. Now as to these her injunctions to Antony, he complied in part; for though he esteemed it too abominable a thing to fill such good and great kings, yet was he thereby not removed from the imputation of slaying them. He also took away a great deal of their country: nay, even the plantation of palm-trees at Jericho, where also grows the balsam tree, and bestowed them upon her: 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 Arabian mediation to Junius Brutus, and it is said Herod pacified 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 30,000 men to join them more of their number than they were able to do for the protection of his dominions, and so did not put off the festival that he had prepared for the Jews, and left them all the respect possible. Now it was not long after, that Antony was come back from Parthia, and led with him Arbasbas, Tigranes's son, captive, as a present for Cleopatra; for this Parthian was present to note it of Cleopatra, 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 Hircania, which was now his own. However, he was cunningly hindered from partaking 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 persuaded him to delay the war against the Arabians to Herod; that 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 the other. 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 the Arabians; and this army, that army, although it fought resolutely against him. After which defeat, the Arabians were in great motion, and assembled themselves together at Banabas, a city of Caelus, in vast multitudes, 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 or

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9 This ancient liberty of Tyre and Sidon under the Roman empire is lamented by the Roman historians, both here and in Antioch, b. iv. ch. iv. sect. 1. is confirmed by the testimony of Strabo, b. xvi. page 757; as well as by the works of the Romans. September, in the 31st year before the Christian era, determines the chronology of Josephus as to the reign of Herod, and, in the 31st year before the Christian era, he died. The latter event is given in the year 27, beyond reasonable contradiction. Nor is it quite unworthy of our notice, that the 4th year of the reign of Herod, or the 31st before the Christian era, contained the latter of a sabbatical year; on which sabbatical year, therefore, it is plain this great earthquake happened in Judea.
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.

6. Now while they made opposition, they had not a great number slain, but as soon as they turned their backs, a great many were trodden to pieces by the Jews, and a great many by themselves, and so perished, till five thousand were fallen dead in their flight, while the rest were seen to be in such utter consternation as to lie dead, by crowding into the fortification. Herod encompassed these around, and besieged them, and while they were ready to be taken by their enemies in arms; they had another additional misfortune, which was the thirst and want of water; for the king was above heartening to their ambassadors, and when they offered five hundred talents, as the price of their redemption, he parted with it, and spent, but when they were burnt up by their thirst, they came out and voluntarily delivered themselves up by multitudes to the Jews, till in five days' time four thousand of them were put in bonds; and on the sixth day they put to death, by means of ever saving themselves, and came out to fight; with these Herod fought, and slew again about seven thousand, insomuch, that he punished Arabia so severely, and so far extinguished the spirit of the men, that he was chosen by the nation for their ruler.

CHAP. XX.

Herod is confirmed in his Kingdom by Caesar, and cultivates a Friendship with the Emperor by magnificent Presents; while Caesar returns his Kindness by bestowing on him that Part of his Kingdom which had been taken away from him by Cleopatra, with the Addition of Zenoedoras's Country also.

§ 1. But now Herod was under immediate concern about a most important affair, on account of his friendship with Antony, who was already overcome at Actium by Caesar; yet he was more afraid than hurt; for Caesar did not think he had quite undone Antony while Herod continued his assistance to him. However, the king resolved to expose himself to danger: accordingly he sailed forth with all his ships, and appeared before Cithara, in order 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. And if you will be ruled by me, I will myself be soldier into danger; 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 he saw with what acclivity 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 sea, and about a fortification that lay between them. He then shot at them 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 Herod and his men 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 that purpose; but, when they were compelled by force 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 Antig. b. xrv. ch. v. sect. 3, to the very same purpose, but by no means in the same words.
BOOK L.—CHAP. XXI.

2. Cæsar replied to him thus: "Nay, thou shalt not only be in safety, but shalt be a king; and that more firmly than the most of those that are worthy to reign over a great many subjects, by reason of the fastness of thy friend ship: and do thou endeavor to be equally constant in all things, as I am in this, and the former plans which we have made. And now, when Cæsar, like a true friend before I began to be thine, on which account Quintus Dedicius hath written to me that thou seest hast assistance against the gladiators. I do therefore assure thee, that I will confirm the favor of my country to thee, by my endeavor to do thee some further kindness hereafter, that thou mayest find no loss in the want of Antony." 

3. When Cæsar had spoken such obliging things to the king, and had put the diadem about his head, he proclaimed what he had bestowed on him by a decree, in which he enlarged in the commendation of the man after a magnificent manner. Whereupon Herod obliged him to be known by him, and desired him to forgive Alexander, one of Antony's friends, who had become a suppliant to him. But Cæsar's anger against him prevailed, and he complained of the many and very great offenses which the man whom he had thus far had been guilty of; and by means that he rejected his petition. After this, Cæsar went from Egypt through Syria, when Herod received him with royal and rich entertainment; and then did he first of all ride along with Cæsar, who was reviewing his army about Polemais; and feasted him with all his friends, and then distributed among the rest of the army what was necessary to them. The soldiers of the king also got the same provision of water for them, when they were to march as far as Pelusium, through a dry country, which he did also in like manner at their return thence; nor were there any necessary wanting to that army. It was therefore the opinion of both Cæsar and of his soldiers, that Herod's kingdom was too small for those generous presents he made them; for which reason, when Cæsar was come into Egypt, and Cleopatra and her sister were there, and now other marks of honor upon him, but made an addition to his kingdom, by giving him, not only the country which had been taken from him by Cleopatra, but besides that, Gadara, and Hippo, and the cities, Gaza, and Anthodon, and Joppa, and Strato's Tower. He also made him a present of four hundred Gallas [Galatians] as a guard for his body, which they had been to Cleopatra before. Nor did any thing so strongly induce him to make these presents as the generosity of him that received them.

4. Moreover, after the first games at Actium, he added both to the kingdom he had before Trachonitis, and what lay in its neighborhood, Batanea, and the country of Auranitis, and that on the following occasion: Zenodorus, who had hired the house of Lyasaki, had all along sent reports that Cæsar was on his side, and that Diocles, who thereupon had recourse to Varro, the president of Syria, and desired of him that he would represent the calami ty they were in to Cæsar; when Cæsar was acquainted with it, he sent back orders that this nest of robbers should be destroyed. Varro therefore made an expedition against them, and cleared the land of those men, and took it away from Zenodorus. Cæsar did also afterward bestow it on Herod, that it might not so much become the receptacle for these robbers that had come against Damascus. He also made him a procurator of all Syria, and this on the tenth year afterwards, when he came again into that province; and this was so established, that the other procurators of Syria were taken out of the administration without his advice; but when Zenodorus was dead, Cæsar bestowed on him all that land which lay between Trachonitis and Galilea. Yet what was still of more consequence to Herod, he was below the sea of Abraipsis, and by Agrippa next after Cæsar; whence he arrived at a very great degree of felicity. Yet did the greatness of his soul exceed it, and the main part of his magnanimity was extended to the promotion of piety.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the [Temple and] Cities that were built by Herod, and erected from the very foundations; as also, of those other Edifices that were erected by him: and what Magnificence he showed to Foreigners, and how Fortune was in all things favorable to him.

1. ACCORDINGLY, in the fifteenth year of his reign, Herod rebuilt the temple, and encompassed a piece of land about it with a wall, which land was twice as large as that before enclosed. The expense of it was also very great; it was very large; and the riches about it were also unspeakable. A sign of which you have in the great cloisters that were erected about the temple, and the citadel which was on its north side. The cloisters he also added below the temple; and the citadel he repaired at a vast expense, nor was it other than a royal palace, which he called Antonia, in honor of Antony. He also built himself a palace in the upper city, containing two very large and most beautiful apartments, to which the holy house itself could not be compared [in largeness.] The one apartment he named Cæsareum, and the other he named Agrippium, from his [two great] friends.

2. Yet did not Cæsar preserve their memory by particular buildings only, with their names given them, but his generosity went as far as entire cities; for when he had built a most beautiful wall round a country in Samaria, twenty furlongs long, and had left the town within the same wall, and had also, into it, and had allotted it to a most fruitful piece of land, and in the midst of this city, thus built, had erected a very large temple to Cæsar, and had laid round about it a portion of sacred land of three furlongs and a half, he called the city Sebastian, from Sebastianus or Augustus, and settled the affairs of the city after a most regular manner.

3. And when Cæsar had further bestowed upon him another additional country, he built there also a temple of white marble, hard by the fountains of Jordan: the place is called Psaum, where is a top of a mountain that is raised to an immense height, and set at its foot by its sides, its bottom, a dark cave opens itself; within which there is a horrible precipice, that descends abruptly to a vast depth; it contains a mighty

* Since Josephus, both here, and in his Antiq. b. xvi. ch. vii. sect. 3, reckons Gaza, which had been a free city, stationed between Jerusalem and Herod, and Augustus, and yet implies that Herod had made Costobarn a governor of it before, Antiq. b. xvi. chap. vii. sect. 3; Harduin has some pretense for saying that Josephus here contradicted himself. But, perhaps, Herod thought he had sufficient authority to put a governor into Gaza, after he was made interrex or king, in times of war, before the city was entirely delivered into his hands by Augustus.
WARS OF THE JEWS.

quantity of water which is immovable; and when any body lets down any thing to measure the depth of the earth beneath the water, no length of cord is sufficient to reach it. Now the fountains of Jordan rise at the roots of this cavity outwardly; and, as some think, this is the utmost origin of Jordan: but we shall speak of that matter more accurately in our following history.

5. But the king erected other places at Jericho, and between the citadel Cyporus and the former place, such as we now build less useful than the former for travellers, and named them from the same friends of his. To say all at once, there was not any place of his kingdom fit for it, the liberal display of them, or any thing which this citadel, in its situation, had not good haven, insomuch that every one that sailed from Phœnicia for Egypt was obliged to lie in the stormy sea, by reason of the south winds that threatened them; which wind, if it enter between the citadels, and spread itself, and take the sea in its hands, and raise and dash upon the rocks, then, upon their retreat, the sea is in a great ferment for a long way. But the king, by the expense he was at, and the liberal display of them, obtained nature, and built a haven larger than the Pyrenæum at Athens; and in the other retirements of the water he built other deep stations (for the ships also).

6. Now although the place where he built was greatly opposite to his purposes, yet did he so folly struggle with that difficulty, that the froun

most gentle of all the winds. At the mouth of the haven were on each side three great Colossæ, supported by pillars, where those Colossæ that are on your left hand, as you sail into the port are 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 of the entrance. Now there were continual edifices join'd to the haven, which were also terraces of white stone, and more haven ful than the former for the streets of the city lead, and were built at equal distances one from another. And over against the mouth of the haven, upon an elevation, there was a Colossus, as it was fabled, built in Iceland, both in beauty and largeness; and therein was a Colossus of Cæsar, not less than that of Jupiter Olympus, which it was made to resemble. The other Colossus of Rome was equal to that of Cæsar, and the honor of the building he ascribed to Cæsar, and named it Cæsarea accordingly.

7. He also built the other edifices, the amphitheatre and the赛车 place, in a manner agreeable to that denomination; and ap

pointed games every fifth year, and called them, in like manner, Cæsar's games; and he first himself proposed the largest prizes upon the busi- ness. Indeed, he was much pleased with the victors themselves, but those that came next to them, and even those that came in the third place, were partakers of his royal bounty. He also rebuilt Anædon, a city that lay on the coast of Cœcina; and called that hill that was once named Agrippinum. Moreover, he had so very great a kindness for his friend Agrippa, that he had his name engraved upon that gate which he had set up in his town in the name of Agrippa.

8. Cæsar was also a lover of his father, if any other person ever was so; for he made a monume- ment for his father, even that city which he built in the finest plain that was in his kingdom, and which had more trees and springs than any other, and named it Antipatris. He also built a wall about a citadel that lay above Jericho, and was a very strong and very fine building, and dedicated it to his mother, and called it Cyporus. Moreover, he dedicated a temple upon the mount Zion, and called it by the name of his brother Phæesus, whose structure, largeness, and magnificence, we shall describe hereafter. He also built another city in the valley that leads northward from Jerusalem. And this city he named Cæsarea; and he said that this city was the centre of the shape of a woman's breast, and was sixty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, by the same name. He also bestowed much curious art upon it, with great ambition, and built round towers and all the rest of it, and enclosed it, and built it with the most costly palaces round about, insomuch, that not only the sight of the inner apartments was splendid, but great wealth was bestowed in the provinces of that empire, and in the cities of its borders, and in the houses, and roofs also. Besides this, he brought a many 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

Josephus, the Roman historian, states that the city was named by Cæsar, and in honour of Augustus Cæs- ar, as here and in the Antiquities related of Cæsarea.
was itself moderately high, and entirely fictitious. He also built other palaces about the roots of the hill, sufficient to receive the furniture that was put into them, with his friends also; insomuch, that an account of its containing all necessaries, the fortresses might seem to be a city, but, by the bounds 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 Tralles, and at Tarsus; for he built a wall about Byblus, as also large rooms, and cloisters, and temples, and market-places at Berytus and Tyre, with theatres at Sidon and Damascus. He also built aqueducts for those Leodiceans who lived by the sea side; and for those in Phigalia 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 persons: many, whom he beat, were said to have been left at his disposal, for he never was wanting. He also gave corn to all such as wanted it, and conferred upon Rhodes large sums of money for building ships, and this he did in many places, and frequentedly, and always. Against those who rebelled, at the first they laid down, he rebuilt it on his own charge, after a better manner than it was before. What need I speak of the presents he made to the Lyceans and Samians? or of his great liberality through all Italy? and that according to every body's wants of them. And are not the Athenians, and Lacedemonians, and Nicopolitans, and that Pergamus which is in Myas, full of donations that Herod presented them with, and many more alike? but those who, dwelling among his dominions, longing to Antioch in Syria, did not pay it with polished marble, though it were twenty furlongs long? and this when it was shunned by all men before, because it was full of dirt and filthiness, when he besides desired that he had 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 which he bestowed his benefits; but what is remarkable, and even more extraordinary than any benefaction 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 money, he restored the games, and the people of Pherae, belonging to Antioch in Syria, did not pay it with polished marble, though it were twenty furlongs long? and this when it was shunned by all men before, because it was full of dirt and filthiness, when he besides desired that he had the same place with a cloister of the same length.

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CHAP. XXII.

The murder of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, the High Priests; as also of Mariamne, 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 whose sons her son was, and on account of 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 Herod, the son of Alexander, 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 expelled Antipater, the son of Doris, for the sake of his own sons by Mariamne; and he sent for, 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 Parthia, and in order to this pretence, he suspected him of plotting against him. Now this Hyrcanus had been carried captive to Barzaphares, when he overran Syria; but those of his own country beyond Euphrates were desirous of him, and would set him free; and he, according to the miseries they had for his condition; and had he complied with their desires, when they exhorted him not to go over the river to Herod, he had not perished; but the marriage of his grandson (for Herod) was his temptation; for as he relied upon him, and was over fond of his own country, he came back to it. Herod's provocation was this, not that Hyrcanus made any attempt to gain the kingdom, but that it was fitter for him to be slain. The same year he slayed the mother of his wife.

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; but the other two eldest he loved most, and set apart the care 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 inflamed him every day to a great degree, and so far converse, with all 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 indeed this out of the consciousness of indignation, from what he had done, while her boldness proceeded from his affection to her; so she openly reproached him with what he had done to her grandfather Hyrcanus, and to her brother Aristobulus; for he feared 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 died in bed, he did not wait till he had approached the altar, at a festival, the multitude, in great crowds, fell into tears; whereas the child was sent by night to Jericho, and was there dipped by the Gali, at Herod's command, in a pool till it was dead.

3. 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 woma
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 also contrived to have many other circumstances believed, in order to make the thing more credible, and accused her of having sent her picture into Egypt to Antony, and that her last was so extraordinary, as to have thus showed herself, though she was absent, to a man that ran mad after women, and to a man that had it in his power to do violence to her. This charge fell like a thunderbolt upon Herod, and put him in disorder; and that especially, because his love to her occasioned him to be jealous, and because he considered with himself, that Octophrora was a shadow of the queen Cleopatra, and he began to suspect the king was taken off, as well as Malichus the Arabian: for his fear did not extend to the dissolving of his marriage, but to the danger of his sister.

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 kindred; he also gave him a secret injunction, that if Antony slew him, he would slay her. But Joseph, without any ill design, and only in order to demonstrate the king's love to his wife, how he could not bear to think of being separated from her, even by death itself, 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 oaths, and assured her that he had never such as affection for any other woman as he had for her; and says, (says thou didat, 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 injunction of his, unless he had deceived him. His passion also made 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, out of his ungovernable jealousy and rage, he slew both of them; but as he was immedi-ately; 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; but the name of his des- trues for her was so advent, that he could not think she was dead, but would appear under his disorder 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.

Calumnies against the Sons of Mariamme. Antipa-per is preferred before them. They are accused before Cæsar, and Herod is reconciled to them.

1. Now Mariamme's sons were heirs to that hatred which had been borne their mother, and when they came from the grace of Herod, he was afraid of them, as if he himself were also accused by Antony, but that he had given the like command a second time to Soemus also, when he was afraid of being slain by Augustus, Ant. b. v. ch. 87. sect. 3.

Salome's daughter, which Salome had been the accuser of their mother; the other married the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. And now they used boldness in speaking, as is borne hatred in their minds. Now those that com-miserated them and distrusted them were such as their boldness, and certain of them spoke now more plainly to the king that there were treacherous designs laid against him by both his sons, and in that was son-in-law to Archelaus, relying upon the king against his own children; and if the king had sent them to Cæsar, in order to accuse Herod before Cæsar; and when Herod's head had been long enough filled with these calumnies, he brought Antipater, whom he loved, to Judea, into favor again, as a defense to him against his sons. In the mean time he considered how he possibly could to prefer him before them.

3. But these sons were not able to bear this change in their affairs, for when they saw him father of a son; the possibility of their birth made them unable to sustain their indignation; but whencesoever they were easy, they showed the anger they had at it. And as these sons did day after day improve in the respect for their country, a biteriter already esteem their own abilities, which were very great, in fostering his father, and in contriving many sorts of calumnies against his brethren, while he told some stories of them himself, and put it upon them to show what they were to Cæsar, from all hopes of succeeding to the kingdom; for he was already publicly put into his father's will as his successor. Accordingly, he was sent as a son to Cæsar, and to be intrusted with the business of the kingdom to Cæsar, excepting the diadem. He was also able in time to introduce his mother again into Mariamme's bed. The two sorts of weapons he made use of against his brethren, were family and calumnies: whereby he brought them mutually privately to such a pass, that the king had thoughts of putting his sons to death.

3. So the father drew Alexander as far as Raphias, and charged him with an attempt 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 in-sults upon that man, but with great reason of thought confuted the calumnies, and repri-"
made this reconciliation among us; and, in the third place, reflect upon me, who entreat you to do what I have power to command you: continue brethren. I give you royal garments, and royal honors; and I pray to God to preserve what I have determined. We have no power to impose the rest on another." When the king had thus spoken, and had saluted every one of his sons after an obsequious manner, he dismissed the multitude, some of whom gave their assent to what he had said, and wished that much time might be spent in the enterprise; but for those who wished for a change of affairs, they pretended they did not so much as hear what he said.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Malice of Antipater and Doria. Alexander is very uneasy on Glaphyra's Account. Herod pardons Pheroras whom he suspected, and Salome, whom he knew to make mischief among them. Herod's Eunuchs are tortured, and Alexander is bound.

1. But now the quarrel that was between them, still accompanied those brethren when they parted, and the discord that was bred between them grew worse. Alexander and Aristobulus were much grieved that the privilege of the first-born was confirmed to Antipater, as was Antipater very angry at his brethren, that they were to succeed him, and that he should be left shut out from the kingdom itself, and which I will render still more firm; for Caesar hath put into my power to dispose of the government, and to appoint my successor. Accordingly, I lay no resort for his kindred, and in order to obtain my advantage, I do declare, that these three sons of mine shall be kings. And, in the first place, I pray for the approbation of God to what I am about, and in the name of the king, who is to announce the approbation. The age of one of them, and the nobility of the other two, should procure them the succession. Nay, indeed, my kingdom is so large, that it may be sufficient for more kings. For he that pays money for his greatness, and his kindred and his kindred, and that is honored beyond what his age requires so joyful, as he will make him that is dishonored sorrowful. As for the kindred and friends that are to converse with them, I will appoint them the king's sons to be of so much strength, that they may be securities for their concord; as well knowing, that the ill tempers of those with whom they converse, will produce quarrels and contentions among them; but that, if those with whom they converse be of good temper, they will preserve their natural affections for one another. But still I desire, that not these only, but all the captains of my army, have, for the present, all the people placed on me alone; for I do not give you a kingdom; but give them royal honors only; whereby it will come to pass, that they will enjoy the sweet parts of government as rulers themselves, but will not be proved true that they may be for the king, and be upon myself, whether I will or not. And let every one consider what age I am of, how I have conducted my life; and what piety I have exercised: for my age is not so great, that men may soon expect the end of my life; and I have indulged such a luxurious way of living as cuts men off when they are young; and we have been so religious towards God, that we [have reason to hope we] may arrive at a very great age of life, eminently written in the heavens, say sons, so as to aim at my destruction, they shall be punished by me on their account. I am not one who envy my own children, and therefore forbid men to pay them great respect; but I turn you on this subject of respect, that you may be more zealous, and strive how to make them insolent. And if ever 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 ungrateful, he shall receive nothing from him to whom it is shown: I suppose they will all be of my side, that is, of my sons' side; for it will be for their advantage that he should reign, and I that be at concord with them. But that if one of you has been slighted, either for the holiness of nature itself, by whose means natural affection is preserved, even among wild beasts; in the next place reflect upon Caesar, who hath

2. By these methods Herod was inflamed.
and, as much as his natural affection to the young
men did every day diminish, so much did it in-
crease toward Antipater. The courters also in-
cluded 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, and his eldest brother, and all his
children; for Antipater was all in all: and what
was the bitterest part of all to Alexander, Antip-
ater's mother was also all in all; she was one
that gave counsel against them, and was more
mad about this uncle, and more that hated the
king'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 son-in-law]; but he was very gud
pardon for this charge to his most intimate friends, that they
should not come near, nor pay any regard to
Alexander, or to his friends. Herod also be-
came terror of men, not only to his domestics about the
court, but to his friends abroad; for Cesar had
given such a privilege to no other king as he had
given to him, which was this, that he might fetch
back any one that fled from him, even out of a city
under his own jurisdiction.

Now the young men were not acquainted with
the calamities raised against them; for which
reason they could not guard themselves against
them, but fell under them; for their father did not
make up his mind to take public complaints against either
of them; though in a little time they perceived how
things were, by his coldness to them, and by
the great uneasiness he showed upon any
thing that troubled him. Antipater had also
made this uncle the chief of his enemies to be
his enemies too, as well as their aunt Salome, while he was always
talking with her, as with a wife, and irritating
her against them. Moreover, Alexander's wife,
Glaphyra, augmented this hatred against them,
by her very perniciousness and great person,
and pretending that she was a lady superior to all others in that kingdom, as
being derived by her father's side from Teme-
num, or by her mother's side from Darius, the
son of Hystaspes. She also frequently reproach-
ered Herod's sister and wives with the ignobility
of their descent; and that they were every one chosen by him for their beauty, but not for their
wealth; and that he was not a few; it being of old permitted to the Jews to marry
many wives: and this king delighted in many,
all of whom hated Alexander, on account of Glap-
hyra's boasting and reproaches.

3. But Aristobulus had raised a quarrel be-
tween himself and Salome, who was his mother-
in-law, besides the anger he had conceived at
Glaphyra's reproaches; for he perpetually up-
braided his wife with the meaness 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
danger went, and told it her with this addition,
that Alexander threatened the mothers of his
elder brothers, and of himself, that when he should come to the
crown, he would make them weary with their
maidens, and would make those brothers of his
country schoolmasters; and broke this jest upon
them, that they had been very carefully instruct-
ed therin. But Herod was so much ashamed of the
crime, but they owned that he had made prepa-
rations to take her whom he loved, and run
away to the Parthians. Costobarus also, the hus-
band of Salome, to whom the king had given her
great honor, fled from the king, and put to death for adultery, was instrumental in
bringing about this contrivance and flight of his
Nor did Salome escape all calamity upon herself:
for her brother Pheroras accused her, that she had
made an agreement to marry Syllene, the proce-
does not appear to me. And what our Saviour says
about the common Jewish divorces, which may lay
much greater claim to such a permission than this
poly-gamy, seems to be true in this case also; that Moses,
for the hardness of their hearts, suffered them to have
several wives at the same time, but that 'out of the
rater of Obodas, king of Arabia, who was at a bitter enmity with Herod; but when she was convicted of this, and of all that Pheroras had accused him of, she obtained his pardon. The king also pardoned Pheroras 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. Now, in the year of our Lord, he was 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 on the same kind of clothes as he did. Now Alexander had prevailed with these men, by large gifts, to let him use them after an obscene manner; which, when it was told to the king, these were tortured, and found guilty, and presently confessions for the criminal conversation they had with them. They also discovered the promises by which they were induced so to do, and how they were defied by Alexander, who had told them, 'And if you do not fix their hopes upon Herod, an old man, and one so showy as to color 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 together with his head, whether he was convict or not; and who in no long time would avenge himself on his enemies, and make his friends happy and blessed, and themselves in the first place: that the men of power did already pay respects to him. That I will send your wife and your mother, sister, and other women of the family, to the king, 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, by night and 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 executions together with him. He had convinced them, as they were themselves in a state of enmity or hatred against others; and many there were who abused the king's bloody parsimony to the disadvantage of those to whom they had quarreled, and its account was easily recoverable. These were inflicted sooner than the calumnies were forged: he who had just then been accusing another, was accused himself, and was led away to execution, or considered as such, before he had convicted; for the danger the king was in of his life made examinations be very short. He also proceeded 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 him daily, who was now under his misfortunes, and got a stout company of his kindred together, and raised all sorts of calumnies against him: and for the king, he was brought to such a degree of terror as to persuade him to keep the city, and to persuade the city to keep him, for he had no reason 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 overthrown.

9. Herod assented to what he had said, and, by degrees, abated of his anger against Alexander; but was more angry at Pheroras; for the principal subject of the latter's enmity was Pheroras, who persuaded that the king's inclinations changed on a sudden, and that Archelaus's friendship could do every thing with him, and that he had no honorable method of procuring himself, he procured his safety by his impudence. So he left Alexander, and had recourse to Archelaus.
who did him. That "he did not see how he could get his excommunicate, and had, as it were, been caught in so many crimes, whereby it was evidently demonstrated that he had plotted against the king, and had been the cause of those misfortunes which the young man was now under, unless he would unceasingly leave off his cunning knavery, and his denial of what he was charged withal, and confess the charge, and implore pardon of his brother, who still had a kindness for him; but that if, he would do so, he would afford him all the assistance he was able."

4. With this advice Pherecras complied, and putting himself into such a habit as might most move compassion, he came with black cloth upon his body and tears in his eyes, and threw himself down at the feet, and begged the pardon for what he had done, and confessed that he had acted very wickedly, and was guilty of every thing that he had been accused of, and lamented the love of his mind and affection which his love to a woman, he said, had brought him to. So when Archelaus had brought Pherecras to accuse and bear witness against himself, he then made an excuse for him, and mitigated Herod's anger by his tears, and this by using certain poetical maxims: "for that when he had suffered much greater mischiefs from a brother of his own, he presumed the obligations of nature before the passion of revenge; because it is in kingdoms, as it is in families, where a member of one of another 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 Archelaus's saying this, and much earnestly accusing himself, and the ingratitude he had received for what he had done, and the love he had received for what he had done, and the love he had to his wife, Archelaus was so moved that he promised to pardon him, and to keep his promise, and to make all the more of him, and to give him a higher rank in his kingdom than he had before. And when the king said, that his son would take it for a great favor done to him, if he would not dissolve that marriage, especially since they had already children between the young man and her, and that his son was taken into his favor, and was to be made a trustee of his will by him, and that as while she remains his wife she would be a great preservative to him, and to 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 attempts are not mollified, when they are diverted from them by settling their affections at home. So Archelaus was persuaded by what he was told, and he was well informed by the people in the business. He therefore, he said, must, by all means, be sent to Rome to discourse with Caesar, because he was before written a full account to him of this whole matter.

6. Thus a period was put to Archelaus's strata
gem, whereby he delivered his son-in-law out of the dangers he was in; but when these reconcilia
tions were made, they spent some time in idle dallings and agreeable entertainments. And when

Archelaus was going away, Herod made him a golden throne set with precious stones, and some emeralds, and a concubine who was called Pannychis. He also paid due honors to every one of his friends according to their dignity. In like manner did all the king's kindred and favorites. But Archelaus, having made glorious presents to Archelaus; and so he was conducted on his way by Herod and his nobility as far as Antioch.

CHAP. XXVI.

How Eurykleus® commissed the Sons of Mars

amans; and how the Apology of Eurystheus for them has no effect.

1. Now a little afterward there came into Judaea a man that was much superior to Archae

laus's strategems, which did not only overturn that reconciliation that had been so wisely made with Alexander, but proved the occasion of his being put to a brave and a good end. This 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 suffice his luxury. He presented Herod with splendid gifts, which he had embezzled out of his kingdom, and quickly receiving them back again manifold; yet did he esteem bare gifts as nothing, unless he imbrued the kingdom in blood by his purchases. Accordingly, he imposed upon several of the best men, and made them believe that it was likely to him, as also by the lying encomiums which he made upon him; for as he soon perceived Herod's blind side, he said and did every thing that might please him, and thereby became one of his most intimate friends; for both the king and all that were about him, had a great regard for this Spartan on account of his country. And as soon as this fellow perceived the rotten parts of the family, and what quarrels the brothers had one with another, and in what disposition the father was towards each of them, he chose to take his lodging at first in the house of Antipater, but deluded Alexander with a pretended friendship to him, and falsely claimed to be an old acquaintance of Archelaus; for which reason he was presently admitted into Alexander's familiarity as a faithful friend. He also professed to be highly on account of his brother Archelaus. And when he had thus made trial of these several persons, he imposed upon one of them by one method, and upon another by another. But he was principally hired by Antipad to court Alexander, and to be a reproacher of Antipater, because, while he was the eldest son, he overlooked the intrigues of those who stood in the way of his expectations; and by reproaching Alexander, because he was born of a queen, and was married to a king's daughter, permitted one that was born of a mean woman to lay claim to the succession, and this when he had Archelaus to support him in the most complete manner. He was at first thought to be other than faithful by the young man, because of his pretended friendship with Archelaus: on which account it was that Alexander lamented to him Antipater's behavior with regard to himself, and this without concealing any thing from him; and it was then no wonder if Herod, after he had killed their mother, should deprive them of her kingdom. He also, by a bait that he laid for him, procured Aristobulus to say the same things. Thus did he intrigue both the brothers to make complaints of their father here see he was, is visible from the public records of the period. Aristobulus is mentioned by Plutarch, re

twenty-five years before a companion to Mark Antony, and as living with Herod; where he might easily in
tegrate himself into the acquaintance of Herod's sons, Antipater and Alexander, as Ulerius, Hircan, and Span

bein justly suppose. The reason why his being a

Spartan rendered him acceptable to the Jews, as we

‡ See the preceding note.
and then went to Antipater, and carried those grand secrets to him. He also added a faction of his own, as if his brothers had laid a plot against him, and were almost ready to come upon him with their drawn swords. For this intelligence he received a great sum of money, and on that account he commended Antipater before his father, and so he came to the service of the old citizen 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 else he should do, which he could, upon that occasion. [The king] had said, that this letter was written to Antipater by Diophantus. This Diophantus was the king's secretary, a bold man, and cunning in counterfeiting any one's hand; and after he had counterfeited the writing, he had sent his bundle to death for it. Herod did not order the decision of the castle to be tortured, but got nothing out of him of what the accusation suggested.

4. However, although Herod found the proofs in writing too weak, he did order to have his son in custody: for till then they had been left at liberty. He also called that pest of his family, and forger of all this vile accusation, Eurycles, his saviour 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.

5. But it will be now worth while to put Eunecus 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, that he had never heard any such things from the young men: yet did this testimony avail nothing for the clearing those miserable creatures. Herod was only disposed and most ready to be crossed out of them; and every one was most agreeable to him that would believe them were guilty, and showed their indignation at them.

CHAP. XXVII.

Herod, by Caesar's Direction, accuses his Sons at Eryxias. They are not produced before the Court, but yet are condemned; and in a little Time they are sent to Sestatie, and strangled there.

1. Moreover, Salome exasperated Herod's cruelty against his sons; for Archelaus was desirous to bring her, who was his mother-in-law and his aunt, into the like dangers with themselves: so he sent her to take care of her own safety, and told her, that the king was preparing on account of his father, to put her to death, unless he should be acquitted in his accounts he should not be deemed a parricide.

3. When Eurycles had made this portentous speech, he greatly commended Antipater, as the only child that had an affection for his father, and said, that it was that of the old citizen 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 else he should do, which he could, upon that occasion. [The king] had said, that this letter was written to Antipater by Diophantus. This Diophantus was the king's secretary, a bold man, and cunning in counterfeiting any one's hand; and after he had counterfeited the writing, he had sent his bundle to death for it. Herod did not order the decision of the castle to be tortured, but got nothing out of him of what the accusation suggested.

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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 withal, that “he would do well to make motion into the matter to make a plot against him, in a public council, and to take for his assessors his own kindred, and the governors of the province: and if those sons be found guilty, to put them to death; but if they appear to have thought of no more than flying away from him, that he should be in that case moderate their punishment.

2. With these directions Herod compiled, and came to Bethany, where Caesar had ordered the council to be held, and got the judges together. The presidents sat first, as Caesar’s letters had appointed, who were Saturninus, and Pedanus, and their lieutenants that were with them, with whom was the procurator Volumnius also; he came in order before the king and his kin and friends, with Salome also, and Pheroras; after whom sat the principal men of all Syria, excepting Archelaus; for Herod had a suspicion of him, because he was Alexander’s father-in-law. Yet it was Alexander the king’s mother, and Salome the king’s sister, which was done very cunningly, for he knew well enough that had they but appeared only, they would certainly have been pitied; and if within they had been suffered to speak, Alexander certainly had done it; and what these were accused of; but they were in custody at Platus, a village of the Sidonians.

3. So the king got up, and inveighed against his sons, as if they were present; and as for that part of the speech that the king charged them 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 injurious carriage, and ten thousand the like offences; and yet raised a great deal of indignation, and the 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 victory over his sons, and the king; so he asked each of them, and every one’s sentence, which sentence was first of all given by Saturninus, 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 kingdom, to give his sentence for the destruction of the sons of another. The two lieutenants also gave the like vote; some others there were also who followed their example; but Volumnius began to vote on the more melancholy side, and came after and condemned the young men to die, some out of flattery, and some out of hatred to Herod; but none out of indignation at their crimes. And now all Syria and Judea was in great expectation, and waited for the last act of this tragedy; yet did nobody supposed that Herod would be so barbarous as to murder his children; however, he carried them away to Tyre, and thence sailed to Caesarea; and deliberated with himself what sort of death they should suffer.

4. Now there was a certain old soldier of the sing, whose name was Tero, who had a son that was very familiar with, and a friend to Alexander, and who himself particularly loved the young men. The soldier was in manner distracted out of the excess of the indignation he had at what was doing; and at first he cried aloud, as he went about, “That justice was trampled under foot; that truth was perished, and nature confounded; and that the life of man was full of injustice;" 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 said, "Sir, truly, I think, this is an unrighteous matter, when thou warest so to most wicked wretches, against those that ought to be dearest to thee; since thou hast frequently resolved that Pheroras and Salome should be put to death, and yet believest against thy sons; while these, by cutting off the succession of thine own sons, leave all wholly to Antipater and thereby choose to have these such a king as may live thoroughly in their own dominions. If ever, consider what this death of Antipater’s brethren, will not make him hated by the soldiers for there is nobody but commisserates the young men, and of the captains a great many allow their indignation. And as for me, my son’s death, this he named those that had such indignation. But the king ordered those men, with Tero himself, and his son, to be seized upon immediately.

5. At which time there was a certain barber, who had a brother of his, and they were close friends, on account of what these were accused of; but they were in custody at Platus, a village of the Sidonians.

6. And now Herod accused the captains, and Tero, and Salome, and brought the people together in a body against them; and accordingly there were they put to death, together with [Trypho] the barber; they were killed by the pieces of wood, and the stones that were thrown at them by the people.

How Antipater is hated of all Men; and how the King expouses the Sons of those that had been already executed; and that he desired them to change them for other Women. Of Herod’s Marriages and Children.

1. But an intolerable hatred fell upon Antipater from the nation, though he had now an indisputable title to the succession; because they all knew that he was the person who contrived all the calamities against his brethren. However, 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; Theas, and Alexander; and an Antony by Herod, and Agrippa, and Aristobulus, his sons, with Herodias and Mariamne, his daughters, and all by Bernice, Salome’s daughter: so as for Glaphyra, Herod, as soon as he had had a son, put an end to his marriage, and married him to another woman. 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, had had him put to death in games, and had celebrated this match; he also got into Pheroras’s favor, and into the favor of Caesar’s friends by presents, and other ways of obeisance, and sent no small sums of money to Rome: Saturninus, the friend of Antipater, was by this means replenished with the presents he made them; yet the more he gave, the more he was hated, as not
making these presents out of generositv; 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, he bestowed his money every day more and more profusely, on observing that, contrary to his expectations, the king was taking care of the orphans, and discovering at the same time his repentance for killing their fathers, his commiseration 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 fell on (Phil.) and said—

"It was not an unlucky fate that took away from me these children’s fathers, which children are recommended to me by that natural commiseration which their orphan condition requires; however, I declare, I am also determined to be a most fortunate father, to appear a better grandfather, and to leave these children such curators after myself as are nearest to me. I therefore breathe thy daughter, Phereor, to the elder of these children; but that of the younger, thou mayest be obliged to take care of. I also breathe to thy son Antipater, the daughter of Aristobulus; be thou therefore a father to that orphan; and my son Herod [Phil.] shall have her for his wife. Herod [Phil.] is also of the same side, was high priest. And let every one that loves me be of my sentiments in these dispositions, which some that have an affection for me will abrogate. And I pray God, that he will join that advantage of my kingdom, and of my posterity, and may he look down with eyes more serene upon them than he looked upon their fathers."

With these words, he wrote and joined the children of Phereor and her daughter; after which he embraced them every one after an affectionate manner, and dismissed the assembly. Upon this, Antipater was in great disorder immediately, and thought it a most severe thing that 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, in that Herod's sons, Aristobulus [a king] and Pheroras a tetrarch, were to support them. He also considered how he was himself hated by the nation, and how they pitied these orphans; how great affection the Jews bore to their nation, that they might remember them, and how gladly they remembered them now they had perished by his means. So he resolved by all the ways possible to get these espousals dissolved.

4. Now he was afraid of going seditiously about this matter with his father, who was hard to be pleased, and was presently moved upon the least suspicion; so he ventured to go to him directly, and to beg of him before his face, not to deprive him of this dignity which he had been pleased to bestow upon him, for that he never had the bare name of a king, while the power was in other persons; for that he should never be able to keep the government, if Alexander's son was to be put over him. 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 [Phil.] of Marianne, the high priest's daughter; Antipater also and Archelaus were by Malthace, the Samaritan, as was his daughter, Olympia, which his brother Joseph's son had married by Cleopatra, of Jerusalem, he had Herod and Philip, and by Pallas, Phasaeus; he had also two daughters, Roxana and Salome, the one by Phereor, and the other by Elpis; he had also two wives above these, at home his first brother's daughter, and the other his niece; and besides these he had two daughters, the sisters of Alexander and Aristobulus, by Marianne. Since, therefore, the royal family was so numerous, Antipater prayed him to change the marriage of his sister to him, and his son to Phereor's daughter.

5. When the king perceived what disposition he was in towards these orphans, he was angry 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 ministers, and changed the marriages; he married Antipater's daughter to him, and his son to Phereor's daughter.

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 her; for what she did not do for him, the means of Julia, Caesar's wife, earnestly desired leave to be married to Syllaeus, the Arabian, Herod swore he would esteem her his better enemy, unless she would leave her project; he also reproved her against her own consent, to be married to Alexa, a friend of his, and that one of her daughters should be married to Alexa's son, and the other to Antipater, uncle by the right side of the daughter that the king had by Marianne, the one was married to Antipater, his sister's son, and the other to his brother's son, Phasaeus.

CHAP. XXIX.

Antipater becomes insolent. He is sent to Rome, and carries Herod's Testament with him. Pheroras leaves his Brother, that he may keep his Wife. His death at home.

I. Now when Antipater had cut off the hopes of the orphans, and had contracted such affinal ties as would be most for his own advantage, he proceeded briskly, as having a certain expectation of the kingdom; and divers assurances added to his wickedness, he became insolent; for not being able to avoid the hatred of all people, he built his security upon the terror he struck into them. Pheroras also assisted him in his designs, loath upon him as already described in his kingdom. There was also a company of women in the court, which excited new disturbances; for Pheroras's wife, together with her mother and sister, as soon as Antipater was the more greatly impressed in the palace. She also was very insolent as to afford 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 one 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 on account of Marianne. 2. Joseph, Herod's quater, or treasurer, slain on the same account. 3. Joseph, Herod's brother, slain in battle against Antigonus. 4. Joseph, the heir's nephew, the husband of one of Herod's daughters.

II. These daughters of Herod, whom Pheroras had affronted, were both of them named Roxana, two virgin, who were born to him of his two wives, Elpis and Phereor. See Herod's genealogy, Antig. b. xvii. ch. 1. sect. 3
pleased, they left off their public meetings, and friendly entertainments of one another; or, 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 when matters were public, he opposed Pheroras; but still they had private cabals and merry meets 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 now Phasaelis, the wife of Pheroras, was principally accused her. So he got an assembly of his friends and kindred together, and there accused this woman of many things, and particularly of the affronts she had offered his daughter, and the support she had given the Pheroridian 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, the high priest's drug, a speech to Pheroras, and told him, that "he would give him his choice of these two things, whether he would keep in with his brother, or with wife?" And when Pheroras said, that he would certainly die rather than separate his wife from him, and knowing what to do further in that matter, turned his speech to Antipater, and charged him to have no intercourse either with Pheroras's wife, or with Pheroras himself, or with any one belonging to her; and that Antipater must agree that his injurious publicity, yet did he in secret come to their night-meetings; and because he was afraid that Salome observed what he did, he procured, by the means of his Italian friends, that he might go and live at Rome; for when some of them 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, and a great deal of money, and gave him his horse and carriage 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, was the son of Phasaelis, the high priest's daughter, and wrote nothing of what he was to pay, and did also accuse Phasaeus to Caesar, and said that he was not a steward for Caesar's advantage, but for Herod's, Phasaeus was angry at him on that account, but when he saw the great esteem he had to Caesar, and discovered Sylla's grand secrets, and told the king that Sylla had corrupted Corinthus, one of the guards of his body, by bribing him, and of whom he must therefore have heard nothing; and when he was compelled by this confessions, and prepared to inquire further into the truth of the matter. So this woman discovered the friendship of Antipater's mother to Pheroras and Antipater's women, as also their secret meetings, and that Pheroras and Antipater had drunk

4. However, Herod did not leave off importing Pheroras, but proceeded to force him to put away his wife; yet he could not devise any way by which he could bring the woman herself to punishment, although he had many causes of bringing her from him. She avowed the unseasonness at her, that he cast both her and his brother out of his kingdom. Pheroras took this injury very patiently, and went away into his own territories, and returned to his own kingdom, and sent not to take care of his case, and took care of him; but his affections for him did him no good, for Pheroras died a little afterward. Now, though Herod had so great an affection for him to the last day of his life; yet, after his death, he did not avenge his case, and gave him no proper burial, but killed him by poison. However, he took care to have his dead body carried to Jerusalem, and appointed a very great mourning to the whole nation for him, and bestowed a most pompous funeral upon him. And this was the end that one of Alexander's and Aristobulus's murderers came to.

CHAP. XXX.

When Herod Made Inquiry about Pheroras's Death, a Discovery was made that Antipater had prepared a poisonous Draught for him. Herod casts Doris and her Accomplices, as also Mariamne, out of the Palace, and blinds 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 Pheroras; for certain of his relations came to Herod as soon as he heard of the king, 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 eating it, he had been cast out of the kingdom." Herod then sent his mother and sister, two days before, brought a woman out of Arabia that was skillful in mixing such drugs, that she might prepare a love potion for Pheroras; and that, instead of a love potion, she had given him deadly poison; and that this was done by the management of Sylla, who was acquainted with that woman.

2. The king was deeply affected with so many suspicions, and had the mid-sentence of his murder committed to him; one of whom cried out in her agonies, "May that God which governs the earth and the heaven punish the author of all these our miseries, Antipater's mother, and my brother; may they be accursed;" and another, "the confessions, and proceeded to inquire further into the truth of the matter. So this woman discovered the friendship of Antipater's mother to Pheroras and Antipater's women, as also their secret meetings, and that Pheroras and Antipater had drunk

* This strange obstinacy of Pheroras in retaing his wife, who was one of a low family, and refusing to marry, was a great esteem to Herod, and desired it, as also that wife's admission to the council of the other great court ladies, together with Herod's esteem to Pheroras's love and other marriage, all so remarkable here or in the Antiquities, b xvn. ch. ii. sect. 4, and ch. iii. sect. 3, cannot be

well accounted for but on the supposition that Pheroras believed, and Herod suspected, that the Phareus's pretension, if it was true, did not and could not be true, and in fact while Herod did not marry from Herod to Pheroras's posterity, and that most probably to Pheroras's posterity by this his wife, also would have been true. See Antq. b. xvi ch. ii. sect. 4, and ch. iii. sect. 1.
with them for a whole night together as they returned from the king, and would not suffer any body, either man-servant or maid-servant, to be there; while one of the free women discovered the whole matter at once; and the king's chamberlain himself, for that they oftentimes talked to one another thus: "That after Herod had slain Alexander and Aristobulus, he would fall upon them, and upon their wives, because, after he had not spared his sons, his daughter-in-law, nor his other blood, that he would fall upon the heads of his children, and that for this reason it was best to get as far off the wild beasts as they were able." And that Antipater oftentimes lausen his own case before his mother; and said to her, that "he had already gray hairs upon his head, and that his father grew younger again every day, and that perhaps death would overtake him before he should begin to be a king in earnest; and that in case Herod should die, which yet nobody knew when, he must one day suffer the calamity of his own head and his family. He said, that he could certainly be a man for a little time; for that those heads of Hydra, the sons of Alexander and Aristobulus, were growing up: that he was only alive through the favor of Herod's ancestors; and that his son would one day be the successor to his throne; and that his successor after his death was not to be any one of his own sons, but Herod the son of Mariamne; that in this point Herod was plainly distracted, to think that he would not have been able to escape the wrath of his ancestors; and he would take care that not one of his posterity should remain, because he was of all fathers the greatest hater of his children. Yet does he hate his brother still worse, whence it was that he said, 'If you come hither, I shall not act as a brother, but as a stranger, for I will not have to do with you any more, and that you should not have any intercourse with Pheroras." And when Pheroras said, Wherein have we done him any harm? Antipater replied, "I wish he would but deprive us of all we have, and leave us naked, and let us die in prison, that we might not escape to this wild beast, who is thus given to murder, who will not permit us to love anyone openly, although we be together privately; yet may we be so openly, if we have been able to escape the rage of Herod, and 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 that every creature, whom they were torturing, declared it so to be. When 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.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Antipater is convicted by Bathyllus: but he still returns from Rome without knowing it. Herod brings him to his Trial.

§ 1. After these things were over, Bathyllus came under examination, in order to convict Antipater, who proved the concluding attestation to Antipater's design; for indeed he was more a man than his freed-men. This man came, and brought another deadly potion, the poison of sape, and the juices of other serpents, that if the first potion did not do the business, Pheroras and his wife might be able, for they were the king's sons, and his freedmen. He brought also an 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 of tender years, but of generous dispositions. Antipater set himself to get rid of these as soon as he could, that they might not be prejudicial to his hopes, and to that end he forged letters against them in the name
his friends at Rome. Some of these he corrupted by bribes to write how greatly resented their father, and did not only treachery and bloodshed, and Aristotle, and were uneasy at being recalled; for their father had already not for them, which was the very thing that occluded Antipater.

2. As he said, while Antipater was in Judea, he before he was upon his journey to Rome, he was to have the like letters against them at Rome, and then came to his father, he so as yet had no suspicion of him, and spoiling his name and property. And a great deal was wise, that some of the things contained in those letters were false, and others of them were only utterly injurious. Yet at the same time that he spented a great deal of his money, by making reasons and excuses, he was afraid to bring his accounts into confusion, y buying costly garments, and carpets of various contexts, with silver and gold cups, and great many more curious things, that so, among other great expenses laid way upon furniture, he might conceal the money he had used: hiring men [to write the letters] for he sought in an account of his expenses, amounting to a great deal of money when he left Rome. And he received from Rome, which was the lawsuit he had been in with Syllus. So while all his roggeries, even those of a user sort also, were covered by his greater villany, while all the examinations by torture proclaimed his guilt, nevertheless he did not deny it to letters proclaimed his second attempt to murder was brethren; yet did no one of those that came s Rome inform him of his misfortunes in Judea, though seven months had intervened between his leaving his father, and his return; for he was the one which all bore to him. And perhaps they were the ghosts of those brethren of his hat had been murdered, that stopped the mouths of those that intended to have told him. He hesitated to such a degree, and dreaded his situation, that he would soon come to them, and how he was dismissed with honor by Caesar.

3. Now the king being desirous to get this matter against him into his hands, and being also afraid of publishing it to the knowledge how his affairs stood, and be upon his guard, he discharged his anger in his epistle o him, as in other points he wrote kindly to him, not making haste as it was his custom if he did as quickly, he would then lay aside the complaints he had against his mother; for Antipater was not ignorant that his mother had been excelled out of the palace. However, he had before received the letter containing the news of the death of Phereorus, at Tarentum, and made great lamentations at it; for which some condemned him, as being for his own uncle; though probably this confusion arose on account of his having thereby failed in his plot [on his father's life], and his tears were more for the loss of the letter that had been to have been subservient therein, than [an uncle] Phereorus: moreover, a sort of fear came upon him as to his designs, lest the poison should manifest his hand. And when he was in Cilicia, he received the forementioned epistle from his father, and made great haste accordingly. But when he had sailed to Celenus, he supposed he came into mind relating to his mother's misfortunes; and if he had put upon some misconception to itself. Those therefore of his friends who were the most considerate, advised him not rashly to go to his father, till he had considered what were the occasions whether his mother had been ejected, because they were afraid that so 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 Ireland in terms ut here in his note.

5. And Antipater's safety, prevailed upon him to make haste home, and not by delaying his journey afforded his father ground for an ill conception. They 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, which durst not have been done had he been present. And it was alarmed for 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 which was in a state of fluctuation on his account and the moment that the king was in, for Providence hurried him on [to his destruction.] So he passed over the sea, and landed at Sebastus, the haven of Caesarea.

4. And here he found a perfect and unexpected solitude and loneliness, that he avoided him, and nobody durst come at him; for he was equally hated by all men; and now that hatred had liberty to show itself, and the dread men were in at the king's anger made men keep from him: for the whole: for [of Jerusalem] was filled with the rumors about Antipater, and Antipater himself was the only person who was ignorant of them; for no man was dismissed more magnificently when he left Rome than he was now received back with greater ignominy. And indeed he began already to suspect what misfortunes there were in Herod's family; yet did he cunningly conceal his suspicions; and not only was the king by his exquisite honor, was 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 encompassed him, nor indeed had he even there say so of a 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 better tidings; for perhaps nothing had been discovered; or if any discovery had been made, perhaps he was able to content them 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 friends with him: these were afforded and shot out at the first gate. Now Varus, the president of Syria, happened to be in the palace [at this juncture:] so Antipater went in to his father, and putting on bold face, he made a speech to him: but Herod stretched out his hands, and turned his head away from him, and cried out, "Even this is an indication of a paricide, to be desirous to get me into his arms, when he is unaccustomed to see such a sight in his family. Thou wretched, thou vile wretch; do not thou touch me, till thou hast cleared thyself of these crimes that are charged upon thee. I appoint thee a court where thou art to be judged, and this Varus, who is very seasonably here, to be thy judge; and get thou thy defence ready against to-morrow; for I give thee so much time to prepare suitable excuses for thyself." And as Antipater was so confounded that he was able to make no answer to their charge, the king said, his wife came to him, and told him of all the evidence they had gotten against him. Hereupon he recollected himself, and considered what defence he should make against the accusations.

CHAP. XXIII.

Antipater is accused before Varus, and is convicted of laying a Plot [against his Father] by the strongest Evidence. Herod puts off his Punishment till he should be recovered, and, in the mean time, alters his Testament.

¶ 1. Now the day following, the king assembly of his kinsmen and friends, and called in Antipater's friends also: Herod himself, with Varus, were the presidents; and Hera
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 caught, as they were carrying a 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 Caesar." When these words were over, Antonius 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 unembarrassed, and attend to my defence; for if thou wilt but hear 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 up- right people, wilt if those of thy name be vile wretches. I am also afraid that thou wilt abhor my ill fortune, and judge me also myself worthy of all sorts of calamity, for begetting such children. But I may be pitied, who have been so affectionate a father to such wretched sons; for when I had settled the kingdom on my former sons, even when they were young, and when, besides the charges of the kingdom, I had added to them my friends of Caesar, and made them envied by 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 wrote, he could say, and as I suspected, I took care chiefly to secure him from danger: but this prodigy wild beast, when he had been over and above satisfied with that patience which I showed him, he made use of that abominable craft of his to act against me, and cut off their just expectations for the sake of Antipater; and indeed what kindness did I do to them, that could equal what I have done to Antipater? to whom I have, in a manner, given the kingdom. Thou dost say I am alive, and whom I have openly named for the successor to my dominions in my testament, and given him a yearly revenue of his own of fifty talents, and supplied him with money in an extravagant degree out of my own revenues; and when he was about to sail to Rome, I gave him three hundred talents, and recommended him, and him alone of all my children, to Caesar, as his father's deliverer. Now what can I say of the other sons of mine guilty of like these of Antipater? and what evidence was there brought against them so strong as there is to demonstrate this son to have plotted against me? Yet does that crafty plot of Rome spread for his father, 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 lamentations and pranks of a sacrifice and a repentance, as the care of Alexander when he was alive, and not to intrust my body with all men! This was he who came to my very bed, and looked about lest any one should lay snares for me! This was he who took thee in to speak with me, but not of any fear of danger, who comforted me under the trouble I was in upon the slaughter of my sons, and looked to see what affliction 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 plotter of mischief. 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 wail, and let it be known under Cover that thou hast 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 counsel of his friends, who beseeched 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 hasten my apology and have indulged me, which I think I might have for how can I be a paricide, whom thou thyself confessest to have always had for thy guardian? Thou callest my filial affection prodigious lies and hypocrisy; but then could it be that I, who was so subtle in other matters, should have failed to see and not to understand that it was not easy that he who committed so horrid a crime should be concealed from men, but impossible that he should be concealed from the judge of heaven, who sees all things, and is present everywhere? or did not I know what and my brethren came to, on whom God inflicted so great a punishment for their evil designs against thee? And, indeed, what shall I add more? Was there that thoughtless Auleus, whom thou bestowest 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 life time; and yet the evidence which I have, I will not tell; but I will declare that he bestowest on me, thou madest me an object of envy. O miserable man! that thou shouldst undergo this bitter absence, and thereby afford a great opportunity for envy to rise against thee, and a plot for rendering me tiring of thy court, and laying designs against thee! Yet was I absent, father, on thy affairs, that Syllaeus might not treat thee with contempt in thine old age. Rome is a witness to my filial affection, and so is Cæsar, the ruler of the habitable earth, who oftentimes 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 demonstration of that natural affection I have to thee. Remember that it was against my own choice that I sailed [to Rome], as knowing the latent hatred that was in the kingdom against me. It was thou, father, who gave me such a reason, and who had been my ruin, by forcing me to allow time for calumnies against me, and easy at me. However, I am come hither, and am ready to hear the evidence these is against me. If I be a paricide, then the punishment is already deserved by me; I believe the others that have been tortured, but let fire be brought to torment me; let the racks march through my bowels; have no regard to

*A lover of his father.
elements he had made, and was to confirm his testament; and he ordered that the dispositions he had made were 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 troops, and promised him their good-will, and besides, prayed God to bless his government. After this they betook themselves to prepare for the king's funeral; and Archelaus ordered nothing of magnificence therein, but brought out all the royal ornaments to augment the pomp of the deceased. There was a bier all of gold, embroidered with precious stones, and a purple bed of various con textures, with the dead body upon it, covered with purple; and a diadem was put upon his head, and a crown of gold above it; and a sceptre in his right hand; and near to the bier were Herod's sons, and a multitude of his kindred; next to whom came his guards, and the officers of Thracians, the Germans, and Gauls, all accosted as if they were going to war; but the rest of the army went foremost, armed, and following their captains and officers in a regular manner; after whom five hundred more ran up and down the street, with sweet spices in their hands: and the body was carried two hundred furlongs to Herodium 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 SUBDU THE JEWS BY NERO.

CHAP. I.

Archelaus makes a Funeral Feast for the People on account of Herod, after which a great Trouble is occasioned by the Multitude, and he sends the Soldiers out upon them, who destroy about three thousand of them.

§ 1. Now the necessity which Archelaus was under of taking a journey to Rome was the occasion of new disturbances; for when he had made manifest his faults to the people, 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 feast the multitude; for if any one omits it, he is not esteemed as a person,) he put on a white garment, and went up to the temple, where the people accosted him with various acclamations. He also spoke kindly to the multitude from an elevated seat, near a throne of gold, and returned them thanks for the zeal they had shown about his father's funeral, and the submission they had made to him, as if he were already settled in the kingdom; but he told them withal, that "he would not at present take upon him either the title of a king, or the names thereto belonging, until Cæsar, who is made lord of this whole affair by the testament, confirm the succession; for that when the soldiers would have set the diadem on his head, he would not accept of it; but that he would make abundant requital, not to the soldiers only, but to the people, for their alacrity and good-will to him, when the superior lords [the Romans] should have given him a complete title to the kingdom; for that it should be his study to appear in all things better than his father.

2. Upon this the multitude were pleased, and presently made a trial of what he intended, by appointing an archon of them, that he might be one of those that he had named the archon that he would ease them in their taxes; others, that he would take off the duties upon commodities; and some, that he would loose the taxes. And he raised his voice toward the whole multitude, and answered readily to their satisfaction, in order to get the good-will of the multitude; after which he offered [the proper] sacrifices, and feasted with his friends. And here it was that a great multitude ofsoldiers, who had all sown devastation, 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

See Dean Aldrich's note on this place.—The law or custom of the Jews," says he, "requires seven days mourning after death. B. evii. chap. viii. sect. 4. Whence the author of the Book of Ecclesiastes, ch. xxii. 12, assigns seven days as the proper time of mourning for the dead, and chap. xxviii. 17, sends men to mourn for the dead, that they may not be evil spoken of; for, as Josephus says presently, if any one omits this mourning [funeral feast] he be not esteemed a holy person. Now it is certain that such a seven days' mourning has been customary from time of the greatest antiquity, Gen. I. 10. Funeral feasts are also mentioned as of considerable antiquity, Ezek. xxiv. 17; Jer. xlvi. 7; Prov. xxix. 8; Deut. xxvii. 4; Josephus, Of the Wars B. ii. ch. ix. sect. 4."
chapters I. and II. of book II. of Tacitus' Histories. The text contains a narrative of events concerning Archelaus, a king of Judea, and his relationship with the Roman authorities, leading to his REMOVE from their favor and eventual exile. The document is part of a historical account written in Latin, reflecting a legal and political context of the time.
elements he had made, and was to confirm his testament; and he ordered that the dispositions he had made were 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 troops, and proclaimed him their good-will, and beseeched, prayed God to bless his government. After this they betook themselves to prepare for the king's funeral; and Archelaus omitted nothing of magnificence therein, but brought out all the royal ornaments to augment the pomp of his decease. There were all of gold and embroidered with precious stones, and a purple bed of various contexture, with the dead body upon it, covered with purple; and a diadem was put upon his head, and a crown of gold above it; and a sceptre in his right hand; and near to the body were Archelaus's sons, and a multitude of his kindred; next to whom came his guards, and the regiments of Thracians, the Germans a so and Gauls, all accosted as if they were going to war; but the rest of the army went foremost, armed with weapons, and following their captains and officers in a regular manner; after whom were hundreds of his domestic servants and freed men followed with sweet spices in their hands: and the body was carried two hundred furlongs to Herodiam when he had given orders to be buried. And this shall suffice for the conclusion of the life of Herod.

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CHAP. I.

Archelaus makes a Funeral Feast for the People on account of Herod; after which a great Tumult is raised by the Multitude, and he sends the Soldiers out upon them, who destroy about the Thousand 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 feast the multitude; for if any one omits it, he is not esteemed a holy person,) he put on a white garment, and went up to the temple, where the people accosted him with various acclamations. He also spoke kindly to the multitude from an elevated seat, and a throne of gold, and returned them thanks for the zeal they had shown about his father's funeral, and the submission they had made to him, as if he were already settled in the kingdom; but he told them withal, that he would not at present take upon him either the authority of a king, or the names thereto belonging; until Caesar, who is made lord of this whole affair by the testament of the temple, and of whom he is the guardian; for when the soldiers would have set the diadem on his head at Jericho, he would not accept of it; but that he would make abundant requitals, not to those that were guilty, but to the people, for their impiety and good-will to him, when the superior lords [the Romans] should have given him a complete title to the kingdom; for that it should be his study to appear in all things better than his father.

2. Upon this the multitude were pleased, and presently made a trial of what he intended, by asking great things of him; for some made a clamor that he would ease them in their taxes; others that he would take off the duties upon commodities; and some, that he would loose those that were in prison; in all which cases he answered readily to their satisfaction, in order to get the good-will of the multitude; after which he [Archelaus] made many proper sacrifices, and feasted with his friends. And here it was that a great many of those that desired innovations, came in crowds towards the evening, and began then to mourn on their own account, when the public mourning was over. Thus:

"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. xvi. chap. viii. sect. 4. Whereas the author of the book of Ecclesiastes, ch. xxii. 12, assigns seven days as the proper time of mourning for the dead, and chap. xxviii. 17, enjoins men to mourn for the dead, that they may not be evil spoken of; for, as Josephus says presently, if any one omits this lamentation that was put to death by Herod, because they had cut down the golden eagle that hung at the place of the temple, it was this mourning of a private nature, but the lamentations 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; and as if they had received of their rulers the crown of the temple. They cried out, that a punishment ought to be inflicted for these men upon those that were honored by Herod; and that, in the first place, the man whom he had made high priest should be punished, and that he was put to death as a person of greater piety and purity than he was.

3. At these clamors Archelaus was provoked, but restrained himself from taking vengeance on the authors, on account of the hate he was in of going to Rome, as fearing lest, upon his making war on the multitude, such an action might detain him at home. Accordingly he made trial to quiet the innovators by persuasion rather than by force, and sent his general in a private way to them, and by him exhorted them to be quiet. But the sedition threw stones at him, and drove him away as he came into the temple, and before he could say any thing to them. The like treatment they showed to others, who came to them; and the more they were hurried and provoked, so that it was thought to choose a person of greater piety and purity than he was. And indeed at the least he was a well-meaning man, which was now at hand, and in the sight of the people he called the Passover, and used to be celebrated with a great number of sacrifices, an innumerable multitude of the people came out of the country to worship: some of these stood in the temple bewailing the wabins [that had been put to death,] and procured their sustenance by begging, in order to support their sedition. At this time Archelaus, gambling with his soldiers in a temple, with his cohort of soldiers, upon them, before the disease should spread over the whole multitude, and gave orders that they should constrain those that began the tumult, by force, to cease from it. At the same time, as the soldiers did not be any longer irritated, and threw stones at many of the soldiers, and killed them: but the tribune fled away wounded, and had much ado to escape so. After which they took themselves to their sacrifices, as if they had done no mischief; nor did it appear to them a mourning [funeral feast] he is not exercised a holy per son.

Now it is certain that such a seven days' mourning has been customary from times of the greatest antiquity, Gen. 1. 18. Funeral feasts are also mentioned as of considerable antiquity, Ezech. xiv. 17; Jer. xviii. 7; Prov. xxvi. 6; Dent. xxiv. 14; Josephus, Of the Way. B. ii. ch. ix. sect. 6."
the opportunity that now offered itself induced a great many to set up for kings. And indeed in Judæa two thousand of Herod's veteran soldiers got together, and armed themselves, and fought against those of the king's party; against whom, as they said, the king hadconsorted with, and that out of some of the places that were the most strongly fortified; but so as to avoid a direct conflict with them in the plains. In Sephoris also, a city of Galilee, there was one Judas, (the son of the arch-robber Hasaeus,) who formerly overran the country, and had been subdued by king Herod: this man got no small multitude together, and broke open the place where they had been quartered, and armed those about him, and attacked those that were so earnest to gain the dominion.

2. In Peræa also, Simon, one of the seraves of the king, relying upon the handsome appearance and tallness of his body, put a diadem on his own head also; he also went about with a company of robbers that he had gotten together, and burnt down the royal palace that was at Jericho, and many other costly edifices besides, and proceeded to other places, and got possession of them all, so that they came to be sold as a market, like of Sebaste, and met the men. His footmen were slain in the battle in abundance: Gratus also cut to pieces Simon himself, as he was flying along a street valley, when he gave him as no other, out of his feet, and broke it. The royal palaces that were near Jordan at Bethanath were also burnt down by some other of the seditionists that came out of Peræa.

3. At this time it was that a certain shepherd ventured to set himself up for a king; he was called Athronges. It was his strength of body that made him expect such a dignity, as well as his soul, which despised death; and besides these qualifications, he had the consent and clemency of the people. He put a troop of armed men under each of these his brethren, and made use of them as his generals and commanders when he made his incursions, while he did himself act like a king, and never appeared upon any occasion more openly and openly, and at this time he put a diadem about his head, and continued after that to overrun the country for so little time with his brethren, and became the subject of the king's party; nor did any Jew escape him, if any guilt accrued to him thereby. He once ventured to encompass a whole troop of Romans at Emmaus, who were carrying corn and weapons to their legion: his men therefore shot their arrows and darts, and thereby slew their cantonment Aurius, and forty of the stoutest men, while the rest of them who were in danger of the same fate, upon the coming of Gratus, with those of Sebaste, to their assistance, escaped. And when these men had thus served both their own countrymen and foreigners, and that through this whole war; three of them were after some time subdued, the eldest by Archelaus, the two others falling in the battle of Gratus and Ptolemais; but the fourth delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his giving him his right hand for security. However, their end was not till afterward, while at present they filled all Judæa with a piratical war.

CHAP. V.

1. A few composes the tumults in Judea, and cruelty about two thousand of the Seditionists.

2. Upon Varus' reception of the letters that were written by Sabinus and the captians, he could not avoid being afraid for the whole legion [he had left there.] So he made haste to their relief, and took with him the other two legions, with the four troops of horsemen to them belonging, and marched to Ptolemais; having given orders for the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings and governors of cities to meet him there. Moreover, he was received from the people of Berytus, as he passed through their city, fifteen hundred armed men. Now as soon as the other body of auxiliaries were come to Ptolemais, as well as Archelaus' army (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 Caesarea one of his friends for their captain. This Caesarea said that he had received a letter from the city of Sebassis, 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 feared that he might have occasion to trouble the inhabitants of it 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 for having sent a letter addressed to on to the village Sampho, another fortified place, which they plundered, as they had done the other. As they carried off all the money they could light upon, and the public revenues, all was now full of fire and blood, and nothing could resist the plunderers of the Arabians. Emmaus was also burnt, upon the flight of its inhabitants, and at the command of Varus, except for 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 his camps disperse themselves; they also went away, and presently the king and 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 had rather defended themselves against the Romans, than assisted those that had revolted. There had before this met him Joseph, the first cousin of Archelaus, and Gratus, together with Rufus, who led those of Sabinus' party, as is before said. Varus met him those of the Roman legion, armed after their accustomed manner; for as to Sabinus, he durst not come into Varus' sight, but was gone out of the city, to keep his men; but Varus sent a part of his army into 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 Idumæa, ten thousand men still in arms: but when he found that the Arabians did not act like auxiliaries, but managed the war according to their own passions, and did mischief to the country otherwise than he intended, and this out of their hatred to Herod, he sent them away, but made haste to bring into battle 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 of their offences, but sent their captains to Cæsar to be examined on account of their treason. 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 a war against a king of their nation. 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.
Then stood up Nicobus to plead for Archelaus. He alleged, that "the slaughter in the temple could not be avoided; that those that were slain were become enemies not to Archelaus's kingdom only, but to Cesar, who was to determine about him. He also demonstrated, that Archelaus's accusers had advised him to perpetrate other things of which he might have been accused. But he insisted that the latter testament should, for this reason, above all others, be esteemed. For if, he declared, the Heroid be held in many respects, Cesar to be the person who should confirm the succession; for he who showed such prudence as to rescind from his own power, and yield it up to the lord of the world, cannot be supposed much less will a judgament about an art 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 Nicolaus had gone through all he had to say, Archelaus came and fell down before Cesar'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 officers that had been with him that day, he deliberated by himself about the allegations made, whether he were fit to constitute any of those named in the testaments for Herold's successor, or whether the government should be parted among all his posterity, and this because of the number of those that seemed to stand in need of support from.

CHAP. III.

The Jews fight a great Battle with Sabinus's Soldiers, and a great Destruction is made at Jerusalem.

1. Now before Cesar had determined any thing about these affairs, Maltchase, Archelaus's mother, fell sick and died. Letters also were brought from Varus about a revolt of the Jews. This was foreseen by Varus, who accordingly, after Archelaus was sailed, went up to Jerusalem to restrains the promoters of the sedition, since it was manifest that the nation was weak; so he left none 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 an occasion of making innovations; for he commanded all the rest of the soldiers 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 armored, 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 paschal,) that truly he was got together, on account of the accustomed divine worship, but of the indignation they had [at the present state of affairs], Wherefore an immense multitude ran together, of Galil and Idumel, and Jericho, and Perea, that was beyond Jordan; but the people that naturally belonged to Judæa itself were above the rest, both in number and in the acarity of the men. So they distributed themselves in three 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 Romans on every side, and besieged them.

2. Now Sabinus was affrighted, both at the multitude and at their courage, and sent messengers to Varus continually, and besought him to come to his succor quickly. For that, if he delayed, his legion would be cut to pieces. As for Sabinus himself, he got up to the highest tower of the fortress, which was called Philosophus: in the same name with Herod's brother, who was destroyed by the Parthians: and then he made signs to the soldiers of that legion to attack the wall which had assaulted was so hard, that he dared not go down to his own men. Hereupon the soldiers were prevailed upon, and leaped out into the temple, and fought a terrible battle with the Jews; in which, while there were some instances of cruelty on both sides, it was no more than just, that they did what was 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 cloisters, and threw their darts downwards upon the heads of the Romans, and assaulted them with their swords, and burnt a great fire against them. So that they were, from the desperate condition they were in, prevented the fire, by killing themselves with their own swords; but so many of them as crept out from the walls, and returned to the Romans, were cut down by them, by reasons of the astonishment they were under; until at last some of the Jews were destroyed, and others dispersed by the terror they were in, the soldiers fell upon them, which was now now less than that which they had plundered about four hundred talents, of which sum Sabinus get together all that was not carried away by the soldiers.

However, this destruction of the works [about the temple,] and of the men, occasions a much greater number, and those of a more warlike sort, to get together, to oppose the Romans. These encompassed the palace round about, they threatened to destroy all that were in it, unless the Romans deliver their arms quickly for fear promised that Sabinus should come to no harm, if he would go out with his legions. There were also a great many of the king's party who de- served the king's favor, who, seeing the Jews did the most warlike body of them all, who were three thousand of the men of Sebaste, go over to the Romans. Rufus also, and Gratius, their captains, did the same, Gratius having the foot 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 in war. Now the Jews persevered in the siege about the three parts, but got in the fortress, and cried out to Sabinus and his party, that they should go their ways, and not prove a hinderance to them, now they hoped, after a long time, to recover that ancient liberty which they had enjoyed from the walls of Jerusalem, and in case of succor from Varus, made him bear the siege still longer.
the safety that now adorned itself induced a great many to set up for kings. And indeed in Idumæa two thousand of Herod’s veterans soldiers got together, and armed themselves, and fought against those of the king’s party; against whom Achæbus, the king’s first cousin, fought, and that out of some of the places that were most strongly fortified; but so as to avoid a direct conflict with them in the plains. In Sephoris also, a city of Galilee, there was one Judas, (the son of the arch-robbër Hæsæka), who fought and armed himself, and was conducting about what they called king Herod: this man got no small multitude together, and broke open the place where the royal armor was laid up, and armed those about him from those that were so earnest to seize the dominion.

2. In Pæra also, Simon, one of the servants of the king, relying upon the handsome appearance and tallness of his body, put a diadem upon his one, put a cloak of armed men under each of them by robbers that he had got together, and burnt down the royal palace that was at Jericho, and many other costly edifices besides, and procured himself very easily spoils by rapine, as snatching them out of the dress. And he burnt down all the fine edifices, if Geras, the captain of the foot of the king’s party, had not taken the Trachosætæ archers, and the most warlike of Sebaste, and met the man. His footmen were wounded in the lasts, and Simon also cut to pieces Simon himself, as he was flying along a strait valley, when he gave him an oblique stroke upon his neck, as he ran away, and broke it. The royal palaces that were near Pæra the Tetrarchus had also been burnt down by some other of the seditionists that came out of Pæra.

3. At this time it was that a certain shepherd went up to the king, a king called Atræonæus. It was his strength of body that made him expect such a dignity, as well as his soul, which despised death; and besides these qualifications, he had four brethren like himself. He went up to the king, and made use of them as his generals and commanders when he made his incursions, while he himself acted like a king, and muddled only with the more important affairs: and he cleared the country 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 beleaguered together with the Romans, than assisted those that had revolted. There had before this met him Joseph, the first cousin of Archelaus, and Geras, together with Rufus, who led those of Sebaste, as well as the king’s army; there also met him to the Romans, that he led, after the accustomed manner; for as to Sabineus, he durst not come into Varus’s sight, but was gone out of the city before this, to the seaside; but Varus sent a part of his army into the country, against the Enæans, but when the latter had been taken unawares, and ventured to encompass a whole troop of Romans at Enæa, who were carrying corn and weapons to their legion: his men therefore shot their arrows and darts, and thereby slew their great monarch Arius, and forty of the stoutest men, while the rest of them who were in danger of the same fate, upon the coming of Gratus, with those of Sebaste, to their assistance, escaped. And when these men had thus served both their own countrymen and foreigners, and that through this whole war, three of them were after some time subdued, the eldest by Archælaus, the two next by falling into the hands of Gratus and Ptolæmaus; but of some of the places that were up to Archælaus, upon his giving him his right hand for security. However, their end was not till afterward, while at present they filled all Judea with a piratical war.

CHAP. V.

1. Varus composes the tumults in Judea, and crucifies about two thousand of the Seditious.

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 [he had left there]. So he made haste to
CHAPTER VI.

The Jews greatly complain of Archelaus, and desire that they may be made subject to Roman Governors. But when Caesar had heard what they had to say, he distributed Herod's Demissions among his Sons, according to his own Pleasure.

1. But now came another accusation from the Jews against Archelaus at Rome, which he was to answer to. It was made by those ambassadors, who, before the revolt, had come, by Varus's permission, to plead for the liberty of their country; for that a people of fifty thousand, but there were more than eight thousand of the Jews at Rome who supported them. And when Caesar had assembled a council of the principal Romans in Apollo's temple, that was in the presence of Augustus, he addressed the people himself. (1) He then said: 'The Jews, at a vast expense, the multitude of the Jews stood with the ambassadors, and on the other side stood Archelaus, with his friends: but for the kindness of Archelaus, they stood on that side, because they had no hatred to him, and envy at him, would not give them leave; while yet they were afraid to be seen by Caesar with his accusers. Besides these, there was present Archelaus's brother Philip, hitherto before our kindness by Varus for two reasons: the one was this, that he might be assisting to Archelaus; and the other was this, that in case Caesar should make a distribution of what Herod possessed among his Sons, he might have the advantage of being first.

2. And now, upon the permission that was given the accusers to speak, they in the first place went over Herod's breaches of their law, and said, that he was not a king, but the most base of all the Gentiles, and that he was so bad a man, that those who had found him to be such by the sufferings they underwent from him; that when a very great number had been slain by him, those that were led away to be sold he sold, and those that were dead happy men; that he had not only tortured the bodies of his subjects, but entire cities, and had done much harm to the cities of his own country, while he adorned those that belonged to the Gentiles, and shed the blood of Jews, in order to do kindness to those people who were out of their bounds; that he had filled the nation full of poverty and the greatest iniquity, instead of that happiness and those laws which they had under their king, and which, in truth, the Jews had borne more calamities from Herod in a few years, than had their forefathers during all that interval of time that had passed since they had come out of Babylon, and returned home, in the reign of David; that, to bring them to the same, he was at so low a condition, by being inured to hardships, that they submitted to his successor of their own accord, though he had brought them into bitter slavery: that accordingly they readily called Archelaus, though he was the son of so great a tyrant, king, after the decease of his father, and joined with him in mourning for the death of Herod, and wishing him good success in that his succession: while yet this Archelaus, lest he should be in danger of not being thought the genuine son of Herod, began his reign with the murder of three thousand citizens; as if he had a mind to offer so many bloody sacrifices to his government, and to make the temple with the like number of dead bodies at that festival: that, however, those that were left after so many miseries, had just reason to consider now at last the calamities they had undergone, and to oppose themselves like soldiers in war, to receive those stripes upon their backs, but not upon their backs as hitherto.' Whereupon they prayed that the Romans would have compassion upon the poor remains of Judea, and not expose what was left of them to such barbarously to torture them to pieces, and that they would join their country to Syria, and administer the government by their own commanders, whereby it would be demonstrated that they were not under the calumny of sedition 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, in a way which was pleasing to Caesar, and to the rest of their accusations which were brought against the kings, and himself accused the Jewish nation as hard to be ruled, and as naturally disobedient as kings. He also reproached all those kings men of Archelaus, and as he 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, and a name in his heart, 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, to Eleazar, the son of Herod to Antipas, and the other to that Antipa, who contested the kingdom with Archelaus. Under this last was Peres, and Galilee, with a revenue of two hundred talents: but Beteasa, and Trachonitis, and Aretum, and centurias, was given to Archelaus, in which Antipa, with a revenue of a hundred talents, were made subject to Philip: while Idumea, and all Judea, and Samaria, was parted of the etharchship of Archelaus, although Samaria was the seat of one quarter of a day's journey from the city of Jerusalem, and had the palace of Gadara, and Hermon, and Hippos, 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, because of her many gifts and presents, was made mistress of Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis. Caesar did moreover bestow upon her the royal palace of Ascalon; by which all who got together a revenue of sixty talents, and one of the land and accounts of the country of Archelaus. And for the rest of Herod's offspring, they received what was bequeathed to them in his testament; but besides that, Caesar granted to Herod's two virgin daughters five hundred thousand drachmas of silver, together with estate in the towns of Phororas; but after this family distribution, he gave between them what had been bequeathed to him by Herod, which was a thousand talents, reserving to himself only some considerable presents in honor of the deceased.

CHAPTER VII.

The History of the spurious Alexander. Archelaus is banished, and Glaphyroris dies, after what was to happen to both of them had been showed them in Dreams.

1. In the mean time there was a man, who was by birth a Jew, but brought up at Sidon with one of the Roman freed-men, who falsely pretended, on account of the resemblance of their countenances, that he was that Alexander who was slain by Herod. This man came to Rome, (2)
in hopes of not being detected. He had one who was one of his own men and who knew all the affairs of the kingdom, and instructed him to say how those that were sent to kill him and Aristobulus had pity upon them, and stole them away, by putting bodies that were dead for them in the way. This made Cleopatra fear for the Jews that were at Cæstæ, and got a great deal of money of them for travelling in splendor; and thence sailed to Melos, where he was thought so certainly genuine, that he got a great deal more money, and used all the money that he treated him to sail along with him to Rome. So he landed at Dicærarchia, [Pæteol.] and got very large presents from the Jews who dwelt there, and was conducted by his father's friends as if he were king, that the better the more. This was an unexpected preservation procured him so much credit that those who had seen Alexander, and had known him very well, would take their oaths that he was the very same person. Accordingly, the whole body of the people, as he had before seen Herodes, set the tenth of the story even before he saw the man. However, he suffered the agreeable fame that went of him to have some weight with him, and sent Cleodus, one who well knew Alexander, and ordered him to bring the young man to him. But when Caesar saw him, he immediately discovered a difference in his countenance, and when he had discovered that his whole body was of a more robust texture, and like that of a slave, he under took to show him the wonders of his kingdom; and 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 also preserved alive, and was left on purpose in Cyprus for the fear of treachery; because it would be in no case for pottlers to get them both into their power while they were separate." Then did Caesar take him by himself privately, and said to him, "I will give thee thy life, if thou wilt discover who it was that sent thee against me and my young son." So he said, that he would discover him, and followed Caesar, and pointed to that Jew who abused the resemblance of his face to get money; for that he had received more presents in every city than Caesar and his companions. When Caesar laughed at the contrivance, and put this上报us Alexander among his rowers, on account of the strength of his body, but ordered him to persuade him to be put to death. But for the people of Mæna at that time had been very lightly punished for their folly, by the expenses they had been at on his account.

3. And now Archelaus took possession of his estate, with the title of king, and 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 reign there was the first war at Vercellae, a city of Gaul, and his effects were put into Caesar's treasury. But the report goes, that before he was sent for by Caesar, he seemed to see nine ears of corn, full and large, but devoured by oxen. When, therefore, he had sent for the diviners, and some of the Chaldeans, and inquired of them what they thought it portended, and when one of them had one interpretation, and another had another, Simon, one of the sect of the Essenes, and an old man, even in the thirtieth year of his age, noted years, and the oxen denoted a mutation of things, because by their ploughing they made an alteration of the country. That therefore they should reign as many years as there were ears of corn, and after he had passed through various alterations of fortune, should die." Now five days after Archelaus had heard this interpretation, he was called to his trial.

4. I examine that what is to be recorded, that what dream Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, had, who had at first been wife to Alexander, who was the brother of Archelaus, concerning whom we have already said. This Alexander, the son of Herod the king, by whom he was put to death, as we have already related. This Glaphyra was married, after his death, to Juba, king of Libya, and after his death, was returned home, and lived a life as a queen with her husband, and it seemed that Archelaus, the etharch, saw her, and fell so deeply in love with her, that he divorced Mariame, who was then his wife, and married her. When, therefore, she was come into Judea, and had been married to Archelaus, he had the consent and the consent of the Senate, and settled the wakes for him in such a manner. Now Glaphyra hardly survived the narration of this dream of hers two days.
They think that oil is a delusion; and if any one of them be assailed, without his own approbation, it is wiped off his body; for they think that to be sweated is a good thing, as they do also to be allowed 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 all.

And they have no one certain city, but many of them dwell in every city; and if any of their sect come from other places, what they have lies open for them, just as if it were their own, and they go into such as they never knew before, as if they were in the midst of their own; and in so much are they without suspicion with them. For which reason they carry nothing at all with them when they travel into remote parts, though still they take their weapons with them, for fear of thieves. Accordingly, there is in every city where they dwell, says Plutarch, particularly to take care of strangers, and to provide garments and other necessaries for them. But the habit and management of their bodies is such as children use who are in fear of their masters. Not only are all of them without shoes, or garments of any sort, but all of them wear garments 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 gives what he hath to him that wanteth it, and receiveth from him again the same sum of it what may be convenient for himself; and although there be no requital made, they are fully allowed to take what they want 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 former garments, and if they need an explication for its rising. After this, every one of them is sent away by their curators to exercise some of those acts wherein they are skilled, in which they labor with great diligence till the fifth hour. After which they alight 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 purication is over, they every one meet together and assist each other in their own, into which it is not permitted to any of another sect to enter; while they go, after a manner, into the dining-room, as into a certain holy temple, and quietly set themselves down; upon which the baker layeth before them one; and there is always before them 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. The same priest, when he has said grace, then goes in a trance all day, and when they begin, and when they end, they praise God, as he that bestows their food upon them; after which they lay aside their former garments, and bereave themselves of the single labor 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 censure or distinction or their bodies, but they give to every one leave to speak in their turn; which silence thus kept in their house, appears to fo-

*This practice of the Essenes, in refusing to swear, and esteeming swearing on ordinary occasions worse than perjury, is delivered here in general words, as are the other actions of the Essenes. Matt. v. 37; and Matt. xvi. 16; and of St. James, v. 12; but all admit of particular exceptions for solemn censures, and on great and necessary occasions. Thus these very Essenes, who here do so earnestly avoid swearing, are related, in the very next section, to admit none till they take tremendous oaths to perform their several duties to God and men. From this it is evident that they thereby break this rule not to swear at all. The cases is the same in Christianity, as we learn from the Apostolical Constitutions, which although they agree with Christ and St. James in forbidding to swear in general, ch. v. 12th, v. 3: Yet do they explain it elsewise, by alleging it with falsity, and to swear often and in vain, chap. iii. 26 and 32: and St. Paul to the same effect, Rom. iii. 3, 4. But if that cannot be avoided, to swear truly, ch. iii. 3, which abundantly explains to us the nature of the solemn oaths of this general infraction.

This mention of the name of angels, so particularly preserved by the Essenes, (it means more than those messengers which were employed to bring them up in the school of God, and which are mentioned above, but that worshiping of angels blamed by St. Paul as superstitious, and unlawful in some such sort of people as these were, Coloss. ii. 8, as is the prayer to towards
his name by which they secure their possession in their possession.

2. But for those that are caught in any sinuous ways, they cast them out of their society, and he who is thus separated from them, does often die after a miserable manner; for so he is bound by his conscience and by the fear of the law to be so; and when he has been engaged, he is not at liberty to partake of that food that he meets with elsewhere, but is forced to eat grass, and to famish his body with hunger till he perishes; for which reason they execute many of them again, when once they have had their last gasp, out of compassion to them, as thinking the miseries they have endured till they came to the very brink of death, to be a sufficient punishment for the sins they had been guilty of.

3. But in the judgments they execute them, they are more accurate and just, nor do they pass sentence by the votes of a court that is fewer than a hundred. And as to what is once determined by that number, it is unalterable. What they avoid in this manner, is to beget the same hatred in the hearts of their legislators, (Moses,) whom if any one blaspheme, he is punished capitally. They also think it a good thing to obey their elders and the major part. Accordingly, if ten or twelve out of a hundred speak against another, and one only of the other side is against them. They also avoid spitting in the midst of them, or on the right side. Moreover, they are stricter than any other of the Jews in refusing from the first day, and on the seventh day; for they not only eat their food ready the day before, that they may not be obliged to kindle a fire on that day, but they will not remove any vessel out of its place, nor enter into their houses, but they dig a small pit, a foot deep, with a pade, (which kind of hatchet is given them when they are first admitted among them,) and covering themselves round with their garment, that they may not see the earth, and cast not themselves into that pit, after which they put the earth that was dug out again into the pit, and even this they do only in the more lonely places, which they choose out for this purpose; and only when they have taken off their shoes, yet it is a rule with them to wash themselves after it, as if it were a dedication to them.

10. Now after the time of their preparatory trial is over, they are packed into four classes; namely, called the impure, the thundered, the advanced, and the venerable; and that if the seniors should be touched by the passions, they must wash themselves, as if they had intimate themselves with the company of a foreigner. They are long-lived also, inconceivably long-lived: for they have lived by years, by means of the simplicity of their diet, may, as I think, by means of the natural course of life they observe also. They contain the miseries of life, and are above pain, on the accuracy of this, or if it will be for their glory, they esteem it better than living always; and indeed our war with the Romans gave abundant evidence what great souls they are of. But nor must we forget, that they were tortured and distressed, burnt and torn to pieces, and went through all kinds of instruments of torment, that they might be forced either to blaspheme their legislator, or to eat what was offered to the meanest places in the Jewish calendar: of which the Talmud and later rabbis talk so much, and upon so very little ancient foundation.

* Of these Jewish or Essenes, and, indeed, Christian doctrines concerning souls, both good and bad, in their territories, or to shed a tear; but they suffered in their very pains; and laughed those to scorn who delineated the torments upon the bodies, and resubscribed their souls with great acuity, as expecting to receive them again.

11. For their doctrine is this, That bodies are corruptible and that their destruction is not permanent; but that the souls are immortal, and continue for ever, and that they come out of the most subtle air, and are united to their bodies as to prisons, into which they are drawn by a certain spirit that is to them, as were set free from the bonds of the flesh, they then, as released from a long bondage, rejoice and mount upward. And this is like the opinion of the Greeks, that good souls have their habitations beyond the ocean, in that is neither oppressed with storms of rain or snow, or with intense heat, but that this place is such as is refreshed by the gentle breathing of a west wind, that is perpetually blowing from the sea; while they allot to bad souls a dark and tempestuous den, full of never-seen punishments. And indeed the Greeks seem to me to have followed the same notion, when they allot the islands of the blessed to their brave men; whom they have by heaven and earth been foreordained to sing the songs of the soul of the wicked, the region of the ungodly in Hades, where their fables relate that certain persons, such as Sisyphus, and Tantalus, and Ixion, and Tityus, are punished; which is built into this first supposition, that nature immortal; and thence are those exhortations to virtue, and dehortations from wickedness collected, whereby good men are bettered in the conduct of their life by the hope of a reward after their death, and whereby the vileness of the actions of bad men to vice are restrained, by the fear and expectation they are in, that although they should lie concealed in this life, they should suffer imminent punishment after the life. These are the divine doctrines of the Essenes about the soul,* which lay an unavoidable telt for such as have once had a taste of their philosophy.

12. There are also those among them who undertake to foretell things to come,† by reading the holy books, and using several sorts of perditions, and being perpetually conversant in the discourses of the prophets: and it is but seldom that they make any mistakes of the sort.

13. Moreover, there is another order of Essenes, who agree with the rest as to their way of living, and customs, and laws, but differ from them in the point of marriage, as thinking that by not marrying they might have the purity and innocence of human life, which is the prospect of success and, nay, rather, that if all men should be of the same opinion, the whole race of mankind would fail. However, they try their sponsors for three years and if they find that they have their natural purgations thrice, as trials that they are likely to be fruitful, they then actually marry them. But they do not use to accompany with their wives that manner of life of the women, for they are such a manifestation that they do not marry out of regard to pleasure, but for the sake of posterity. Now the women go into the baths with some of their garments on, as the men do with somewhat girded about them. These are the customs of this order of Essenes.

Hades, see that excellent discourse or book of our Josephus concerning the Hades, at the end of the old Chronology.

† Dean Alstead reckons up three examples of this gift of prophecy in several of these Essenes out of Josephus himself, stating the case of the B. I. ch. 16, sect. 3 Judas foretold the death of Antigonus at Strabo's Tower: B. II. ch. vii. sect. 2; Simon foretold that Archelaus should reign 12 or 18 years; and Aaron, B. iv. ch. 2. sect. 4. 5, Manasseh foretold that Herod should be king, and should reign tyrannically, and that for more than 35 or even 30 years. All which same of pass accordingly

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16. 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 their laws, and introduce the first sect. These ascribe all to fate, [or providence,] and to God, and of their sect what it is, or the condition, is principally in the power of men; although fate does co-operate in every action. They say, that all souls are incorruptible, but that the souls of good men only are removed into other bodies. But the sound of that man are subject to eternal punishment. But the Sadducees are those that compose the second order and take away fate entirely, and suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is good or what is evil, is at man's own choice, and that the one or the other belongs so to every one, that they may act as they please. They also take away the belief of the immortal duration of the soul, and the punishment or the recompense of the dead. 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 Clites which Herod and Philip built. Pilate occasions Disturbances. Tiberius puts Agrippa into Bonds, but Catus free him from them, and makes him King. Herod Antipas is banished.

1. And now as the ethymology of Archelaus was not a good one, to appoint his son to bear the name of Herod, Philip, and that Herod who was called Antipas, each of them took upon them the administration of their own tetrarchies; for when Salome died, she bequeathed to Julia, the wife of the king, and James their son also her plantation of palm-trees that was in Phasaelis. But when the Roman empire was translated to Tiberius, the son of Julia, upon the death of Augustus, who had reigned fifty-seven years, Both Philip and Herod is tributary to Tiberius, and Philip continued in their tetrarchies, and the latter of them built the city of Cesarea, at the fountains of Jordan, and in the region of Panasus, as also the city of Julias, in the lower Galilee. Herod also built the city of Tiberias in Galilee, and in Peres [beyond Jordan] another that was also called Julias.

2. Now Pilate, who was sent as a procurator into Judea by Tiberius, sent, by night those images of Caesar that are called ensigns in Judea. This excited a very great tumult among the Jews when it was day; for those that were near them were astonished at the sight of them, as indications that their laws were trodden under foot; for those laws do not permit any sort of image of the emperor to be set up according to the indication which the citizens themselves had at this procedure, a vast number of the people came running out of the country. These came secessively to Pilate to Cesarea, and beseeched him, to make away with the ensigns of Cæsar, and to preserve them their ancient laws inviolable; but upon Pilate's denial of their request, they fell down prostrate upon the ground, and continued immovable in that posture for five days, and said, that if they were not免

3. On the next day Pilate sat upon his tribunal, in the open market-place, and called to him the multitude, as desirous to give them an answer; and then gave a signal to the soldiers that were about him, that they should, by an act of violence, make away with the ensigns, saying, that a law that cursed what is good or what is evil, is at man's own choice, and that the one or the other belongs so to every one, that they may act as they please. They also take away the belief of the immortal duration of the soul, and the punishment or the recompense of the dead. 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.

4. After this he raised another disturbance, by expending that sacred treasure which is called Corban upon aqueducts, whereby he brought great miseries upon the country. The Jews, however, thought the vessel full of gold; and Herod was to the poor sons of Herod, Philip, and that Herod who was called Antipas, each of them took upon them the administration of their own tetrarchies; for when Salome died, she bequeathed to Julia, the wife of the king, and James their son also her plantation of palm-trees that was in Phasaelis. But when the Roman empire was translated to Tiberius, the son of Julia, upon the death of Augustus, who had reigned fifty-seven years, Both Philip and Herod is tributary to Tiberius, and Philip continued in their tetrarchies, and the latter of them built the city of Cesarea, at the fountains of Jordan, and in the region of Panasus, as also the city of Julias, in the lower Galilee. Herod also built the city of Tiberias in Galilee, and in Peres [beyond Jordan] another that was also called Julias.

5. Now Pilate, who was sent as a procurator into Judea by Tiberius, sent, by night those images of Caesar that are called ensigns in Judea. These excited a very great tumult among the Jews when it was day; for those that were near them were astonished at the sight of them, as indications that their laws were trodden under foot; for those laws do not permit any sort of image of the emperor to be set up according to the indication which the citizens themselves had at this procedure, a vast number of the people came running out of the country. These came secessively to Pilate to Cesarea, and beseeched him, to make away with the ensigns of Cæsar, and to preserve them their ancient laws inviolable; but upon Pilate's denial of their request, they fell down prostrate upon the ground, and continued immovable in that posture for five days, and said, that if they were not

6. In the mean time Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who had been slain by his father Herod, came to Tiberias to accuse Herod, and he looks somewhat like a contradiction to St. Paul's account of the doctrine of the Jews, that they themselves allowed that there should be a resurrection of the dead, and proof of the distance, that Herod was tributary to Tiberius, and Philip continued in their tetrarchies, and the latter of them built the city of Cesarea, at the fountains of Jordan, and in the region of Panasus, as also the city of Julias, in the lower Galilee. Herod also built the city of Tiberias in Galilee, and in Peres [beyond Jordan] another that was also called Julias.

7. Now Pilate, who was sent as a procurator into Judea by Tiberius, sent, by night those images of Caesar that are called ensigns in Judea. These excited a very great tumult among the Jews when it was day; for those that were near them were astonished at the sight of them, as indications that their laws were trodden under foot; for those laws do not permit any sort of image of the emperor to be set up according to the indication which the citizens themselves had at this procedure, a vast number of the people came running out of the country. These came secessively to Pilate to Cesarea, and beseeched him, to make away with the ensigns of Cæsar, and to preserve them their ancient laws inviolable; but upon Pilate's denial of their request, they fell down prostrate upon the ground, and continued immovable in that posture for five days, and said, that if they were not
church: who not submitting of his accusation, he stayed at Rome, and cultivated a friendship with others of the men of note, but principally with Caius the son of Germanicus, who was then but a private person.

Now this Agrippa, at a certain time, feasted Caius, and as he was very complaisant, he bade him come to an entertainment, stretched out his hands, and openly wished that Tiberius might die, and that he might quickly see him emperor of the world. This was told to Tiberius by one of Agrippa's domestics; who thereupon was very angry and sent word to Agrippa to be bound, and had him very ill treated in the prison for six months, until Tiberius died, after he had reigned twenty-two years six months and three days.

6. But when Caius was made Caesar, he released his old enemy from prison, and bestowed upon him the dignity of King of Philip's tetrarchy, which was now dead; but when Agrippa had arrived at that degree of dignity, he informed the ambitious desires of Herod the tetrarch, who was chiefly induced to hope for the royal power by his respect to Agrippa, as resembling that person, much more would he succeed him from a tetrarchy to that dignity. These arguments prevailed with Herod, so that he came to Caius, by whom he was punished for his ambition, by being sent into exile, and for having hired him, in order to accuse him; to whom also Caius gave his tetrarchy, by way of addition. So Herod died in Spain, whither his wife had followed him.

CHAPTER XV.

Caius commands that his Statue should be set up in the Temple itself; and what Petronius did thereupon.

1. Now Caius Cæsar did so greatly 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 impunity as far as the army, and commanded him, that in case the Jews would not admit of them, he should slay those that opposed them, and carry all the rest of the nation off, and sold them in bonds. And this he did with all of those, with whose orders he was in compliance. However, Petronius marched out of Antioch into Judea, with three legions, and many Syrian auxiliaries. Now as to what we have related of stories that spoke of a war, but those that did believe them were in the utmost distress how to defend themselves, and the terror diffus'd itself presently through them all; for the army was already come to Pтолeæmæa.

2. This Pтолeæmæa is a maritime city of Galilee, built in the great plain. It is encompassed with mountains; that on the east side, sixty furlongs off, belongs to Galile; but that on the south behind, which is distant a great distance of two hundred and twenty furlongs; 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 furlongs. This is the account of the place, and the distance of two furlongs; near which there is Monument'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 one may find in it bones and human remains, where, when it hath been emplanted by the many ships that have loaded, it is filled again by the winds,

which bring into it, as it were upon purpose, their sand which lay remote, and was so moisture the bare common sand, while this mine presently turns it into a glossy sand. And what is to me still more wonderful, that glossy sand which re- superstitious, and is once removed out of the place, and becomes bare common sand again: 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 by Pтолeæmæa, and made supplication to Petronius for the temple, and the next place, for themselves. So he was prevailed upon by the multitude of the suppliants, and by their supplications, and left his army and the statues at Pтолeæmæa, and then went forward into Galilee, and the rest of the country, and all the men of note, to Tiberias, and showed them the power of the Romans, and the threatenings of Cæsar; and, besides this, proved that their petition was unreasonable; because while all the nations in subjection to them had placed the images of Cæsar in their several cities, among the rest of their gods, for them alone to oppose it, was almost like the behavior of revolters, and was an affront to Cæsar.

4. And when they insisted on their law, and the custom of their country, and how it was not only not permitted them to make either an image of God, or indeed of a man, and to put it in any temple, but that the temple of God was not the temple itself; Petronius replied, "And am I not also," said he, "bound to keep the law of my own lord? For if I transgress it, and spare you, it is but just that I perish; while he that sent me, and not I, was commissioned in war against you; for I am under command as well as you." Hereupon the whole multitude cried out, that "they were ready to suffer for their law." Petronius then quitted them, and said to them, "Will you then make war against Cæsar?" The Jews said, "We offer sacrifices twice every day for Cæsar, and for the Roman people; but that if he would place the images among them, he must first sacrifice the whole Jewish nation; and that they were ready to expose themselves, together with their children and wives, to be slain." At this Petronius was astonished, and pitied them on account of the inexpressible sense of religion the men were under; and that the courage of theirs which made them so, was to die for it; so they were dismissed without success.

5. But on the following days he got together the men of power privately, and the multitude publicly, and said to them, "The Jews have said, "We offer sacrifices twice every day for Cæsar, and for the Roman people; but that if he would place the images among them, he must first sacrifice the whole Jewish nation; and that they were ready to expose themselves, together with their children and wives, to be slain." At this Petronius was astonished, and pitied them on account of the inexpressible sense of religion the men were under; and that the courage of theirs which made them so, was to die for it; so they were dismissed without success.

But as they could be so way prevailed upon, and he saw that the country was in danger of lying without tillage; for it was about seedtime that the multitude continued for fifty days (as they have been together) and he called, and told them, that "it was best for him to run some hazard himself; for either, by the divine assistance, I shall prevail with Cæsar, and shall myself escape the danger as well as you, which will be a blessing to our country. And if Cæsar continue in his rage, I will be ready to expose my own life for such a great number as you are." Whereupon he dismissed the multitude, who prayed greatly for his prosperity; and he took the remainder of his army to Antioch; from whence he presently sent an epistle to Cæsar, and informed him of the irruption

* Taurus owns that Caius commanded the Jews to place their effigies in their temple, though he may be mistaken when he adds, that the Jews thereupon took arms.

This Monument had several monuments, and one of them appears, both by Strabo and Diodorus, to have been in Syria, and not improbably in this very place.
as had made into Judea, and of the applications 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 since he had then been at war, and threatened to have Petronius put to death for his being so tardy in the execution of what he had command-ed. But it happened that those who bore Caius’s epistle were tossed by a storm, and were delayed at 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 treacherous assassins, the army that were at Rome to take the government upon him: but the senate, upon the reference of the consuls, Senius Saturninus, and Pompoeius Secundus, gave orders to the three regiments of soldi- diers, 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 seize upon the city quietly, 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 ascended to Rome, and that both the senate had 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, Claudius was but armies 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 have once tied to 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 honor 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 state of things.” 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, they would not endure a voluntary slavery.” When Claudius understood that answer, he sent Agrippa to them again, with the following message. That “he could not bear the thoughts of betraying them that had given them the empire; that he saw he must fight, though unwillingly, at least against such he had no mind to fight; 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 agreeable to them to pollute the temples of their own city with the blood of their own countrymen, and this only on occasion of their im- prudent conduct.” And when Agrippa had heard this message, he delivered it to the senators.

4. In the meantime, one of the soldiers was longing 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 brethren, and to use violence to our kindred that are with Clau- dius? Do you not know that the sum of the question, 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.” When he had said this, he stabbed himself. Through the same means, the senate murdered 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 appeared no other way whether they could turn their triumph into renown, they made the same way with the soldiers and went to Clau- dius. But those that had the greatest leak in flattering the good fortunes of Claudius betimes, met them before the walls with their naked breasts, and offered to waste all the dangers that they were about, and that unless he re- strained 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 de- sirable 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 treated them after an obsequious manner. And the senate, grateful for his generosity, 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, the territory that had been bounded by Augustus to Herod, Trachonitis and Auranitis, and still besides these, that kingdom which was called the kingdom of Lycaonies. This gift he de- clared to the people by a decree, but ordered the magistrates to have the imperial state placed on tables of brass, and to be set up in the capitol. He bestowed on his brother Herod, who was also his son-in-law, by marrying [his daughter] Ber- anice, the kingdom of Chersonesus.

6. So many riches flowed in to Agrippa by his enjoyment of so large a dominion, nor did he abuse the money he had on small matters, but he began to encompass Jerusalem with such a security, and he was desirous to be fortified there, and had made it impracticable for the Romans to take it by siege; but his death, which happened at Cesarea, before he had raised the walls to their due height, prevented him. He had then reigned three years, as he had governed his tetrarchies three other years. He left behind him three daughters, born to him by Cypreas, viz. Bernice, Marianne, and Drusilla, and a son born of the same mother, whose name was Agrippa; he left left a son young child, so that Claudius made the country a Roman province, and sent Cupius Fadus to be its procurator, and after him Tiberus Alexander, who, making no alterations of the ancient laws, kept the nation in tranquillity. When Claudius had lived thirty years, Claudius, and left behind him two sons, born to him of his brother’s daughter Bernice; their names were Bernicanius and Hyrcanus. [He also left behind him] Aristobulus, whom he had by his former wife, and left behind him the younger brother of his that died a private person; his name was also Aristobulus, who left behind him a daughter, whose name was Joses: and these, as I have formerly said, were the children of Aristobulus the son of Herod, which Aristobulus and Alexander were born to Herod, by Mar- ianne, and were slain by him. But as for Alex- ander’s posterity, they reigned in Armenia.
Many Tumults under Cumanus, which were composed by Quadratus. Feliks is Procurator of Judea. Agrrippa is advanced from Chalcis to a great kingdom.

1. Now after the death of Herod, king of Chalcis, Claudius set Agrrippa, the son of Agrippa, over his uncle's kingdom, while Cumanus took upon him the office of procurator of the rest, which was a Roman province, and therein he was succeeded. When the Jews began the troubles, and the Jews' ruin came on; for when the multitude were come together to Jerusalem, to the feast of unleavened bread, and a Roman cohort stood over the cloisters of the temple, (for they were armed and kept the guard at the festivals, to prevent any innovation, which the multitude thus gathered together might make,) one of the soldiers pulled back his garment, and, covering down under an indocent manner, made a clamar to Cumanus, that he would punish the soldier; while the rasher men, thinking Agrrippa were not there, the most tumultuous, fell to fighting, and caught up stones, and threw them at the soldiers. Upon which Cumanus was afraid lest all the people should make an assault upon him, and sent to call out the soldiers and gave orders to the greatest numbers into the cloisters, the Jews were in a very great consternation, and being beaten out of the temple, they ran into the city, and the violence with which they crowded to get out was so great, that their wives, and children, and aged ones, were trodden under foot, and squashed one another, till ten thousand of them were killed, insomuch that this feast became the cause of mourning to the whole nation, and every family lamented [their own relatives].

2. Now there followed after this another calamity, which arose from a tumult made by robbers; for at the public road of Bethhoron, one Stephen, a native of Cesarea, carried a great nature, which the robbers fell upon, and seized; upon this Cumanus sent men to go round about to the neighboring villages, and to bring their inhabitants to him bound, as laying it to their children and their wives, and their old men, and their thieves, and caught them. Now here it was that a certain soldier, finding the sacred book of the law, tore it to pieces, and threw it into the fire. Hereupon the Jews were in great disorder, for, the robbers think, they came, and assembled themselves so many of them by their zeal for their religion, as by an engine, and ran together with united clamor to Cesarea, to Cumanus, and made application 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, perceiving that the multitude would not be quiet unless they had a comfortable answer from him, he sent for his council, and, armed in their name, brought, and drawn through those that required to have him punished to execution; which being done the Jews went their ways.

3. After this there happened a fight between the Galileans and the Cumanians; it happened at a village called Geman, which is situated in the great plain of Samaria, where, as a great number of Jews were going up to Jerusalem to the feast, [of tabernacles,] a certain Galilean was slain; and besides a vast number of people ran together out of Galilee, in order to fight with the Samaritans; but the principal men among them came to Cumanus, and brought him, that before the evil became incurable, he would come into Galilee, and bring the authors of this disorder to punishment, for that there was no other way to make the multitude separate without coming to blows. However, Cumanus postposed their supplications to the other affairs he was then about, and sent the petitioners away without success.

4. But when the affair of this murder came to be told at Jerusalem, it put the multitude into disorder, and they left the feast, and without any generals to direct them, they were armed with great violence to Samaria; nor would they be ruled by any of the magistrates that were set over them, but they were managed by one Eleazar, the son of Simon, and Alexander, in these their thievish and seditious acts. These men fell upon those that were in the neighborhood of the Acraebastene toparchy, and slew them, without sparing any age, and set the villages on fire.

5. But Cumanus took one troop of horsemen, called the troop of Sebaste, out of Cesarea, and came to the assistance of those that were spoiled; he also seized upon a great number of those that were notGalileans, and slew many of them, as well as for the rest of the multitude of those that went so zealously to fight with the Samaritans, the rulers of Jerusalem ran out clothed with sack-cloth, and having ashes on their heads, and beg- ging the gods to be merciful to them. When they attempted to revenge themselves upon the Samaritans, they should provoke the Romans to come against Jerusalem; to have compassion upon their country and temple, their children and their wives, and their old men, and to put an end to the destruction upon them, in order to avenged themselves upon one Galilean only. The Jews complied with these persuasions of theirs, and dispersed themselves; but still there was a great number who took the Galileans, and brought them into hopes of impunity, and rapines and insurrections of the bolder sort happened over the whole country; and the men of power among the Samarians and Tyre, to Ummidius Quadratus, the president of Syria, and desired that they that had laid waste the country might be punished: the great men also of the Jews, such as Jonathan son of Ananus, the high priest, came to the president, and declared that the Samaritans are the beginners of the disturbance, on account of these murder they had committed, and that Cumanus had given occasion to what had happened, by his unwillingness to punish the original authors of that murder.

6. But Quadratus put both parties off for that time, and told them, that when he should come to those places, he would make a diligent inquiry after every circumstance. After which he went to Cesarea, and crucified all those whom Cumanus had taken alive; and when from thence he was come to the city Lydda, he heard the affair of the Samaritans, and sent for eighteen of the Jews whom he had learned to have been convicted, and brought, and sent two others of those that were of the greatest power among them, and both Jonathan and Ananus, the high priests, as also Ananus the son of this Ananus, and certain others that were eminent amongst the Jews, and crucified them in like manner by the most illustrious of the Samaritans. He also ordered that Cumanus, the procurator, and Celer the tribune should sail to Rome, in order to give an account of what had been done to Caesar. When he had finished these matters, he went up from Lydda to Jerusalem, and finding the multitude celebrating their
WARS OF THE JUINS.

4. In the meantime, one of the soldiers had longed 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 brethren, and to use violence against our commander? Is it my Caesar, that his epistle in a violent way, and threatened to save Petronius put to death for his being so tardy in the execution of what he had commanded. But it happened that those who brought Caesar's body were going by a road that was detained on the sea for three months, while others that brought the news of Caesar's death had a good voyage. Accordingly, Petronius received the epistle concerning Caesar 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 Caesar had reigned three years and was dead in the height and vigor of his strength, Claudius was hurried away by the same army that were at Rome to take the government upon him: but the senate, upon the reference of the consuls, Sentius Saturninus, and Pomponius Severus, were in three nights convened by the emperor, and met with the armies 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 the epistle of Augustus, and also to settle the nation under an aristocracy, as they said of old been governed, or at least to choose by vote such a one for emperor as might be worthy of all.

2. Now it happened that at this time Agrippa journaled 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. The senate, in the first place, it was without his seeking, that 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 destroyed; for the dangerous case had been once called to 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 honor 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 Caesar afford him a sufficient denunciation 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 no army, they must consult on their side, and order" the business of the city, securing the tranquility. 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 house of Augustus; therefore the senators, and their oaths to be true to him; and that he saw he must fight, though unwillingly, against such as he had no mind to fight; that however, [if it must come to this,] it was proper to choose a place without the city for the war; because it was not agreeable to piety to pollute the temples of their own city with the blood of their own countrymen, and this only on occasion of their imprudent conduct." And when Agrippa had heard his message, he delivered it to the senators.
were dispersed every one to their own houses, and there crossed themselves.

6. Now when these were quitted, 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 permuting the Jews to reveal, and, as it were, to assert their liberty, inducting death on those that continued in obedience to the Roman government, and saying, that such as willingly chose death, ought to be removed from such torrid insulcations; for they might pass the seas into different bodies, and lay in wait up and down the country, and plunder the houses of the great men, and slew the men themselves, and set the villages on fire. Thus, as if they had lost none of the effects of their madness. And thus the flames were every day more and more blown up, till it came to a direct war.

7. There was also another disturbance at Cesarea; these Jews brought in with the Syrians that lived there, raising a tumult against them. The Jews pretended that the city was theirs, and said, that he who built it was a Jew, meaning king Herod. The Syrians confessed almost all the same thing, and as they still said, however, that the city was a Grecian city; for that he who set up statues and temples in it could not design it for the Jews. On which account both parties had a content with one another; and this was both the greatest comfort and the greatest misfortune that was to the Jews. For the Jews could not raise an army to defend themselves at last to arms, and the bolder sort of them marched out to fight; for the elders of the Jews were not able to put a stop to their own people that were disposed to be tumultuous. And the Grecians thus having theirise the same place for themselves, they made war by the Jews. Now these Jews exceeded the others in riches, and strength of body; but the Grecian part had the advantage of assistance from the treasury; for the great part of the garrison was trained out of Syria, and being thus related to the Syrian part, they were ready to assist it. However, the governors of the city were concerned to keep all quiet, and whenever they saw these Jews 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 affright the remainder, or make them desist; but they were still more and more enraged at this. When Felix the proconsul came to Tarsus, and commanded the Jews, when they had beaten the Syrians, to go their ways, and threatened them if they would not; and as they would not observe these efforts, and as they slew a great many of them, upon which it fell out that what they had been plundering. And as the sedition still continued, he chose out the most eminent men on both sides as ambassadors to Nero, to argue about their revered privileges.

CHAP. XIV.

Festus succeeds Felix, who is succeeded by Albinus, as to the war by Florus, who, by the Barbarians 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 the iniquity of 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, 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 relations 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 disappear; nor did he seek for money; and nobody remained in the prisons, as a malefactor, but he who gave him nothing. At this time it was, that the enterprisers of the sedition were very formidable: the principal men among them went away, and left Albinus to go on with their seditions practices; while that part of the people who delight in disturbances joined themselves to such as had followed them; and Albinus, the favorite 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 abused his authority over those about him, in order to keep those that lived most quiet. 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 at what they had suffered; but those who had escaped, were afraid to face him; and those that were to be punished, out of the fear they were in of suffering equally with the others. Upon the whole, nobody durst speak their minds, for tyranny was generally tolerated; and at this time were those seeds sown which brought the city to destruction.

2. And though such was the character of Albinus, yet did Gessius Florus,* who succeeded to this, demonstrate himself to be one of the most excellent persons, upon the comparison; for the former did the greatest part of his roggeries in private, and with a sort of dissimulation; but Gessius did his unjust actions to the harm of the nation after a public manner. For, when he had been sent as an executioner to punish condemned malefactors, he omitted no sort of rapine or of vexation; where the case was really pitiable, he was most barbarous, and in things of the greatest turpitude he was most unimpressed. Nor could any one entice him in disguising the truth, nor could any one contrive more subtle ways of deceit than he did. He indeed thought it but a petty offense to get money out of single persons, so he got money out of the heads and entire bodies of men at once, and did almost publicly proclaim it all the country over; that they had liberty given them to turn robbers, upon this condition, that he might go shares with them in the spoils. He was the more bold to do this, because his greediness of gain was the occasion that entire toparchies were brought to desolation; and a great many of the people left their own country, and fled into foreign provinces.

3. And truly, while Cestius Gallus was president of the province of Syria, nobody durst do so much as send an embassy to him against Florus; but when he was come to Jerusalem, upon the approach of the feast of unleavened 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 as the bane of their country. But he was so high spirited, that, at last, Cestius, he laughed at their words. However, Cestius, when he had quieted the multitude, and had assured them that he would take care that Florus should hereafter treat them in a more gentle manner returned to Antioch; Florus also dead, which happened in the third year of Trajan, or A.D. 103, as I have several times observed before.

* Here we may observe, that the year C. 70, or 72, 70 being the year present at the passover. A.D. 65, which confirms what Josephus elsewhere informs us of, that at a passover a little later, they counted 55,000 male lambs, which at twelve to each lamb, which is no inordinate calculation, came to 3,077,000. See b. vi. ch. li. sect. 3.
conducted him as far as Cesarea, and debated him there on that very time the purpose of showing his anger at the nation, and provoking a war upon them, by which means since it was that he supposed he might conceal his extremity. But that if he could procure them to make a revolt, he should divert their laying lesser crimes to his charge, by a most heinous one; for the more he was accused, the more greater: he therefore did every day augment their calamities, in order to induce them to a rebellion.

4. Now at this time it happened, that the Great Cæsar, because he had not 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 seventeenth of the Roman Empire. [Year.] 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 among them, whose owner was a certain Cesarean Greek; the Jews had endeavored frequently to have purchased the possession of the place, and bad offered many times its value for its price; but as the owner overlooked their offers, they raised other bidders upon the place, in way of afront to them, and made working shops of them, and left them but a narrow passage; and such was so very troublesome for them to go along to their synagogue. Whereupon the war began, when the Jewish youth went hither to the workmen, and forbade them to build there: but as Florus would not permit them to use force, the great men of the Jews, with John the publican, being in the utmost distress what to do, presented before the officer of ten talents, to hinder the work. He then, being intent upon nothing but getting money, promised he would do for them all they desired of him, and then went away to his place of Cesarea to receive his salary, 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 crowning about the place, one of a certain name of Cesarea, of a seditions temper, got an earthen vessel, and set it with the bottom upward at the entrance of that synagogue, and sacrificed birds. This thing provoked the Jews to an incendiary discourse, and 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 seditious part, and such as were in the service of their youth, revenged themselves in amain to fight. The seditions also among the Gentiles of Cesarea stood ready for the same purport, as they had by agreement, sent the man to sacrifice beforehand, as ready to support him; so that the blow fell. In that moment, the master of the horses, who was ordered to prevent the fight, came thither and took away the earthen vessel, and endeavored 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 Raborata, which was a place to them belonging, distant from Cesarea sixty furlongs. But John, and twelve of the principal men with him, went to Raborata, and endeavored to extirpate, and 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 this cause by the word of the law out of Cesarea.

6. Moreover, as to the citizens of Jerusalem, although they took this matter very ill, yet did they not vent their passion; but they prevented if he had been able and lawed up the war into a flame, and sent some to take seventeen talents out of the sacred treasures, and pretended that Cæsar wanted them. At this the people, and in consequence the senate, together to the temple, with prodigious clamarion, and called upon Cæsar by name, and besought him to free them from the tyranny of Florus. Some also of the seditious cried out upon Florus, and called him a tyrannical, and too hard for the people, and desired he should get still more; and instead of coming to Cesarea, as he ought to have done, and quenching the flame of war which was beginning them, and so taking away the occasion of any disturbance, when he was able, and so with the aid of the tears and revenue he had received a reward of [eight talents,] he marched hasty with an army of horsemen and footmen against Jerusalem, that he might gain his will by the arms of the Romans, and might by his power turn away their threatenings, bring the city into subjection.

7. But the people were desirous of making Florus ashamed of his attempts, and meet his soldiers with aclamations, and put themselves in his power, and accused him of sedition. He, therefore, sent Capito, a centurion, beforehand, with fifty soldiers, to bid them go back, and not make a show of receiving him in an obsequious manner, as if it were a favor; reproached them before, and said, that it was incumbent on them in that they had generous souls, and were free speakers, to jest upon him to his face, and appear to be lovers of liberty, not only in words, but with their weapons. Whereupon they ventured to regulate the matter, and upon the coming of Capito's horsemen into the midst of them, they were dispersed before they could salute Florus, or manifest their submissive behavior to him. Accord- ingly, they planted in flaming words, and spent that night in fear and confusion of face.

8. Now at this time Florus took up his quarters at the palace; and on the next day he had his tribunal set before it, and sat upon it. He, when the people had assembled, and those of the greatest eminence in the city, were all before that tribunal; upon which Florus commanded them to deliver up to him those that had reproached him, and told them that they should put the reverence to them belonging, if they did not produce the criminals; but these demonstrated that the people were peaceably disposed, and they begged forgiveness for those that had spoken amiss; for that it was not in their power to produce those that were more daring than they ought to be, and by reason of their younger age foolish also; and that it was impossible to distinguish those that offended from the rest, while every one was sorry for what he had done, and desisted 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 city for the Romans, and rather for the sake of Florus himself, because of the immediate time of his being there, and thinking that they were guilty, than for the sake of a few of the wicked, to put so large and good a body of men into disorder.

9. Florus was more provoked at this, and called that the Gentiles reproached the Jews as an enemy to the law, where as they were driven out of Egypt on that account. This that eminent person Dr. Reid suggested to me.
were dispersed every one to their own houses, and then concealed themselves.

6. There was also another disturbance at Cesarea; those Jews who were mixed with the Syrians that lived there, razing a temple against them. The Jews pretended that the city was theirs, and said, that he who built it was a Jew, meaning king Herod. The Syrians confessed also that its builder was a Jew, but they still said, because they feared it as a foe, that he who set up statues and temples in it could not design it for the Jews. On which account both parties had a contest with one another; and this contest increased so much, that it came at last to be such, that the Sadducees interfered and armed out to fight; for the elders of the Jews were not able to put a stop to their own people that were disposed to be tumultuous, and the Greeks thought it a shame for them to be overcome by the Jews. Now these Jews suspected the others in riches, and strength of body; but the Grecian part had the advantage of assistance from the soldiary; for the greatest part of the Roman garrison was raised out of Syria, and being related to the Syrian part, they were ready to assist it. However, the governors of the city were concerned to keep all quiet, and whenever they caught those that were most for fighting on either side, they punished them with stripes and bonds. Yet did not the sufferings of those that were caught affright the remainder, or make them deast; but they were still more and more exasperated, and deeper engaged in the sedition. And the Jews, as the cacære bodies to a man, first made war, and commanded the Jews, when they had beaten the Syrians, to go their ways, and threatened them if they would not; and as they would not obey him, he sent his soldiers out upon them, and slew those that resisted. And as the sedition still continued, he chose out the most eminent men on both sides as ambassadors to Nero, to argue about their several privileges.

CHAPTER XIV.

Festus succeeds Felix, who is succeeded by Albius, as he is by Florus; who, by the Barbarity of 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 that it came to pass, that he put many to death, and destroyed a great many of them. But then Albius, 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, steel and plunder the people, but made the whole nation with taxes, but he permitted the relations of such as were in prison for robbery, and had been laid there, either by the senates of every city, or by the former procurators, to redeem them for money; and nobody remained in the prisons, as a malefactor, but he who gave him nothing. At this time it was, that the enterprisers of the seditious at Jerusalem were very formidable: the principal men among them purchasing leave of Albius to go out with those that were in prisons; while that part of the people who delighted in disturbances joined themselves to such as had fellowship with Albius; and every one of them carried about these stones with him, and was associated with his own band of robbers, while himself, like an amanu, a robber, or a tyrant, made a figure among his company, and abused his authority over those about him, in order to plunder those that lived quietly. The affect that the Jews, that their goods were forced to hold their peace, when they had reason to show great indignation at what they had suffered; but those who had escaped, were forced to suffer more than those who had been in the city; for the Jews were generally suffering equally with the others. Upon the whole, nobody durst speak their minds, for tyranny was generally tolerated; and at this time were those seeds sown which brought the city to destruction.

2. And though such was the character of Albius, yet did Gessius Florus, who succeeded to him, demonstrate to have been an excellent political man, upon the comparison; for the former did the greatest part of his government in private, and with a sort of dissimulation; but Gessius did his utmost actions to the harm of the nation after a pompous manner; and as though he had been a deber than as an executioner of the condemned malefactors, he omitted no sort of rapine or of vexation; where the case was really pitiable, he was most barbarous, and in things of the greatest turpitude he was most impudent. Nor could anything outdo him in disbelieving the truth, nor could say one contrary more subtle ways of deceit than he did. He indeed thought it but a petty offence to get money out of single persons, so he spoiled whole cities, and ruined them, and then as men as the act which he publicly proclaimed all the country over; that they had liberty given them to turn robbers, upon this condition, that he might go shares with them, in the spoils they got. Accordingly, this his greediness was in a sort occasioned, for the churches and presbyteries were brought to desolation; and a great many of the people left their own country, and fled into foreign provinces.

3. And truly, while Cestius Gallus was president of the province of Syria, nobody durst do so much as send an embassage to him against Florus; but when he was come to Jerusalem, upon the approach of the feast of unleavened 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 as the bane of their country. But as he was present, and stood by Cestius, he deemed his word the more weighty; and Florus, when Cestius, when he had quieted the multitude, and had assured them that he would take care that Florus should hereafter treat them in a more gentle manner returned to Antioch: Florus also died, which happened in the third year of Trajan, or A.D. 100, as I have severally times observed before.

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* Not long after this beginning of Florus, the wickedness of all the Roman procurators of Judea, and the immediate occasion of the Jew's war, was, at the twelfth year of Nero, and the seventeenth of Tiberius; and history is collected in the twenty books of Josephus's Antiquities, the end; although Josephus did not finish those books till the year of Domitian, as the history is in those twenty, which is no immoderately less than two 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 Trajan, or A.D. 100, as I have several times observed before. * * * * *
conducted him as far as Cesarea, and debated him though he had at that very time the public, and being his anger at his ease, and pursuing a war upon them, by which means more 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 absence, and a certain number of them. But that if he could procure them to make a revolt, he should divert their laying lesser crimes to his charge, by a misery which was so much greater; he therefore did endeavor to augment their calamities, in order to induce them to a rebellion.

4. Now at this time it happened, that the Gra- cians at Cesarea had been too hard for the Jews, and had obtained of Nero the government of the city, as by the judgment of the severest determination; at the same time began the war, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero and the seventeenth of the reign of Agrippa, in the month of Artemisias [Year]. Now the occasion of this war was that Cesarea had a synagogue near the place, whose owner was a certain Cesarean Greek; the Jews had endeavored frequently to purchase the possession of the place, and had offered many times its value for its price; but as the owner overlooked their offers, so did he raise other buildings upon the place, in way of afront to them, and made workmen in great numbers in the place, and left them a narrow passage, and such as 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; and by this means the greatest part of the workmen went away, and the Jews being thus left, as they would do for them all they desired of him, and then went away from Cesarea to Sebaste, and left the synagogue 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 with the bottom upward toward the entrance of that synagogue, and sacrificed birds. This thing provoked the Jews to an incoratable degree, because their laws were affronted, and the place was polluted. Whereupon the sober and wise part of the Jews sought it proper to have recourse to their governors again; and while the seditious part, and such as were in the servor of their youth, were vehemently inflamed to fight. The seditious also among the Gentiles of Cesarea stood ready for the same purpose (for they had by agreement, sent the man to sacrifice beforehand, as ready to support him); so that it soon came to blows. Hereupon Jacobus, the master of the horse, who was ordered to preserve the peace, took away the earthen vessel, and endeavor 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 Rabatha, which was a place farther belonging distant from Cesarea sixty furlongs. But John, and twelve of the principal men with him, went to Florus, to Sebaste, and made a lamentable complaint of the evil, and brought him to have 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 every ye the books and the power of out of Cesarea.

6. Moreover this to the citizens of Jerusalem, although they took this matter very ill, yet did they restrain their passion; but Florus acted herein as if he had been hired, and took up the exceeding number of the young men, and spent some talents out of the sacred treasure, and pretended that Ceser wanted them. At this the people were in confusion immediately, and ran together to the temple, with prodigium cries, and said that Florus took and became him to free them from the tyranny of Florus. Some also of the seditious cried out upon Florus, and cast the greatest reproaches upon him, and carried a basket about and begged some people to be appointed as judges of their possessions, and in a suitable condition. Yet was not he made ashamed hereby of his loss of money, but was more enraged, and provoked to get still more; and instead of coming to Cesarea, they went away, and gave the Jews the flame of war which was beginning there, and so taking away the occasion of any disturbances, on which account it was that he had received a reward of eight talents. He marched with these eight talents to the east against Jerusalem, that he might gain his will by the arms 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 ashamed of his attempts, and met his soldiers with acclamations, and put themselves in order to receive him very submissively. But he went in a deputation, beforehand, with fifty soldiers, to bid them be humble, and tell them that a show of receiving him is an obliging manner, whom they had so fouly reprehended before: and said, that it was incumbent on them, in case they did not receive him humble, that they should cast him upon his face, and appear to be kept of liberty, not only in words, but with their weapons also. With this message was the multitude amazed, and upon the coming of Capito's horsemen in the midst of them, they were dispersed before they could salute Florus, or manifest their submissive behavior to him. Accordingly, they retired to their own houses, and spent that night in fear and confusion of face.

8. In the time the Jews were out of their quarters at the palace; and on the next day he had his tribunal set before it, and sat upon it, when the high priests and the men of power, and those of the greatest eminence in the city, came together, and he commanded them to deliver up to him those that had reproached him, and told them that they should themselves partake of the vengeance to them belonging; if they did not produce the criminals; but that Capito, as he demonstrated that the people were peaceably disposed, and they begged forgiveness for those that had spoken amiss; for that it was wonder at all in so great a multitude there should be some more daring than they ought to be, to cast at their younger age foolishly also; and that it was impossible to distinguish those that offended from the rest, while every one was sorry for what he had done, and dreaded it out of fear that he would follow; that he ought, however, to provide for the peace of the nation, and to take such counsels as might preserve the city for the Romans, and rather for the sake of a great number of innocent people, to forgive a few that were guilty, than for the sake of a few of us wicked, to make so large and good a body of men into disorder.

9. Florus was more provoked at this, and called that the Gentiles reproached the Jews as a subject to the leprosy, and believed that they were driven out of Egypt on that account. This that eminent person Mr. Reid suggested to me.
ed out aloud to the soldiers to please that which was called the upper market-place, and to say 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 only plunder the place they were sent to, but forcing themselves into every house, they killed, burnt, stripped, and with many other crimes, all by the methods of bandits; so the citizens fled along the narrow lanes, and the soldiers slew those that they caught, and no method of plunder was omitted; they also caught many of the quiet people, and brought them before them, and those whom they хотелc with stripes, and thus crucified. Accordingly, the whole number of those that were destroyed that day, with their wives and children, for they did not consider in the massacre the difference of age, was about three thousand and six hundred. And what made this calamity the heavier, was this new method of Roman barbarity; for Flora restored them to do what no one had done before, that is, to have the multitudes of the soldiers come out to the cross before his tribunal; who although they were a. "birth Jews, yet were they of Roman dignity notwithstanding.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Bernice's Petition to Flora to spare the Jews in vain; so also how, after the multitude Flora was guernched, it was kindled again by Flora.

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 among the number of the prisoners, and the multitude of the soldiers, she was sorely affected at it, and frequently sent the masters of her horse, and her guards, to Flora, and begged of him to leave her in peace. But, as his father had received them by dying to the palace, and had stayed there all night with her guards, which she had about her for fear of an insult from the soldiers. Now she dwelt then at Jerusalem, in order to perform a vow which she had vowed to the temple, and said that she had been either afflicted with a distemper, or 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. What things Bernice was now performing, and stood barefoot before Flora's tribunal, and besought him [to spare the Jews.] Yet could she neither have any reverence to come out from Greece without some danger of being slain herself.

2. This happened upon the sixteenth day of the month Artemisius [July]. Now as the sun did set, the multitude, who were in a great agony, ran together to the upper market-place, and made the loudest lamentations for those that had perished; and the greatest part of the cries were such as redacted on Flora; at which the men of power were aghast, and assembling together with the high priests, and the rest of the Jews, and fell down before each of them, and besought them to leave off, and not to provoke Flora to some incurable procedure; besides which, they knew they already suffered. Accordingly, the multitude continued in their lamentation, out of reverence to those that had desired it of them, and out of the hope they had that Flora would do them no more injuries.

3. So Flora was this time moved, the disturbances were over, and endeavored to kindle that flame again, and sent for the high priests, with the other eminent persons, and said, the only demonstrations that the people would not make any more innovations, not only about the injury done by the soldiers, but also the Jews, and besought them that they should go out and meet the soldiers that were ascending from Caesarea, whereas two cohorts were coming; and while these men were gehorting the multitude so to do, he sent beforehand, and gave orders to 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 this high priest was so high in this mildness, and the admirable in this spirit 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 seditious persons would not comply with these them; and now the young men, and a great part 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, by reason of the multitude, the strain of the soldiers, and the ornamental garments wherein they used to minister in sacred things. The harpers also, and the singers of hymns, came out with their instruments of music, and fell down before the two cohorts, and besought 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 those that were thus present himself. Acts xxvi. 25—28.

This view which Bernice (here and elsewhere called queen, not only as a daughter, but as a sister to two kings. Agrippa the Great and Agrippa junior, but the widow of Herod, king of Chalcis) came now to accomplish at Jerusalem, was to make a sacrifice at the temple, and the different religions Jews used to make to hope of some deliverance from a disease, or other danger, as Josephus here intimates. Hence, as the Jews were assembled together for fasting and preparation against the obstruction of a proper sacrifice, seems to be too long, unless it were wholly voluntary in this great lady. It is not required in the law of Moses relating to Nazarines, Num. vi. and a very different from St. Paul's time for such preparations, which was but one day, Acts xx. 25. He was wont already the continuation of the Antiquities to afford us light here, as they have hitherto done on so many occasions elsewhere. Perhaps in this age the traditions of the Pharisees had obliged the Jews to this degree of rigor, not only as to those thirty days' preparation, but as to the going barefoot all that time, which here Bernice submitted to also. To be a turn of sacrifice and oblation is very easy, and his burden comparatively light, in such positive injunctions, Matt. xl. 30, as did the Pharisees). But the Pharisees' heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, even when they themselves would not teach them with one of their fingers. Luke x. 37, 38. De Beers, No. 404, 414, that Juvinal in his sixth entire alludes to this remarkable parable or precept of the uniting of the Jews to one congregation, and Josephus upon her farm; so too Tacitus, Dio, Suetonius, and others.

Aurelius, mention her as one well known at Rome, 308.
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 seditious, they restrained some by threatenings, and others by the revocation of the taxes paid them, and thus they kept 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 made an answer, the seditious excoriated them, and the multitude of Florus, which was the signal 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 part of them, both men and beasts, perished by the violence of the Roman arms, and more by their own violence in crushing one another. Now there was a terrible crowding about the gates, and while every body was running 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 suffocated and broken to pieces by the multitude of those that were uppermost; nor could all the gates be distinguished by their relations in order 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 multitude through the place called Floraia, where they forced their way in order to get in and seize 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, seized them, and expelled them as far as the citadel [Antonina]; 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 deadly weapons, which fell all on the 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 water's edge.

6. But for the seditious, they were afraid lest Florus should come again, and get possession of the temple, through Antonia; so they got immediately upon the towers of the temple that joined to Antonia, and cut them down. This cooled 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 them, it was not so much as the towers were broken down, but he left off his attempt; he then sent 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 wars against Bethesda. In the meanwhile there was a signal messenger, at a certain season, descended, and where he or they who were the first put into the pool, were cured, John v. 1. etc. This situation of Bethsaida, in Josephus, Castiæus, and accused the Jews falsely of revolving [from the Roman government,] and impeached the beginning of the former fight to them, and pretended they had been the authors of that disturbance, whereby they were only the sufferers. Yea, went and houses plundering. They then upon this occasion, but did themselves write to Castiæus, as did Bernice also, about the illegal practices of which Florus had been guilty against the city; who, upon reading both accounts, commended the soldiers of Florus, which was the signal 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 part of them, both men and beasts, perished by the violence of the Roman arms, and more by their own violence in crushing one another. Now there was a terrible crowding about the gates, and while every body was running 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 suffocated and broken to pieces by the multitude of those that were uppermost; nor could all the gates be distinguished by their relations in order 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 multitude through the place called Floraia, where they forced their way in order to get in and seize 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, seized them, and expelled them as far as the citadel [Antonina]; 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 deadly weapons, which fell all on the 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 water's edge.

CHAP. XVI.

Castiæus sends Néopollitanus the Tribune to see in what Condition the Affairs of the Jews were. Arrives to the People of the Jews, that he may divert them from their Intentions of making War with the Romans.

1. However, Florus contrived another way to oblige the Jews to begin the war, and sent to
first began in the war, if they did not prevent the report by showing who it was that began it; and it appeared openly that they would not be quiet, if any body should hinder them from spreading such an ambassador. But Agrippa, although he thought it too dangerous a thing for them to appoint men to go as the successors of Florus, yet did he not think it fit for him to overlook them, as if he were afraid of their being injurious to the reputation of their master, for before called the multitude together into a large gallery, and placed his sister Bernice in the house of the Asamones, that she might be seen by them, (which house was over the gallery, at the direct front of the court, where the large door joined the temple to the gallery,) and spoke to them as follows.—

4. "Had I perceived that you were all seriously disposed to go to war with the Romans, and that the chances of the war were such as might produce no kind of advantage to those people did not purpose to live in peace, I had not come out to you, nor been so bold as to give you counsel; for all discourses that tend to persuade men to do what they ought to do are superfluous, when the hearers have been offended by your counsel. But because some are earnest to go to war, because they are young, and without experience of the miseries it brings; and because some are for it, not because they think they have lost their liberty; and because others hope to get by it, and are therefore earnestly bent upon it, that in the confusion of your affairs they may gain what belongs to those that are too weak to resist you, I beseech you, therefore, to have the matter all together, and to say to you what I think to be for your advantage; that the former may grow wiser, and change their minds, and that the best men may come to no harm by the ill consequences of some others. And if it be true, as it is tumultuous against me, in case what they hear me say do not please them; for as to those who admit of no cure, but are resolved upon a revolt, it will still be in their power to retain the same securities as before; to what purpose serve the complaints against your particular governors? for if they treated you with moderation, it would still be equally an unworthy thing to be in servitude. Consider now the several cases that may be supposed, how little occasion there is for your going to war. Your first occasion is the accusation you have to make against your procurators: now here you ought to be submissive to those in authority; but if you should make a free use of the gavel, in order to overturn the whole; * In this speech of King Agrippa we have an authentic account of the extent and strength of the Roman empire when the Jewish war began. And this speech with all the other parts of Josephus, deserve to be read attentively, and how great a part this Agrippa was, and why Josephus elsewhere calls him Μέγας Κριτικός, a most wonderful or admirable man, was, Contr. Ap. 1. 9. He is the same Agrippa who is usually called Μέγας Κριτικός, with whom Josephus, in his History, seems to mean to be a Christian, Acts xxvi. 36; and of whom St. Paul said, He was answer in all the causes and questions of the Jews, ver. 6. See another inference of the limits of the same Roman empire, Of the War, b. III. ch. v. sect. 7. But what seems to me very remarkable here is this: that Agrippa's speech and his reasons to the Jews, Romans, for whose use he wrote his Antiquities, did himself frequently compose the speeches which he put into others' mouths; they appear, by the politeness of but when you reproach men greatly for small offences, you excite those whom you reproach to be your adversaries; for this will only make them leave off hating you, bravely, and with some degree of modesty, and to lay what you have wasted openly. Now nothing so much damps the force of treasons as bearing with patience; and the quietness of those who are inured diversifies invasions; patience draws off their strength. But let us take it for granted, that the Romans minsters are injurious to you, and are incurably severe; yet are they not all the Romans who thus injure you; nor hath Caesar, against whom you are, ever been so injurious to you; it is not by their command that any wicked governor is sent to you; for they who are in the west cannot see those that are in the east; nor indeed is it easy for them there even to hear what has been said. But 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; may such crimes correct, for the same procurator will not continue for ever; and probable it is that the successors will come with more moderate inclinations. But even as for war, if it be once begun, it is not easily laid down again; and burning camps, or the like, are coming therewith. However, as to the desire of recovering your liberty, it is unreasonable to indulge it so late; whereas you ought to have labored the more earnestly in that time, when you had not 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 that slave who hath been once brought into subjection, and hath been made rather a refractory slave than a lover of liberty, for it was then the proper time for doing all that was possible, that you might never have admitted the Romans [into your city;] when Pompey the Great came first into Jerusalem. But 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 assault of a small body of the Roman army. AndIndeed you, who be once accustomed yourselves to obedience from one generation to another, and who are so much inferior to those who first submitted in your circumstances, will venture to oppose the entire empire of the Romans; while the whole world could not have served the liberty of Greece, did once set fire to their own city; who pursued Xerxes, that proud prince, when he sailed upon the sea, and walked upon the land, and could not be contained by the sea, but confined to the land. But it is over, and no provision is made for Europe, and made him run away like a fugitive in a single ship, and brake so great a part of Asia by the lesser Salamis, are yet at this time servants to the Romans; and those injunctions which are sent from Italy, become laws to the principal governors of the city of Greece. Those Lacedemossians also, who got the great victories at Thermopylæ and Platæ, and had Agisaurus [for their king,] were not against the dominion of the Romans. But their composition, and their flights of oratory, to be not the real speeches of the persons concerned, who usually were no orators, but of his own elegant composition; the speech before us is then another line of not improbable facts, and composed in a plain and sensible, but moving way; so that it appears to be king Agrippa's own speech, and to have been given Josephus by Agrippa himself, when Josephus composed the History, and his friendship. Not we omit Agrippa's constant doctrine here, that this vast Roman empire was raised and treated with a divine Providence; and that, therefore, it was in vain for the Jews, or any others, to think of destroying it. Nor may we neglect to take notice of this part of Agrippa's speech, to the Jews and Romans, like appeals to which we have in St. Paul, 1 Tim. v. 21 and by the apostles, in general, in the form of the ordina
are contented to admit the same lords. These Macedonians also, who still fancy what great men their Philip and Alexander were, and see that the latter had promised them the empire over the world, these bear so great a change, and pay their obedience to those whom fortune has advanced in their stead. Moreover, ten thousand other nations there are, who had greater reason than we to claim their entire liberty, and yet do submit to foreign lords. It is the only people who think it disgrace to be servile to strangers than to whom all the world hath submitted. What sort of an army do you rely on? What are the arms you depend on? Do your feet, that may seize upon the Roman seacoast, or send them to the west, which may be sufficient for your undertakings? Do you suppose, I pray you, that you are to make war with the Egyptians, and with the Arabians, and with the Marcomanni, with the Roman empire? Will you not esteem your own weakness? Hath not your army been often beaten even by your neighboring nations; while the power of the Romans is invincible in all parts? What, rather, they seek for somewhat still beyond that, for all Empires is not a sufficient boundary for them on the east side, nor the Danube on the north; and for their southern limit, Libya hath been searched as far as course of Ulysses went, as is Cadiz their limit on the west; yet, indeed, they have sought for another habitable earth, beyond the ocean, and have carried their arms as far as such British islands as were never inhabited by any people. Who do you think, then, you are to? Are you richer than the Gauls, stronger than the Germans, wiser than the Greeks, more numerous than all men upon the habitable earth? What evidence is it that you are superior Romans? Perhaps it will be said, it is to endure slavery. Yes, but how much harder is this to the Greeks, who were esteemed the noblest of all people under the sea? These, therefore, inhabit in league, are in subjection to six bundles of Roman rods! It is the same case with the Macedonians, who have better reason to claim their liberty than you have. What is the case of five hundred cities of Asia? Do not the submit to a single governor, and to the consular bundle of rods? What need I speak of the Haniochi, and Chelchi, and the nation of Tauri, those that inhabit the Bosphorus, and the nations about Pontus, and Moeotis, who formerly lived in security, and the subject is not of their own, but are subject to three thousand armed men, and where forty long ships kept the sea in peace, which before was not navigable, and very tempestuous? How strong a pie may Bithynia, and Carmania, and the Lycaons, and Ciliciens, put in for liberty? But they are made tributary without an army. - What are the circumstances of the Thracians, whose country extends in breadth five days' journey, and in length seven, and is open to the barbaric constitution, and much more defensible than yours. and by the rigor of its cold sufficient to keep off armies from attacking them? do not they have two thousand men of the Roman garrisons? Are not the Illyrians, who inhabit the country adjoining, as far as Dalmatia and the Danube, governed by barely two legions; by which also they put a stop to the incursions of the Thracians, and the Danubians, who have made such frequent insurrections in order to regain their liberty, and who could never before be so thoroughly subdued, but that they always gathered their forces together again, and revolted, yet are they now very quiet under one Roman legion. Moreover, if great advantages 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 the Alps, on the north by the river Rhine, on the

beach by the Pyrenean mountains, and on the west by the ocean. Now although these Gauls have such obstacles before them to prevent any attack upon them, and have no fewer than three prinities, and two hundred and fifty habitable earths among them; yet, as one may say, the fountains of domestic happiness within themselves, and send out plentiful streams of happiness over almost the whole world, these bear to be tributary to the Romans, and their habitations among them, are as secure as they could be elsewhere, and they undergo this, not because they are of servile minds, or because they are of an ignoble stock, as having borne a war of eighty years, in order to preserve their liberty; but they readily consent to pay taxes to the Romans, and their good fortune, which is of greater efficacy than their arms. These Gauls, therefore, are kept in servitude by twelve hun-
dreds and twenty thousand, and the people of the 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, prevent their obedience: but the lessers, the Lezians and the Spaniards escape: no more could the ocean, with its tide, which yet was terri-
table to the nearest inhabitants. Nay, the Romans have extended their arms beyond the plains of the Danube and the Rhine, over the mountains of France, and they have subjected these nations. And one legion is a suffi-
cient guard for these people, although they were so hard to be conquered, and at a distance so re-

duced. Who do you think, therefore, do not hear of the great number of the Ger-
mans? You have, to be sure, yourselves see them to be strong and tall, and that frequently, since the Romans have the most, among their cap-
pable men; and yet, they are not more numerous than those who inhabit 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, have the Rhine for their barrier, the enemy enter-

prises, and are termed by eight Roman legions. Such of them as were taken captive because their sergeants; and the rest of the entire nation were obliged to save themselves by flight. Do ye also, when ye do not make the German war, or consider what a wall the Britons had; for the Romans sailed away to them, and subdued them while they were conquered by the ocean, and inhabi-
ted an island that is not less than the [considered] country of the Greeks; and it is a sufficient guard to so large an island. And why should I speak more about this mat-
ter? while the Parthians, that most warlike body of men, and lords of so many nations, and encompassed with such mighty forces, are a great disad-
vantages to the Romans; whereby you may see it you please, even in Italy, the noblest nation at the east, under the notion of peace, submitting to serve them. Now when almost all people are subdued and brought under the Roman yoke, will you be the only people that make war against them? and this without regarding the fate of the Carthaginians, who, in the midst of their brags of the great Hannibal, and the nobility of their nation, were not able to make an impression on the Romans; nor indeed have the Cyrenecians, derived from the Lacedemonians, nor the Marmarids, a nation extended as far as the regions uninhabitable for the want of water, nor the Danubians, who have the like ability, by which they bear the name of the Nase-

mons and Moors, and the immense multitude of the Nusidian, been able to put a stop to the Roman valor. And as for the third part of the habitable earth, [Africa], whose nations are so many that it is not easy to number them, and which is bounded by the Atlantic sea and the pillar of Hercules, and feeds an innumerable multitude of Ethiopians, as far as the Red Sea; these have the Romans subdued entirely. And
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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 afford revenue suitable to the necessities of the government. Nor do they, like you, esteem such injudicious fines as are imposed on them, although they have but one Roman region 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 who is the master in Egypt? 

This country is extended as far as the Ethiopian and Arabia the Happy, and borders upon India: it hath seven millions five hundred thousand men, besides the inhabitants of Alexandria, and that of the Aegean islands; for the Georgi tribe pay no more tax; yet it is not ashamed to submit to the Roman government, although it hath Alexandria as a grand temptation to a revolt, by reason it is so full of people and of riches, and is, besides, exceeding large; and its magnitude, 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 fifty years; it sustains the Roman war; it sends corn over all sides, either by almost impassable deserts, or seas that have no havens, or by rivers, or by lakes; yet none of these things have been found too strong for the Roman good fortune; hence they say that the Roman man is the bridle both for the remoter parts of Egypt, and for the parts inhabited by the more noble Macedonians. Where then are those people whom you entreat to have for your allies? Must they come from the parts of the world that are inhabitable? for all that are in the habitable earth are [under the] Romans. Unless any of you extend your hopes as far as beyond the Euphrates, and the Indus, and the Ganges, and the Caspian; and dwell in Adiabene will come to your assistance; but certainly these will not embarrasse themselves with an unjustifiable war, nor, if they should follow such ill advice, will the Parthians permit them to go; for it is the concern to maintain the truce that is between them and the Romans, and they will be supposed to break the covenants between them, if any under their government march against the Romans. What remains, the measure of this, is to have this; but still they will be more and more embarrasse themselves; for if the Romans get you under their power, they will be no longer abstain from them, when their former absension shall have been so ungratefully required. I call to witness your sanctity, and the holy support of your country common to us all, that I have not kept back any thing that is for your preservation; and if you will follow that advice, which I ought to do, you will have that peace which will be common to you and to us; but if you involve your passions, you will 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 represented a great deal to the majesty which was present, but still they cried out, that "they would not fight 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 would have been more than sufficient for the Romans; for you have not paid the tributes which is due to Caesar; and you have cut off the cloisters [of the temple] from joining to the tower Antonia. You will therefore present any occasion of revolt, if you will but join those treasons again, and if you will but pay your tribute; for the citadel does not now belong to Florus, nor are you to pay the tribute money to Florus."

CHAP. XV.

How the War of the Jews with the Romans began. And concerning Manahem.

1. Titus advised the people heartened to, and went up into the temple with the king and Berenice, and began to rebuild the cloisters; the rulers also and senators divided themselves into the villages, and collected the tribute, and soon got together a mighty host, the numbers of which was deficient. And thus did Agrippa then 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, anding the city of Joppa, and for the Sabbatical year, as Spanhelser observes from the Antiq. b. xiv. ch. x. sect 6.

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get him excluded out of the city; nay, some of the seditionists had the impudence to throw stones at him. So when the king saw that the violence of those that were party for innovation was not to be restrained, and being very angry at the contumelies he had received, he sent their rulers, together with their men of power, to Florus, to Cæsar's camp, to present him with a written assurance, and thus shewed himself 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, and to revolt upon a certain promise which the seditious made to Masada. They took it by treachery, and slew the Romans that were there, and put others of their own party to keep it. At the same time Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high priest, a very old man, and a man of great note; and he and Joseph and Gippos, the most flourishing part of the innovators assisted them: but they had the chief regard to Eleazar, the governor of the temple.  

3. The men of power got together, and conferred with the high priests, as did also the principal men of the Pharisees; and thinking all was at stake, and that their calamities were becoming incurable, took counsel what was to be done. And they determined to try what they could do with the seditionists by words, and assembled the people before the breach, which was at the south temple [court of the priests] which looked toward the morning. And in this place they showed the eagerness they had at this attempt for a revolt, and for their bringing so great a war upon their country: after which they confuted their pretense as unjustifiable, and told them, that their forefathers had sacrificed their temple in great part; with donations bestowed on them by foreigners, and had always received what had been presented to them from foreign nations; and that they had been so far from rejecting any person's sacrifice should be the last instance of impiety, that they had themselves placed those donations about the temple which were still visible, and had remained there so long a time: for that did not irritate the Romans to take arms against them, but led them to serve the 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, as an instance of insults, determinations against Cæsar, and forbade even their oblations to be received also: that, however, they cannot but fear, lest by rejecting his sacrifices, they shall not be allowed to have admission into that city, which will lose that principality, unless they grow wiser quickly, and restore the sacrifices as formerly, and indeed amend the injury [they have offered to foreigners] before the report of it comes to the ears of them who have been injured.

4. And as they said these things, they produced those priests that were skilful in the customs of their country, who made the report, that all their forefathers had received the sacrifices given them that have been injured.
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Mamre's soldiers to the upper palace, and shut the gates immediately; among whom were Ananias the high priest, and all the principal men that had been sent to Agrrippa. And now the seditionists were content with the victory they had gotten, and the buildings they had burnt down, and proceeded no farther.

On the next day, which was the fifteenth of the month Louis, [A.b.] they made an assault upon Antonia, 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 proceeded to set fire to their palaces and houses. The king's soldiers were fled, and parted themselves 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 assembled them were so numerous; but they distributed themselves into the brestworks and turrets, and shot at the besiegers, whereby many of the robbers fell under the walls; nor did they cease to fight one another either by night or by day, while the seditionists supposing those within would grow weary for want of food, and those within supposed the others would do the like by the terrors of the siege.

Now the soldiers of Mamre, the son of Judas, that was called the Galillean, (who was a very cunning sophister, and had formerly reproached the Jews under Cyrenius, that after God they were subject to the Romans,) took some of the city, and burnt it, and ran upon Masada, where he broke open king Herod's armory, and gave arms not only 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; and he became the leader of the sedition, and gave orders for continuing the siege, but 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 drew him and his company from the east side of the towers, and made it totter, and having done that, they set fire on what was combustible, and left it, and when the foundations were burnt below, the wall fell down suddenly. Yet did they then meet with another wall that had been built within; for the besieged were sensible beforehand of what they were doing, and probably the tower shook as it was undermining; so they wrought much damage in that manner. But when the besiegers unexpectedly saw, while they thought they had already gained the place, they were under some consternation. However, those that were within sent to Mamre, and to the others that were with them, and of these they might go out upon a capitulation: this was granted to the king's soldiers, and their own countrymen, 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 they thought it would be a reproach to them; and besides, if they should give it them, they desired to receive the spoil that day. And so they made their camp as easily taken, and ran away to the royal towers that called Hippicus, that called Phasaeus, and that called Mariamme; but Mamre and his party fell upon the place where once the soldiers that had been at the city of Diospolis could catch, before they got up to the towers, and plundered what they left behind them, and set fire to their camp. This was executed on the advice of the men of Geryon.

8. But on the next day the high priest was caught, where he had concealed himself in an aqueduct; he was slain, together with Hesekiiah his brother, by the robbers: hereupon the seditionists 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 pleased the Romans, that he became barbarously cruel, and not only those that were in the council of the management of affairs with him, he was no 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 a love of liberty, to betray that liberty to any of their own people, and to bear a lord, who, though he should be guilty of so violence, was yet measer than themselves; as also, that in case they were obbeeded to set sects among them, and that they should be fitter they should give that privilege to any 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 himself with royal garments, and had done them with their armor. But Eleazar and his party fell violently upon him, as did also the rest of the people, and taking up stones to attack him with, they threw them at the sophister, and thought, if he were once ruined, the entire sedition would fall to the ground. Now the Romans and his party made resistance for a while, but when they perceived that the whole multitude of their countrymen were assisted upon them, they found their way every one was able; those that were caught were slain, and those that bided themselves were searched for. A few there were of them who privately escaped to Masada, among whom was Eleazar the son of Jairus, who had been in the council of Mamre, and acted the part of a tyrant at Masada afterward: as for Mamre himself, he ran away to the place called Ophia, and there lay skulking in private; but they took him alive, and drew him forth before them all, and then burned him with many sorts of torments, and after all slew him, as they did by those that were captains under him also, and particularly by the principal instrument of his tyranny, whose name was Apehas or Apelhas.

10. And, as I said, so far truly the people assisted them, while they hoped this might afford some amendment to the sedition's practices; but the others were not in haste to put an end to the war, but hoped to prosecute it with less danger, now they had slain Mamre. It is true, that when the people earnestly desired that they would leave off besieging the soldiers, they were the more eagerly insistent; for some few days after the capture of Masada, which was the Roman general, sent to Eleazar, and desired that they would give them security to spare their lives only, but agreed to deliver up their arms, and what else they had taken from the others; but they would not hear of their petition, sent to them Gorion, the son of Nicodemus, and Ananias, the son of Sadjuk, and Judas, the son of Jonathan, that they might give them the security of their right hands, and of their oath; and so the soldiers, while they were in arms, were not meddled with by any of the seditionists, nor was there any appearance of treachery; but as soon as, according to the articles of capitulation, they had delivered up their arms and their swords, and were under no further 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 were defending the entrance of their camp; and they treated for mercy, but only cried out upon the breach of their articles of capitulation, and their oaths. And thus were all these men barbarously murdered, excepting Mattathias; for he was treated for mercy; and promised that he would turn Jew, and be circumcised, they saved him alive, but none else. This loss to the Romans was but light, there being no more than a few slain out of an immense multitude; but it appeared to be a prelude to the Jews' own destruction, while men made public lamentation when they
that such occasions were afforded for a war as were incurable; that the city was all over polluted with such abominations, from which it was but reasonable to expect some vengeance, even though they should escape vengeance from the Romans; so that city was filled with sadness, and every one of the moderate men in it were under great disturbance, as likely themselves to undergo the madness of war, in the same conditions; for indeed it so happened, that this murder was perpetrated on the sabbath day, on which day the Jews have a respite from their works on account of divine worship.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Calamities and Slaughters that came upon the Jews.

1. Now the people of Cassarea 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 Cassarea was emptied of its Jewish inhabitants; for Flosus caught such as ran away, and sent them in bonds to the galleys. It hath been said, that the Jews who were received at Cassarea, the whole nation was greatly enraged; so they divided themselves into several parties, and laid waste the villages of the Syrians, and their neighboring cities, Philadelphia, and Sebasteis, and Petra, and Pella, and Scythopolis, and all the mountains, and the mazone, and Gedara, and Hippos, and falling upon Gaulantis, some cities they destroyed there, and some they set on fire, and then went to Kadama, burning up the country of his, and Pese, and, and to Gala, and to Cassarea; nor was either Sebaste [Samaris] or Askalon able to oppose the violence with which they were attacked; and when they had burnt those to the ground, they came again to their own city. Asmedus, and al many 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 bore them, as formerly, but to prevent the destruction of those cities, which they were to seize; 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 country was in the destruction of the other; so that the present time was spent in shedding of blood, and the night in fear, which was of the two the more terrible; for when the Syrians thought they had raised the Jews, they had the Jews in suspicion 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, the great necessity of getting possession to kill the oppressor has been 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; and, with the other, they had been in a sea battle; and he was esteemed a man of honor who got the greatest share, as having prevailed over the greatest number of his enemies. It was then common to see cities filled with dead bodies, still lying unbrought, 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 insupportable calamities, while the dread of still more barbarous practices, as 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; and did they sack any of their array with those of Scythopolis, and preferred their own safety before their relation to us, they fought against their own countrymen; nay, their security was so very great, that those of Scythe-

oplis, lest they should make an assault upon the city in the night-time, and, to their greater misfor-
tune, should thereby make an apology for them-
selfs to those people for their revolt from them: So they commanded them, that in case they would confirm their agreement, and demonstrate their fidelity to them, who were of a different nation, they should go out of the city with their arms, and give them the key of their city; for they had done as they were commanded, without res-
pecting any thing, the people of Scythopolis lay still for the interval of two days, to tempt them to secure; but on the third night they watched their opportunity, and cut all their throats, so as they lay unguarded, and some as they lay asleep. The number that was slain was above thirteen thousand, and then they plundered them all of that they had.

3. And this preserved our relation what islel sil-
mon: he was the son of one Saul, a man of re-
putation among the Jews. This man was dis-
guished from the rest by the strength of his body and the boldness of his conduct, although he was both a Christian and of the nation of an countrystan; for he came every day and did a great many of the Jews of Scythopolis, and he frequently put them to flight, and became his-
self a great leader among them. But a just punishment overtook him for the smer-
ders he had committed upon those of the more so-
ation with him: for when the people of Scythe-
oplis threw their darts at them in the grove, as he had done, he was struck, and died from an enemy; for he saw that he could do nothing against such a multitude; but he cried out where very moving manner, and said, "O, ye people of Scythopolis, I deservedly suffer for what I have opposed relating to you, where I have sought any security of my fidelity to you, by slaying many of those that were related to us. Whereas we very justly experience the perfidies of foreigners, while we acted after a most meek manner toward them: therefore die, polluted wretch as I am, by mine own hands: for it is not fit I should die by the hand of our enemies; and let the same action be to me both a punishment for my great crimes, and the other cities rose up against the Jews that were among them; those of Askalon slew two thou-
sand five hundred, and those of Ptolemais two.
thousands, and put not a few into bonds; those of Tyre also put a great number to death, but kept a greater number in prison; moreover, those of Hippo and those of Gadera did the like, while they put to death the boldest of the Jews, but kept those of whom they were afraid in custody; as did the rest of the cities of Syria, accordingly as they every one either hated them, or were afraid of them; only the Antiochians, the Sidonians, and Apamians, spared those that died, thinking that their adversity was the signal for them to kill any of the Jews, or to put them in bonds. And perhaps they spared them, because their own number was so great that they despaired their attempts; but I think the greatest part of them were put to death, but they ran away with the rest of their goods, and those of whom they saw to make no innovations. As for the Gerasans, they did no harm to those that abode with them; and for those who had a mind to go away, they conducted them as far as the borders reached.

6. There was also a plot laid against the Jews in Agrippa's kingdom; for he was himself gone to Cestius Gallus, to Antioch, but had left one of his sons, Aristobulus, to take care of the public affairs; which Nothus was of kin to king Sophonias. Now there came certain men, seventy in number, out of Batanias, who were the most considerable for their families and posterity; and of the rest of the principal men, and of the seditious, they sent one to have an array put into their hands, that if any tumult should happen, they might have about them a guard sufficient to restrain such as might rise up against them. This Nothus sent out some of those that were armed by night, and slew all those [seventy] men; which bold action he ventured upon without the consent of Agrippa, and was such a lover of money, that he chose to be so wicked to his own countrymen, although he brought them up out of the best families, and cruelly did he treat that nation, and this contrary to the laws also, until Agrippa was informed of it, who did not indeed dare to put him to death, out of regard to Sophonias; but still he put an end to the whole conspirators immediately. But as to the seditious, they took the citadel which was called Cypros, and was above Jericho, and cut the throats of the garrison, and utterly demolished the fortifications; this was about the same time; and the fear of the Jews, as Macabaeus persuaded the Romans who were in garrison to leave the place, and deliver it up to them. These Romans being in great fear, lest the place should be taken by force, made an agreement with the Romans on those conditions; and when they had obtained the security they desired, they delivered up the citadel, into which the people of Macabaeus put a garrison for their own security, and held it in their own power.

7. But for Alexandria, the sedition of the people of the place against the Jews was perpetual, and this from that very time when Alexander [the Great] upon leaving the residence of the Jews in assisting him against the Egyptians, and as a reward for such their assistance, gave them equal privileges in this city with the Grecians themselves. Which honorary reward continued among them; and this of whom they were afraid, was for them a particular place, that they might live without being polluted [by the Gentiles], and were thereby not so much intermixed with foreigners as before: they also gave them this further privilege, that they took out of Egypt the firstfruits of every harvest, and the first fruits of all their lights and sacrifices; and for the rest of their sacrifices, they gave them four thousand talents, and the money of the taxes was their own. Nay, when the Romans got possession of Egypt, the first Caesar, nor any one that came after him, thought of diminishing the honors which Alexander had bestowed on the Jews. But still conflicts perpetually arose with the Grecians; and although the governor did every day punish many of them, yet did the sedition grow worse; but at this time especially, when there were tumults in other places also, but kept those of whom they were afraid in the disord of the Romans in captivity; for when the Alexandrians had once 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 they saw the numbers of their adversary, they cried out, and called them their enemies, and said they came as spies upon them; upon which they rushed out, and laid violent hands upon them; and as for the rest they were slain as need was. And they ran away with the rest of those whom they caught, and hauled them along, in order to have them burst 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 arms, and had no remission into the theatre and threatened that they would burn the peoples to a man; and this they had said before, unless Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had restrained their passions. However, this man did not begin to teach them wisdom by arms, but sent among them privately some of the principal men, and thereby entrapped them to be quiet, and not provoke the Roman army against them; but the seditious made a jest of the treaty of the Romans with the Alexandrians, and took the deeds of the treaty of the Romans with the Alexandrians, and reproached him for so doing.

8. Now when he perceived that those who were for innovations would not be pacified till some great calamity should fall upon them, he sent out upon them those two Roman legions that were in the city, and together with them five thousand other soldiers, who by chance were come together out of Libya, to the ruin of the Jews. They also were not so content with them, but to plunder them of what they had, and to 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 all that was possible, through the houses 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 were back, the Jews were slain by thousands, and this their destruction was complete, some being caught in the open field, and others forced into their houses, which houses were first plundered of what was in them, and then set on fire by the Romans, and the flames was shown to the infants, and no regard had to the aged; but they went on in the slaughter of persons of every age, till all the place was overflowed with blood, and fifty thousand of them lay dead upon heaps; nor had it at remembrance that they had been preserved that they not taken themselves to supplication. So Alexander commiserated their condition, and gave orders to the Romans to retire: accordingly, these being accommodated to obey orders, the left off killing at the first intimations; but the populace of Alexandria bore so very great 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 everywhere in arms; so he mustered all the forces that were at hand in Egypt, and out of each of the rest he selected two thousand, with six cohorts of footmen, and four troops of horsemen, besides those auxiliaries which were sent by the kings; of which Antiochus

†Spanheim notes on the place, that this latter Antiochus, who was called Epyphanes, is mentioned by Dio, lix. page 645, and that he is mentioned by Josephus elsewhere twice also, b. v. ch. xI. sect. 3, and Antiq. h. xix. ch. viii. sect. 1. 2 0 2
sent two thousand horsemen, and three thousand footmen, with as many archers; and Agrippa sent the same number of footmen, and one thousand horsemen; Sohemus also followed with four thousand, a third part whereof were horsemen, but most part were archers, and thus did he march to Ptolemais. There were also great numbers of auxiliaries gathered together from the [free] cities, which indeed had not the same spirit in martial affairs, but were rather in the pursuit of gold, to get what they wanted in their pleasures.

Chap. XIX.

What Cestius did against the Jews; and how upon his besieging Jerusalem, he retraced from the City, without any just Occasion in the World. As also what severa Celmomities we learn from the Jews on his retreat.

1. And now Gallus, seeing nothing more that lay towards an assault, and without any concert with Cestius, removed with his whole army, and marched to Antipatris. And when he was informed that there was a great body of Jewish forces got together about Jerusalem, he sent immediately for a party before to fight them; but this party dispersed the Jews by affrighting them before it came to a battle: so they came, and finding the camp well manned, were afraid to attack them, and retreating, left about five thousand Jews: and the Romans did not pursue them, but returned to their own camp.

2. And now Cestius himself marched from Ptolemais, and came to Cæsarea; but he sent part of his army before him to Joppa, and gave order, that if they could take that city [by surprise], they should give it up; but that in case the citizens should perceive they were coming to attack them, that they then should stay for him and the rest of the army. So some of them made a brisk march by the seacoast, and some by land, and came upon the city, on both sides; they took the city with ease; and as the inhabitants had made no provision aforesaid for a flight, nor had gotten any thing ready for fighting, the soldiers fell upon them, and slew them all; and taking the plunder and burnt the city. The number of the slain was eight thousand four hundred. In like manner Cestius sent also a considerable body of horsemen to the toparchy of Naarbatae, that adjoining to the land of the Jews; and burned the city, and slew a great multitude of its people; they also plundered what they had, and burnt their villages.

3. But Cestius sent Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, and delivered to him as many of his forces as he supposed sufficient to subdue that nation. He was received by the strongest city of Galilee, which was Sephoris, with acclamations of joy, which were a certain proof of that city occasioning 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 Galilee, and is situated over against Sephoris; it is called Assom. So Gallus fought against them, and killed them; but when 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 gotten into parts above their enemies, the others were soon beaten, nor could they who had only flight, upon which the force of the mass that fought them ran over all over; nor when they were beaten could they escape the enemy's horsemen: insomuch, that only some few concealed themselves in certain places hard to be found; among the rest, above two thousand and in number, were slain.

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book, and put the houndmost 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 turned there three days, the Jews seized upon the elevated parts of the city, and set watches at the entrances into the city, and appeared openly resolved not to rest, when once the Romans should begin to march. The wall, and parts of the city, were set on fire by the Jews, so that the affairs of the Romans were likely to be in danger, while such an immense multitude of their enemies had seized upon the mountains round about, he determined to try what the Jews were prepared for the wall for fighting, as he should either persuade them all to desist from fighting, or, however, that he should cause the sober part of them to separate themselves from the opposite party. So he sent Bocceas and Puteus into the city, and gave them orders to show the best known to them, and promised them, that Cestius should give them his right hand, to secure them of the Romans' entire forgiveness of what they had done amiss, if they would throw away that díastris, and, as much as they could, to persuade the seditions, fearing lest the whole multitude, in hopes of security to themselves, should go over to Agrrippa, resolved immediately to fall upon and kill the ambassadors: accordingly they slew seven guards. At last Cestius was only wounded, and so prevented his fate by flying away; and when the people were very angry at this, they had the seditions beaten with sticks and clubs, and drove them before them into the city.

4. But now Cestius, observing that all the difficulties that were begun among the Jews afforded him a proper opportunity to attack them, took his whole army, and he with him, and crossed over to flight, and pursued them to Jerusalem. He then pitched his camp upon the elevation called Scopus, [or watch-tower,] which was distant seven furlongs from the city; yet did he not assail them in their days' time, out of fear lest those within might perhaps yield a little; and in the mean time he sent out a great many of his soldiers into the neighboring villages, to seize upon their corn. And on the fourth day, which was the fourth, as he had been talking to Tiberius, when he had put his army in array, he brought it into the city. Now for the people, they were kept under by the seditions; but the seditions themselves were greatly affrighted at the presence of the Romans and the troops of the suburbs, and retreated into the inner part of the city, and into the temple. But when Cestius was come into the city, he set the part called Benetha, which is also called Creopsis, [the market place] on fire; he did this just at the time-market: after which he came into the upper city, and pitched his camp over against the royal palace; and had he but at this time attempted to set within the walls by force, he would have won the city presently, and the war had been put an end to at once; but Tyrannus Priscus, the master-mate of the army, and a great number of the officers of the horse, had been corrupted by Ezechias the converter, and on account of the terms of the capitulation that was the occasion that this war lasted so very long, and thereby the Jews were involved in such insurmountable calamities.

5. In the mean time many of the principal men of the city were reconciled by Ananias the son of Jonathan, and invited Cestius into the city, and were about to open the gates for him but he overlooked this offer, partly out of his anger at the Jews, and partly because he did not thoroughly believe they were in earnest; whence it was that he delayed the matter so long, that the seditions perceived the treachery, and threw Ananias and those of his party down from the wall, and put the inhabitants of the city into their houses; but they stood themselves at proper distances in the towers, and threw their darts at those that were getting over the wall.

That day Cestius made their attack against the city, but to no purpose; in expectation of the next day. Cestius took a good many of his chieftain men, and with them the archers, and attempted to break into the temple at the northern quarter of it; but the Jews beat them off from the cloisters, and threw them several shafts 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 low. Several people were hit, and others that were still more backward, and 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. Cestius, seeing that he could not set open the gates, and to admit Cestius as their benefactor, who, had he but continued the siege a little longer, had certainly taken the city; but it was, I suppose, owing to the aversion God had already at that time committed it to them, and he was hindered from putting an end to the war that very day.

6. And now it was that a horrible fear seized upon the seditions, insomuch that many of them ran out of the city, as though it were to be taken immediately: but the people upon this took courage, and where the wicked part of the city gave ground, this did the contrary, and set open the gates, and to admit Cestius as their benefactor, who, had he but continued the siege a little longer, had certainly taken the city; but it was, I suppose, owing to the aversion God had already at that time committed it to them, and he was hindered from putting an end to the war that very day.

7. It then happened that Cestius was not conscious either how the besieged despaired of success, nor how near the time of his own departure was; so he recalled his soldiers from the place, and by despairing of any expectation of taking it, without having received any disgrace, he retired from the city, without any great harm to the world. Thus the Romans received this unexpected retreat of his, they resumed their courage, and ran after the hinder parts of his army, and destroyed a considerable number of both their horsemen and footmen; and Cestius lay all night at that place, which was at Scopus, and as he went off farther next day, he thereby invited the enemy to follow him, who still fell upon the hindmost, and destroyed them; they also fell upon the flank on each side of the army, and threw darts upon them obliquely, nor distrusted those that were hindermost turn back upon those who wounded them behind, as imaging that the multitude of those that pursued them was immense; nor did they rest content 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 sallies upon them.
the reason why the Romans suffered greatly, without being able to revenge themselves upon their enemies as they were galled all the way and their ranks were put into disorders, and those that were thus put out of their ranks were slain; among whom were Priscus, the commander of the sixth legion, and Longinus, the praefectus tribunici, and Lucius Secundus, the commander of a troop of 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. Cestius sent out a detail about Cestius 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 thought that his death was to his own detriment, and that if he stayed any longer there, 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 flight, including his baggage, horse and other creatures, excepting those that carried their darts and machines, which they retained for their own use, and this principally because they were afraid lest the Jews should seize upon them. He then took his army on the march as far as Bethhoron. Now the Jews did not so much press upon them when they were in large open places, but when they were penned up in their descent through narrow lanes, then did some of them get upon the ground before, and hindered them from getting out of them, and others of them thrust the hindermost down into the lower places, and the whole multitude extended themselves over against the Jews, and covered all the Roman army with their darts. In which circumstances, as the footmen knew not how to defend themselves, so the danger pressed the horsemen still more, for they were so pelted, that they could not find room for their horses, and the assests were so high, that the cavalry were not able to march against the enemy; the precipices also, and valleys into which they frequently fell, and tumbled down, were such on each side of them, that there were neither place for their flight, nor any contrivance could be thought of for their defence; till the distress they were at last in was so great, that they betook themselves to the ship, and so did to such small ordes, that men used in the utmost despair; the joyful exclamations of the Jews, also, as they encouraged one another, echoed the sound back again, these last composing a noise of those that at once rejoiced and wept with rage. Indeed, thing were come to such a pass, that the Jews had almost taken Cestius's entire army prisoners, had not the night come on, when the Romans fled to Bethhoron, 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 that Cestius, 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 mad 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 ensigns were still set up upon those four hundred who had delayed them, and immediately threw their darts at them, and slew them, and then pursued after Cestius. But he had already made use of a great part of the night in his flight, and still advanced quicker, when it was day, knowing that the soldiers, through the astonishment and fear they were in, left behind them their engines for sieges, and for throwing stones, and a great part of the instruments of war. So the Jews went on pursuing the Romans as after which, seeing they could not overtake them, they came back, and took the engines, and spoiled the dead bodies, and gathering the prey together which the Romans had left behind them, came back running and chasing those that had two days; whereas they had themselves lost a few only, but had slain of the Romans five thousand and three hundred footmen, and three hundred and eighty horsemen. This defeat happened on the eighth day of the month Thammuz, after Anarchus, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero.

CHAP. XX.

Cestius sends Ambassadors to Nero. The People of Damascus say those Jews that lived with them. The People of Jerusalem, after they had [left off] pursuing Cestius, return to the City, and get things ready for its defense, and make a great many General for their Armies, and particularly Josephus, the writer of these Books. Some Account of his Administration. 

1. After this calamity had befallen Cestius many of the most eminent of the Jews swam away to Rome, and the rest were very few, and in the city, in which they dwelt in that place, in going to sink; Costobarus, therefore, and Seal, who were brethren, together with Philip, the son of Jachimus, who was the commander of king Agrippa's forces, ran away from the city, and were very few that remained. And some of the people of Jerusalem had been besieged with them in the king's palace, would not fly away with them, was afterward slain by the seditious, we shall relate hereafter. However, Cestius sent Seal and his friends, at least three thousand and three hundred, to him of the great distress they were in, and to lay the blame of their kindling the war upon Flora, as hoping to alleviate his own danger, by provoking his indignation against Flora. 2. In the mean time the people of Damascus, when they were informed of the destruction of the Romans, set about the slaughter of those Jews that were among them; and as they had no patience to deal with those that were guilty of public exercises, which they had done out of the suspicion they had of them, they thought they should meet with no difficulty in the attempt; yet did they distrust their own wives, who were always with them, which made them more exact on which account it was, that their greatest concern was, how they might conceal these things from them; so they came upon the Jews, and cut their throats, as being in a narrow place, in number ten thousand, and all of them unarmed, and this in one hour's time, without any body to disturb them.

3. But as to those who had pursued after Cestius when they ran him in, 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 mad 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 ensigns were still set up upon those four hundred who had delayed them, and immediately threw their darts at them, and slew them, and then pursued after Cestius. But he had already made use of a great part of the night in his flight, and still advanced quicker, when it was day, knowing that the soldiers, through the astonishment and fear they were in, left behind them their engines for sieges, and for throwing stones, and a great part of the instruments of war. So the Jews went on pursuing the Romans as after which, seeing they could not overtake them, they came back, and took the engines, and spoiled the dead bodies, and gathering the prey together which the Romans had left behind them, came back running and chasing those that had two days; whereas they had themselves lost a few only, but had slain of the Romans five thousand and three hundred footmen, and three hundred and eighty horsemen. This defeat happened on the eighth day of the month Thammuz, after Anarchus, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero.

*From this name of Joseph the son of Gorion, or Gorion the son of Joseph, as b. lv. c. iii. sect. 9, one of the governors of Jerusalem, who was slain at the beginning of the tumult by the zealots, b. lv. ch. vi. sect 1, the
BOOK II.—CHAP. XX.

sephoris, 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 take part against him, were guilty of any injurious for that purpose. The case was the same with Gischala, 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 fortress on the heights, he did not consent to that which he had. collected together with all the other builders, and was present to give all the necessary orders for that purpose. He also got together an army out of Galilee, of the young men, of all the armed with the old men, which he had collected together and prepared for them.

7. And when he had considered that the Roman power might impose such ready readiness in obeying orders, and the constant exercise of their arms, he was disposed to teach these the men the use of their arms, which was to be obtained by experience; but observing that they were not instructed in the multitude of their orders, he made his partitions in his army more after the Roman manner, and appointed many subalterns. He also distributed the soldiers into various classes, whom he put under captains of hundreds, and then under 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 names of the places, and thus he was enabled at his pleasure to expand the wings of an army, and make them wheel about, and when one wing had had success, to turn again and assist those that were hard set, and to join in the defence of what had most suffered, he communicated both these orders to them in the council of the troops, and the hardness of the body; and above all he exercised them for war, by declaring to them distinctly the good order of the Romans, and how they were to fight; and then by the strength of their bodies and courage of their souls, had conquered in a manner the whole habitable earth. He told them that he should make trial of the good order they observed in war, even before it came to any battle, in case they would abstain from the crimes the use to indulge themselves in, such as theft, and robbery, and rapine, and from depraving their own countrymen, and from tyrannizing; and if you were to attempt any thing those who were so near of kin to him, to be any advantage to themselves; for that war are then managed the best when the warriors preserve a good conscience; but that such as are ill men in private life, will not only have no difficulty in those 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 a army as was sufficient, i. e. sixty thousand footmen, and two hundred and fifty horsemen; and besides those, on which he put the greatest trust, there were wisdom and pietie, and skilful conduct in martial af

...
about four thousand five hundred mercenaries; he had also six hundred men as guards of his body. Now the cities easily maintained the rest of his army, multiplying the mercenaries, for every one of the cities enumerated above sent out half their men to the army, and retained the other half at home, in order to get provisions for them; insomuch that the rest went not to war with them, but returned to their work; and so those that sent out their corn were paid for it by those in arms, by that security which they enjoyed from them.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning John of Gischala. Josephus says Stratagems against the Plots John laid against him, and overcome certain Cities which had revolted from him.

1. Now as Josephus was thus engaged in the administration of the affairs of Galilee, there arose a treacherous person, a man of Gischala, the son of Levi, whose name was John. His character was hireling; so he got togs, and very knavish person, beyond the ordinary rate of the other men of eminence there, and for wicked practices he had not his fellow anywhere. Poor he was in name, and for a long time his wants were a hindrance to him in his wicked designs. He was a ready liar, and yet very sharp in gain- ing 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 hopes of gain, he spared not the shedding of blood: his desires were ever carried to great things, and he encouraged his hopes from those mean wicked tricks with which he was the author of. He had a peculiar knack at thieving; but in some time he got certain companions in his impudent practices; at first they were but few, but as he proceeded on in his evil course, they became still more. Then he was given to the care that none of his partners should be easily caught in their rogueries, but those such out of the rest as had the strongest constitutions of body, and the greatest courage of soul, together with great skill in means of affaires; so 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 obliged to make use of oil that was made by others than those of their own nation, got the men of Jerusalem to send oil to their borders: so he bought four amphore with such Tyrian money as was of the value of four Attic drachmes, and sold every half amphore at the same price. And as Galilee was very fruitful, and he got the Tyrians to engage him, by sending away great quantities, and having the sole privilege so to do, he gathered an immense sum of money together, which money he improved, was used to the disadvantage of him who gave him that privilege. And, as he supposed, that if he could overthrob Josephus, he should himself obtain the government of Galilee, so he gave orders to the robbers that were under his command, to be more zealous in their thievish expeditions, that, by the rise of many that desired innovations in the country, he might either catch their general in his snares, as he came to the country's assistance, and then kill him; or if he should overlook the robbers, he might receive the same for his negligence from the country. He also spread abroad a report far and near, that Josephus was delivering up the administration of affairs to the Romans: and many such plots did he lay in order to ruin him.

2. Now, as he thought this policy most likely to effect his design, he went to the king and queen, and deposited what they brought to him with Eneas, the most potent man of Tyre, with an intention of sending the things back to the owners at a proper time, which act he thought them going the greatest danger; for those that had stolen the things had an indignation at him, both because they gained no share of it for themselves, and because they perished by the violence of fire. He thought that this would be a great disorder in all the neighboring cities, insomuch that in the morning a hundred thousand armed men came running together; which multitude was crowded together in the hippodrome of the city, and there Josephus and the king and queen, and his friends, and the guards of his body, were so afflicted at this violent assault of the multitude, that they all fled away but four; and as he was asleep, he awoke and heard a great noise, and they were coming against him; while some cried out, that "they should depose the traitor;" and others, that "they should burn him." Now John irritated a great many, as did also Jesus the son of Sephar, whom Josephus says it was that Josephus's friends, and the guards of his body, were so afflicted at this violent assault of the multitude, that they all fled away but four; and as he was asleep, he awoke and heard a great noise, and they were coming against him; while some cried out, that "they should depose the traitor;" and others, that "they should burn him." Now John irritated a great many, as did also Jesus the son of Sephar, whom Josephus says it was that Josephus's friends, and the guards of his body, were so afflicted at this violent assault of the multitudes, that they all fled away but four; and as he was asleep, he awoke and heard a great noise, and they were coming against him; while some cried out, that "they should depose the traitor;" and others, that "they should burn him."
saw that the armed men were about to draw their swords, they cried out; at which cry 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 off that speech which he was going to make to the people, upon an elevation of six cubits high.

He then seized 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. But now the soldiers who had with him took 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 so bring in other cities to that; so he condescended to his party to tell them, that they should do no 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, in order to persuade Josephus; and were quiet; but the people of the neighboring 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 thousands of armed men, they cried out that they were come against John, the contumacious, and it would 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 conduct, rather than by slaying them; so he excepted those of every city which had joined in this revolt with John, by name, who had readily been showed him by those that came from every city, and cast them publicly into prison; and what was made, that he would seize upon the effects of those that did not forsake John within five days' time, and would burn both their houses and their families with them. Hereupon three thousand of John's party left him immediately, who came to Josephus, and threw their arms down at his feet. John then betook himself, together with his two thousand Syrian runagates, to open attempts to meet Josephus in the midst of Gischala, his native city, whereupon, he privately sent messengers to Jerusalem to accuse Josephus as having too great power, and to let them know that he would come, as a tyrant, to their metropolis, unless they prevented it. Thus these people, who were aware of beforehand, but had no regard to it. However, some of the grandees, out of envy, and some of the rulers also, sent money to John privately, that he might be able to get together mercenary soldiers; they also made a decree of themselves, and this for recalling him from his government; yet did they not think that decree sufficient; so they sent withal two thousand five hundred armed men, and four thousand of the most approved among them; Jossar, the son of Nomicus, and Aphanias, the son of Saduk, as also Simon and Judas, the sons of Jonathan, all very able men in speaking, that these persons might withdraw the good-will of the people from Josephus. These had it in charge, if he would voluntarily come away, they should permit him to [come and] give an account of his conduct, but if he obstinately insisted upon his continuing in his government, they should take him. Now Josephus's friends had sent him word that an army was coming against him, but they gave no notice beforehand what the reason of their coming was, that being only known among some secret counsellors of his enemies; and by this means it was that four cities revolted from him immediately, Sepphoris, and Gamala, and Gischala, and Tiberias. Yet did he recover these cities without war, and when he had routed those
WARS OF THE JEWS.

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tation it was to say, nobody, commanded one Levius, belonging to his guards, to go out of the city, for it was the custom of the people that when Levius was afraid to go out by himself alone, to such a large body of enemies, and refused to go. Now Citius saw that Josephus was in great passion in the ship, and ready to leap out of it, in such a manner as to beggad therefore from the shore, that he would leave him one of his hands, which Josephus agreed to, upon condition that he would himself cut off the other hand; accordingly, he drew his sword, but did not cut off the other hand, but left, so great was the fear he was in of Josephus himself. And thus he took the people of Tiberias prisoners, and recovered the city again with empty ships; and seven of his guards, who were with him, and the rest of the people, brought one of the vessels, which had revolted with the people of Sepphoris, and gave his soldiers leave to plunder it; yet did he get all the plunder together, and restored it to the inhabitants, and the like he did to the inhabitants of Sepphoris, and to the rest of Tiberia.

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 Simon the Son of Giornas falls to plundering.

§ 1. And thus were the disturbances of Galilee quieted, when, upon their ceasing to prosecute their civil dissensions, they betook themselves to make preparations for the war with the Romans, and the war in Transjordania in Jerusalem had been put off; and the great cities which had revolted in the war with the Romans, had betaken themselves to plundering. Although the multitude of the young men were engaged in exercises, without any regularity, and all places were full of tumultuous doings; but the most part of the people were exceedingly sad, and a great many there were who looked upon the prospects they had of the calamities that were coming upon them, made great lamentations. There were also such omen observed as were understood to be forerunners of evils, by such as understood them; and Josephus was told that kindled the war interpreted so as to suit their own inclinations; and the fact of the whole state of the city, even before the Romans came against it, was that of a place doomed to destruction. However, Ananus's case was in danger, in few days the Jews began to make their preparations for the war, and to persuade the seditiouss to consult their own interest, and to restrain the madness of those that had the name of zealots; for the violence was too hard for him, and what end he came to we shall relate hereafter.

2. But as for the Acrabbenes toparchy, Simeon, the son of Giornas, got a great number of those that were fond of innovations together, and began to assert his authority, and to make the leagues between them. He then gave orders to his ships, with the vessels which he had taken out of the ports which he had thus filled to sail away immediately for Tiberias, and to confine those men 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.
BOOK III.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE YEAR.—FROM VESPASIAN'S COMING TO
SUFFER THE JEWS, TO THE TAKING OF GAMA.""

BOOK III.

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 Egypt, he conceived an exasperation
and terror, as is usual in such cases, fell upon him; although he openly looked very big, and
was very angry, and said that what had happen-
ed was rather owing to the negligence of the commander,
than to any valor of the enemy: and as he thought it fit for him, who bore the
burden of the whole empire, to despise such mis-
fortunes, he now pretended so to do, and to have
a soul superior to all such accidents whatsoever.
Vespasian, on the contrary, in his address to the
people, showed how to recover his affairs again.

2. And as he was deliberating to whom he
should commit the care of the east, now it was in
so great a commotion, and who might be the best
able to punish the Jews for their rebellion,
and might prevent the same discomfiter from
seizing upon the neighboring nations also; he
found no one but Vespasian equal to the task, and
able to undertake the great burden of so mighty a
war, seeing he was growing an old man already
in the camp, and from his youth had been exer-
cised in warlike exploits: he was also a man that
had long ago pacified the west, and made it sub-
ject to greatness; and having himself suffered
abundance of distress from the disorder by the
Germans; he had also recovered to them Britain by his arms, which had been lit-
tle known before; whereby he procured to his
father Claudius to have a triumph bestowed on
him without any sweat or labor of his own.

3. So Nero esteemed these circumstances as
favorable omens, and saw that Vespasian's age
granted him sure experience, and great skill, and
that he had his sons as hostages for his future;
and that the nourishing age they were in
would make them fit instruments under his fa-
ther's prudence. Perhaps also there was some
interposition of Providence, which was paving the
way for the Romans and opening others worse
afterward. Upon the whole, be sent this man to
take upon him the command of the armies that
were in Syria; but this not without great enco-
nimons and flattering compliances, such as ne-
ever happened. In this he succeeded; and after-
ward, upon the whole, be sent this man to
make them the command of the armies that
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ever happened. In this he succeeded; and after-
ward, upon the whole, be sent this man to
make them the command of the armies that
were in Syria; but this not without great enco-

...
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3. Yet were not the spirits of the Jews broken 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 stirred 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 greater fury, and in much greater numbers, to Ascalon. But their former ill fortune followed them, as the consequence of their unskillfulness, and other deficiencies in war; for Antiochus laid ambuscades for them in the passages they were about to pass through, where they fell into snares unexpectedly, and where they were encompassed about with horsemen, before they could form themselves into a regular body for fighting, and crush their hands, and had received of them slain: so all the rest of them ran away, and with them Niger, who still did a 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 Bezetel. However, Antonius 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 means of escape, to be cut off, determined, after a long day's attempt, and the immediate loss of all the rest of them, to 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 passage, and the incendiarists got part of it, and what 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 rescued, and the event fulfilled all that was written in the expected 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 from Antioch (which is the metropolis of Syria, and without dispute deserves the place of the third city in the habitable earth, that was under the Roman empire, both in magnitude, and other marks of prosperity,) where he found king Agrippa, and his son, and the Jews, all looking for the coming, and marched to Ptolemais. At this city also the inhabitants of Sepphoris of Galilee met him, who were for peace with the Romans. The Jews in the city had beforehand taken care of their own safety; and they have a tradition, that of 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 rigour to receive a Roman garrison; and at this time withal they received Vespasian, the Roman general, very kindly, and readily promised that they would assist him against their own countrymen. Now the general delivered them, at their desire, as many conveniencies, and legions as he thought sufficient to oppose the incursions of the Jews, if they should come against them. And indeed the danger of losing Sepphoris would be no small one, in this war which was going on, to the largest city of Galilee, and built in a place by nature very strong, and might be a security of the whole nation's [adelity to the Romans.]

CHAP. III.
A Description of Galilee, Samaria, and Judea.

1. Now Phœnicia and Syria encompass about the Galilees, which are two, and called the Upper Galilees, because they are banded toward the sun-setting, with the borders of the territory belonging to Ptolemais, and by Carmel; which mountain had formerly belonged to the Galileans, but now belonged to the Tyrians, to which mountain adjoins Gaba, which is called the city of horsemen, because those horsemen that were dismission by Herod the king dwelt therein. It is bounded on the south with Samaria and Scythopolis, as far as the river Jordan; on the east with Hiphspes and Gaderis, and also with Gaulanitis, and the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa; its northern parts are bounded by the Tyrians. As for that Galilee which is called the Lower, it extends in length from Tiberias to Zebalon, and of the maritime pieces Ptolemais is its neighborhood; its breadth is from the village called Galilee as far as Bersabe, from which beginning also is taken the breadth of the Upper Galilee, as far as the village Baca, which divides the land of the Tyrians from it; its length is also from Meloth to Thallis, a village near to Jericho.

2. These two Galilees, of so great largeness and encompassed with so many nations of foreigners, have been always able to make a strong resistance on all occasions of war; for the Galileans are inured to war from their infancy, and have been always very numerous; nor hath the country been ever destitute of men of courage, or wanted a numerous set of them: for their soil is fruitful, and fruitful in various sorts; and the plantations of trees of all sorts, inso much that it invites the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation, by its fruitfulness: accordingly it is all cultivated by its inhabitants, and no part of it lies idle. Moreover, the cities lie here and there, thick, and the very many villages there are here are everywhere so full of people, by the richness of their soil, that the very least of them contain above fifteen thousand inhabitants.

3. But the Lower Galilee is inferior to Pereæ in magnitude, he will be obliged to prefer it before it in its strength: for this is all capable of cultivation, and is every where fruitful; but for Pereæ, which is indeed much more the greater part of it, is desert and rough, and much less disposed for the production of the milder kinds of fruits; yet hath it a moist soil [in other parts, and produces all kinds of fruits, and its plains are planted with trees, and its vineyards, and its olive-groves, and its vines, vine and palm-tree, are chiefly cultivated there. It is also sufficiently watered with torrents, which issue out of the mountains, and with springs that never fail to run, even when the torrents fail themselves. Moreover, the length of Pereæ is from Macchera to Pella, and its breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan: its northern parts are bounded by Pella, as we have already said, as well as its western with Jordan; the land of Moab is its southern border, as the eastern limits reach to Arabia, and Sidonias, and besides to Philadelphene and Geraman.

4. Now, as to the country of Samaria, it lies between Judea and Galilee; it is navigable in a valley, and there is a great plain called Gilead, which ends at the Acrabene toparchy, and is entirely of the same nature with Judea; for both countries are made up of hills and valleys, and are much enough for agriculture, and are very fruitful. They have abundance of trees, and are full of autumnal fruit; both that which grows wild, and that which is the effect of cultivation. They are not naturally watered by many rivers, but receive moisture from the brooks which have no sound; and for those rivers which they have, all their waters are exceeding sweet: by reason also of the excellent grass they have, their cattle yield more milk than those in other places; and, with the greatest sign of excellence and of abundance, they each of them are very full of people.

5. In the limits of Samaria and Judea lies the Syrie, were Rome and Alexandria; nor is there any occasion for doubt in so plain a case.
village of Amathus, which is also named Boocaea.

This is the northern boundary of Judaea. The southern parts of Judaea, if they be measured longways, are bounded by a straight edge to
the coast of Arabia; the Jews that dwell there call it Jordan. However, its breadth is ex-
tended from the river Jordan to Joppa. The city of Jerusalem is situated in the very middle; on
which account, together with all, he joined them to that fifteenth legion which was with his father;
eighteen cohorts followed these legions; there came also five cohorts from Caesarea, with one
troop of horsemen, and five other troops of horse-
men from thence. Now there was in these
sailed that city the naval of the country. Nor
indeed is Judaea destitute of such delights as
come from the sea, since its maritime places ex-
tend as far as Ptolemais, it was parted in eleven
portions, in which there are the two cities, and next to
Acrabatta; after them Thamna, and Lydda, and
Emmona, and Fella, and Idumea, and Engadi,
and Herodium, and Jericho; and after them
came Jamnia and Joppa, as presiding over the
neighboring sea, as the head does over the body.
As to the other cities that were inferior to it, they
presided over their several toparchies; Goph-
na was the toparchy of those cities, and next to
that Acrabatta; after them Thamna, and Lydda,
and Emmona, and Fella, and Idumea, and Engadi,
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CHAP. IV.

Josephus makes an Attempt upon Sephoris, but is repelled. Titus comes with a great Army to Ptolemais.

1. Now the auxiliaries who were sent to as-
sist the people of Sephoris, being a thousand
horsemen, and the best of footmen, and the
vicissitudes of auxiliaries to the region, and of
the adjoining country, were very
troublesome to Josephus and his men; they also
plundered all the places that were out of the city's
liberty, and intercepted such as durst go abroad.
Our army, not only always against the city, as hopings to take what he had
lately encompassed with so strong a wall, before
they revolved from the rest of the Galileans, that
they had left behind them, to the
(Petra) by which means he proved too weak, as failed
of his hopes, both as to forcing the place, and as
to his prevailing with the people of Sephoris to
delivery it up to him. By this means he provoked the
Romans to treat the country according to the
law of war; nor did the Romans, out of the
anger they bore at this attempt, leave off either
by night or by day burning the places in the
plain, and stealing away the cattle that were in the
country, and not sparing those which were com-
pable of lighting, perpetually, and leading the
weaker people as slaves into captivity; so that
Galilee was all over filled with fire and blood;
or was it exempted from any kind of misery and
cruelty, so that they were not only made, or
when they were pursued, they could retire to the
cities which had walls built them by Josephus.

2. But as to Titus, he sailed over from Acre

A Description of the Roman Armies, and their
Campos; 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 them-
selves of such household servants, as might not
only serve at other times for the common offices
of life, but might be trained to the purposes of
their wars. And, indeed, if any one does but at-
end to the other parts of their military discipline, be
will be forced to confess, that their obtaining so
large a dominion hath been the acquisition of
their valor, as the means of obtaining it; 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 peace; but as if their weapons did al-
ways cling to them, they were ever ready to
warlike exercise; nor do they stay till times of
war admonish them to use them; for their mi-
itary exercises differ not at all from the real use
of their arms, but every day is ever day exer-
cised, and this is the daily diligence as it 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 reg-
ularity, nor can fear allay them out of it, so
nor can labor 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 exercises unbloody
battles, and those the things of their enemies
easily surprise them with the sud-
leness of their incursions; for as soon as they
have marched into an enemy's land, they do not be-

sion to Alexandria, and that sooner than the winter
season did usually permit; so he took with those
forces he was sent for, and marching with

A This description of the exact symetry and reg-
ularity of the Roman army and of the Roman encamp-
ments, with the sounding their trumpets, etc. the or-
der 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. i.) that one cannot well avoid the sim-
ple, that the one was the ultimate pattern of the other
and that the tactics of the ancients were taken from
rules given by God to Moses. And it is thought by

...
2. As for what is within the camp, it is set apart for tents, but the outward circumference hath the resemblance to a wall, and is adorned with towers at equal distances, where between the towers stand the engines for throwing arrows, darts, and sling stones, and where they lay all other engines that can annoy 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 time that the beasts to go in and out enough for making excursions, if occasion should require. They divide the camp within into streets very conveniently, and place the tents of the commanders in the middle, but in the very midst of all. Some have their own tent, in the nature of a temple, inasmuch that it appears to be a city 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 dispute arises, is drawn the whole, whose depth is four cubits, and its breadth equal.

3. When they have thus secured themselves, they sive together by companies, with quietness and decency, as are all their other affairs managed. Their country 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, waking, and rising, are notified beforehand by the sound of trumpets, nor is any thing done without a signal; and in the morning the soldier go every one to their companies, where the centurions, their tribunes, 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 observed 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.

4. When they are to go out 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 once more prepare them to the charge; then do they lay their baggage suddenly upon their mules, and other beasts of burden, and stand, as at the place of starting, ready to march: when also they set fire to their camp, and 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 appear to the enemy as they are going to war; then do the trumpets sound again, so that not a man may be out of his place, when the army marches. Then does the centurion stand at the general's right hand, and asks them thrice in their own tongue, whether they be now ready to go on foot or not, to which they answer 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 filled with a kind of martial fury, and at the same time when they cry out, they lift up their right hands also.

5. 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 rank, so it they were going to war. The footmen are armed with breastplates and head-covers skilful in these matters, that these accounts of Josephus as to the Roman camp and armor, and common 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 out from the rest to be about the general's person, because he is armed with a buckler, but the rest of the foot soldiers, have a spear, and a long buckler, besides a saw and a bucket, a pickaxe, and an axe, a thong of leather, and a hook, with provisions for three days, so that a footman hath as great need of bread, salt, and meat as of spears. They have also head-pieces, and breastplates, in like manner as have all the footmen. And for those that are chosen to be about the general, their armor noway differs from that of the common soldiers, except for which reason they only arm themselves; and whereas the guards commit no errors, and if they have been mistook at any time, they easily correct those mistakes. They also esteem any errors they commit upon taking counsel beforehand, to be better than the chance of success as is owing to fortune only; because such a fortunate advantage tempt them to be inconsiderate, while consultation, though it may sometimes fail of success, hath never failed of that, which goes according to their counsel 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 unexpectedly, there is this comfort in them, that they had now taken the best consultations they could to prevent them.

6. They are as the manner of the marching and resting of the Romans, as also the ways they have for the same: But when they go to fight, they leave nothing without forecast, nor to be done off hand, but counsel is ever first taken before any work is begun, and what hath been there resolved upon is put in practice. If any soldier commits any errors, and if they have been mistook at any time, they easily correct those mistakes. They also esteem any errors they commit upon taking counsel beforehand, to be better than the chance of success as is owing to fortune only; because such a fortunate advantage tempt them to be inconsiderate, while consultation, though it may sometimes fail of success, hath never failed of that, which goes according to their counsel 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 unexpectedly, there is this comfort in them, that they had now taken the best consultations they could to prevent them.

7. Nevertheless, they so manage their preparatory exercises of their weapons, that not the bodies of the soldiers only, but their souls, may also be exercised. They are thus made ready for the war by fear, for their laws inflict capital punishments, not only for soldiers running away from their ranks, but for slothfulness and inactivity, though it be but in a lesser degree; as are their punishments for deserters. But they also prevent any imputation of cruelty toward those under condemnation, by the great rewards that are bestowed on the valiant soldiers; and the readiness of obeying their commanders is so great, that it is very ornamental in peace; but when they come to a battle, the whole army is but one body, so well coupled together are their ranks, so sudden are their turnings about, so sharp their hearing, as to what orders are given them; so quick a change of their forwards, and so nimble 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 satisfaction. Now if any of them for their victories have been severer to them 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, what wonder is it if Empires, seated on the east, the ocean on the west, the most fertile in war, are profitable to them in the Roman authors themselves.
regions of Libya on the south, and the Danube and the Rhine on the north, are the limits of the empire? One might well say, that the Roman provinces are not inferior to the Roman themselves.

3. This account I have given the reader, not so much with the intention of commending the Romans for their own legions, those who have been conquered by them, and for the deterring others from attempting innovations under their government. This discourse of the Roman military conduct may also perhaps be of use to such of the curious as are ignorant of it, and yet have a mind to know it. I return now from this digression.

CHAP. VI.

Scipio attempts to take Jotapata, and is beaten off. Vespasian marches into Galilee.

§ 1. And now Vespasian, with his son Titus, had tarried some time at Ptolemais, and had put his army in order. But when Scipio, who had observed the weakness of the Galileans, and such as were of timorous souls, saw that the warriors ran always to those cities which were been burnt by Jews, he determined furtively against Jotapata, which was of them all the strongest, as supposing he should easily take it by a sudden surprise, and that he should thereby obtain great honor among his officers, 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 as to surrender themselves. But he was mightily mistaken in his undertaking; for the men of Jotapata were apprised of his coming to attack them, and came out of the city, and expected him there. So they fought the Romans briskly when they least expected it, being both many in numbers, and things ready 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 rest was not extrodinary manner; because the strokes only touched the surface of their bodies, which were covered with their armor in all parts, and because the Jews did rather throw their weapons upon them from a distance, as in a line of battle; for they had a band with them, and had only light armor on, while the others were completely armed. However, three men of the Jews' side were slain, and a few wounded; so Scipio, finding himself unable to assault the city, gave the enemy in a retreat.

2. But as Vespasian had a great mind to fall upon Galilee, he marched out to Ptolemais, having put his army into that order wherein the Romans used to march. He ordered those auxiliaries without, and the archers to march first, that they might prevent any sudden insul from the enemy, and might search out the woods that looked suspiciously, and were wooded for ambushes. Next came the horses, 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 take up a camp, 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 th: woods that hindered their march, that the army might not be in distress, or tired with

over with their armor, and the Jews fought at some distance: his meaning is clear, that these were the reasons why the war was not set down, but perhaps, somewhere supplied by the pronuntiation. Thus Josephus here says, that those of Jotapata slew seven of the Romans, as they were marching; but the Romans' retreat was regular their bodies were covered with their armor, and the Jews fought at some distance: his meaning is clear, that these were the reasons why the war was not set down, but perhaps, somewhere supplied by the pronuntiation. Thus Josephus here says, that those of Jotapata slew seven of the Romans, as they were marching; but the Romans' retreat was regular
only in 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 some of them he carried the inhabitants as slaves into captivity.

 Aside from that, 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 imagine that he would have run away, unless he had entirely despaired of the success of the attack. And indeed, as to that point, they were not mistaken about his opinion; for he saw whether the affairs of the Jews would tend at last, and was sensible that they had but one way of escaping, and that was by repentance. However, as the Romans expected this, the Jews would forgive him, yet did he choose to die many times over, rather than to betray his country, and to dishonor that supreme command of the army which had been entrusted with him, or to live: so that he was by him taken as he was about to flight. 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 exaggerating the power of the enemy, make them despair. He therefore, in their power beneath the truth, might encourage them to stand out when they were perhaps disposed to repentance. He also sent them word, that if they thought of coming to terms, they might send him word; or if they resolved upon war, they must send him an army sufficient to fight the Romans. Accordingly, he wrote these things, and sent messengers immediately to 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 thither, and that it was, on other accounts, a place of strength to them. Accordingly, he sent both footmen and horsemen to level the road, which was mountainous and rocky, not without difficulty to be travelled over by footmen, but absolutely impracticable for horsemen. Now these horsemen accomplished all that they were about in four days' time, and opened a broad way for the army. On the fifth day, which was the twenty-first of the month Artemius (Jyar), Josephus prevented him, and came from Tiberias to 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 make haste to the city, as supposing, that with the help of Josephus he should take the city, in case he could but withal get Josephus under his power. So he took this news to be of the greatest advantage to him, and believed it to be brought about by the providence of God, that he who appeared to be the most proudest man of all their enemies, had of his own accord shut himself up in a place of sure custody. Accordingly, he sent Flaccus with a thousand horsemen, and Eubutus a deceiver, a person that was of eminency both in morals and in action, to encompass the city round, that Josephus might not escape away privately.

4. Vespasian also, the very next day, took his wife to Jotapata with him; and they arrived there till late in the evening, arrived at Jotapata; and bringing his army to the northern side of the city, he pitched his camp on a certain small hill which was seven furlongs from the city, and still greater strength was to be added by the enemy, to put them into a constellation; 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 off 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 up every way for an exit; which thing making the Jews despair of escaping, excited them to act more boldly; for nothing makes man fight so desperately as war necessity.

5. Now when an assault was made the next day, however the Jews had been frightened out of the walls, and opposed them, and met them, as having formed themselves a camp, before the city walls. But when Vespasian had set against them the archers and slingers, and the multitude, as he had been expected the Romans would forgive him, yet did he choose to die many times over, rather than to betray his country, and to dishonor that supreme command of the army which had been entrusted with him, or to live: so that he was by him taken as he was about to flight. 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 exaggerating the power of the enemy, make them despair. He therefore, in their power beneath the truth, might encourage them to stand out when they were perhaps disposed to repentance. He also sent them word, that if they thought of coming to terms, they might send him word; or if they resolved upon war, they must send him an army sufficient to fight the Romans. Accordingly, he wrote these things, and sent messengers immediately to carry his letter to Jerusalem. On the fifth day, which was the twenty-first of the month Artemius (Jyar), Josephus prevented him, and came from Tiberias to 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 make haste to the city, as supposing, that with the help of Josephus he should take the city, in case he could but withal get Josephus under his power. So he took this news to be of the greatest advantage to him, and believed it to be brought about by the providence of God, that he who appeared to be the most proudest man of all their enemies, had of his own accord shut himself up in a place of sure custody. Accordingly, he sent Flaccus with a thousand horsemen, and Eubutus a deceiver, a person that was of eminency both in morals and in action, to encompass the city round, that Josephus might not escape away privately.

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6. On the next day the Jews made an attack upon the Romans, and went out of the walls, and fought a much more desperate battle with them than before. For they were now become 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 shame inflamed these into a passion, as enemies. They fought as if they had nothing to do but to finish that 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.

7. Now Jotapata is almost all of it built on a precipitous rock; on all the other sides of it, river valleys immensely deep and steep, inaccessible, that those who would look down would have their sight fail them before it reaches to the bottom. It is only to be come at on the north side, where the ground is flat, but is not certain, as it ends obliquely at a plain. This mountain Josephus had encompassed with a wall when he fortified the city, that its top might not be capable of being seized upon by the enemies. The city is confined by a ditch of which no messenger can and noway be seen till a man comes just upon it. And this was the strong situations of Jotapata.

8. Josephus, therefore, in order to try how he might overcome the natural strength of the place, as well as the bold defence of the Jews, made a resolution to prosecute the siege with vigour. To that end he called the commanders of the army, both by an edict, and by an interview, and consulted with them which way the enemy A might be managed to the best advantage. And when the resolution was there taken to raise a bank against that part of the wall which was not encompassed by the materials together. So when they had cut down all the trees on the mountains that adjoined to the city, and had gotten together a vast heap of stones, besides the wood they had cut down, some of them brought hedges, in order to use the effects of the darts that were shot from above them. These hurdles they spread over these banks, under cover whereof they formed their
that came to assault 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 into a surrender, as supposing that either 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 fasting: and he sent orders that they should guard against their coming out of the city.

12. Now the besieged had plenty of corn within the walls, and 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 contrivances to satisfy their thirst; and they were very sad at this time particularly, as if they were already in want of water entirely, for Josephus, seeing that the city abounded with all other necessaries, but the men were of good courage, and being dearest to protect the siege to the Romans longer than they expected, ordered their drink to be given them by measure; but this scanty distribution of water by measure, made the distress of the thing more hard upon them than the want of it; and their not being able to drink as much as they would, made them more desirous of drinking than they otherwise would have, nay, they were so much desirous of it that they would come to the last degree of thirst. Nor were the Romans unacquainted with the state they were in, for when they stood over against them, beyond the wall, they seeing them running to and fro, and taking their water in measure, which made them throw their javelins thither, the place being within their reach, and kill a great many of them.

13. Hereupon Vespasian hoped that their receptacles of water would in no long time be emptied, and that they would be forced to deliver up the city to him; but Josephus being minded to break such his hope, gave command that the more part of the stones and stuff that stood in the city, as city, like private robbers, by parties, and pulled away the hurdles that covered the workmen, and killed them when they were thus naked; and when those workmen gave way, these cast away the earth that covered them; for that the wooden parts of it, together with the hurdles, till at length Vespasian perceived that the intervals there between the works were of easy access, and then afforded the Jews a place for assaulting the Romans. So he united the hurdles, and at the same time joined one part of the army to the other, which prevented the private excursions of the Jews.

10. And when the bank was now raised, and brought nearer than ever to the battlements that belonged to the walls, Josephus thought it would be entirely wrong in him if he could make no contempt of them; for they should withdraw themselves and hang them out about the battlements, till the entire wall was of sudden all wet with the running down of the water. At this sight the Romans were discouraged, and under consternation, when they saw the city covered with water which made the boats move as in sport so much water, when they supposed not to have enough to drink themselves. This made the Roman general desirous of taking the city by their want of necessaries, and to entice him to a surrender, which was what the Jews greatly desired; for, as they despaired of either themselves or their city being able to escape, they preferred the death in battle before one by hunger and thirst.

14. However, Josephus contrived another stratagem besides the foregoing, to get plenty of what they wanted. There was a certain rough sort of house and uneven part of the city, and the Romans, who, in their own opinions, were already gotten within the walls, while they were now at once astonished at Josephus's contrivance, and at the multitude of the citizens that were out of the city. And now Vespasian was plainly irritated at the great subtilty of this stratagem, and at the boldness of the citizens of Jotapata; for, taking heart again upon the building of this which now stood upon the fresh mounds upon the Romans, and had every day conflicts with them by parties, together with all such contrivances as robbers made use of, and with the slaughter of all
and encompassed that rough place about them- 
selves. 15. And now it was that Josephus perceived 
that the city could not hold out long, and that 
his own life would be in doubt if he continued in it; 
so he counselled how he and the most potent men 
of the city might fly out of it. When the multi-
tude understood this, they came all round about 
him, and begged of him, "not to overlook them 
while they entirely depended on him, and him 
alone; for that now the whole of the city is in 
deliriance, if he would stay with them, because 
every body would undertake any pains with great 
cheerfulness on his account, and in that case there 
would be some comfort for them also, though 
they had always been driven to flight. That, if 
they dismiss him not, he may fly with his men 
ther 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 quiet and in a calm; for that 
by going away he would be the cause of drown-
ing the city, because nobody would then venture 
to oppose the enemy when he was once gone, 
upon whom they wholly confided."

16. Josephus avoided letting them 
know that he was to go away to provide for 
his own safety, but told them, that "he would 
not go out of the city for their sakes; for that if he 
should with them, he should be able to do them 
what they were in safe conditions; 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 bring them very great relief; for that 
he would not immediately get the Galileans to 
gather out of the country, in great multitudes, 
and draw the Romans out of their city by another 
war. That he did not see what advantage he 
could bring to them now by staying among them, 
but that he would bring more by immediately 
these them 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 remit of their eagerness against 
it. Yet did not this thing move the people, but 
infamed them the more to hang about him. Ac-
cordingly, both the children and the old men, and 
the women with their infants, came mourning to 
him, and fell down before him, and all of them 
cast their hands on his feet, 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 
deliverance, but that they hoped for their own; 
for they thought they should have suffered any 
great misfortune, provided Josephus would but 
stay with them."

17. Now Josephus thought, that if he resolved 
to stay, it would be accursed to their entreaties, 
and if he resolved to go away by force, he should 
be put into custody. His commiseration of 
the people under their lamentations had much 
broken that his eagerness to leave them; so he 
resolved to stay, and make 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 be considered so much noble, as may be remembered by late posterity." Having 
said this, he fell to work immediately, and made 
sidy, and dispersed the enemies out-guards, 
and ran as far as the Roman camp itself, and pulled 
off their chief pieces of their equipment, that 
were 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 
number of days and nights. Upon this, 

18. Upon this, Vespasian, when he saw the Romans distressed by these assailants, (though they 
were ashamed to be made to run 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 
hurt themselves, still retired into the city,) ordered 
them not to avoid their own nests, and not 
fight it out with men under desperation, while 
nothing is more courageous than despair; but that 
their violence would be quenched when they saw 
they failed of their purposes, as fire is quenched 
when we fill it with fuel. And such advice he gave 
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 he 
repeled the Jews in a great measure by the Ars 
aeum, and the Aubeus, and the Volcini, and 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, without being able to escape 
from them, and the assault of these engines, 
that can reach or javelin a great way, and the Jews were with 
their reach, they pressed hard upon the Ro-

19. When, therefore, Vespasian looked upon 
themselves as in a manner besieg'd by these 
assailants of the Jews, and when his banks were now a-
crumbled, he renewed the former condition of 
his opening of his battering ram. This battering ram is a 
very large piece of wood like the mast of a ship; its 
forepart is arched with a thick piece of iron at 
the head of it, which is so carved as to be like the 
head of a ram, where its name is taken. The 
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 
above, had only a few, and the like number of 
great number of men with united force, and then 
forth forward by the same men, with a mighty 
oise, it batters the wall with that iron part which is prominent. Nor is there any tower so 
thoug that the archers and 
slings are carried to the top of it, to yield 
it to last. This was the experiment 
which the Roman general betook himself to, 
when he was eagerly bent upon taking the city, 
and upon the benefit of this, the 
advantage, because the Jews would never let 
them be quiet. So these Romans 

This brought matters to such a pass that none of 
the Jews durst shun the walls, and then it was 
that the other Romans brought the battering 
ram that was cased with huddles all over, and in 
the upper part was secured with skins that 
could 
only be removed by force of the engine; with 
this design he gave orders to fill sacks with chaff 
and sand, and to fill them with pieces of stones, that 
when they saw the ram always battering, that 
the stroke might be turned aside, or that the 
place might feel less of the strokes by the yielding na 
ture of the chaff. This contrivance very much 
helped them, for the amount of the Romans 
let them remove their engines to what part they 
pleased, those that were above it removed their 
sacks, and placed them over against the strokes
BOOK III.—CHAP. VII.

It made, inasmuch that the wall was now built, and this by diversion of the strokes. Ill the Romans made an opposite contrivance of long poles, and by tying hooks at their ends, cut off the stacks. Now when the battering ram thus recovered its force, and the wall, having been but many few days since thrown down upon them, fell upon those who had the protection of the hurdles, with fire, and iron weapons, and stones; and these could do little or nothing, but fell themselves perpetually, while they were seen by those whom they could not see, for the light of the day or the moon, and the bands of the Romans themselves; nor did the Romans well know how to come to their assistance, being at once under a consternation at the great boldness, and being prevented by the flames from coming to the assistance of 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 what cost the Romans a great deal of pains was in one hour consumed.

21. And here a certain Jew appeared worthy of our relation and commendation; he was the son of Samaas, and was called Eleazar, and was born to the name of Simeon. This up, by what happened this day, was 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 killed an hundred with child with it. What could concern it to the top of the wall, and this while he stood as a fit mark to be pelted by all his enemies. Accordingly, he received the strokes upon his naked body, and was wounded with five darts; yet the sound of the darts and stones that were thrown by them was so also; of the same sort was that noise the dead bodies made, when they were dashed against the wall; and indeed dreadful was the clamor which these things raised in the heart of the city, which was also to be heard 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 over by bodies of the dead carcasses; the mountaine 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 did a great part of those that fought so hard for Jerusalem maintain 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 interrupted, and the city, which was besieged, had been battered to pieces; and those within covered their bodies with their armor, 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, as he was wont, of the multitude 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 fell upon her belly, and was hurt with child, and 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; and the noises of the darts and stones that were thrown by them was so also; of the same sort was that noise the dead bodies made, when they were dashed against the wall; and indeed dreadful was the clamor which these things raised in the heart of the city, which was also to be heard 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 over by bodies of the dead carcasses; the mountaine 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 did a great part of those that fought so hard for Jerusalem maintain 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 interrupted, and the city, which was besieged, had been battered to pieces; and those within covered their bodies with their armor, 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 Vesuvius 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 desirous to draw off the men that opposed them from all the places where the wall had been thrown down, he made the most courageous of the horsemen get off their horses, and placed them in three ranks over against these ruins of the wall, but covered over with their armor, and had them carry with them in their hands, that so these might begin their ascent as soon as the instruments for such ascent were laid; behind them he placed the flower of the footmen; but for the rest of the horse, he ordered them to extend themselves over against the wall, upon the whole hilly country, in order to prevent any from escaping out of the city when it should be taken; and behind these he placed about the awnings round about, and commanded them to have all their tents ready to pitch. The same commands he gave to the slingers, and to those that managed the engines and bade them to
take up either 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 guard of the parts that were then 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.

25. But Josephus, understanding the meaning of Vespasian's consternation, 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 before them all six men by the shield, among whom he took his share of the first and greatest anger. He also gave orders, that "when the legions made a shout they should stop their ears, that they might not be affrighted 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 they should have emptied their instruments by 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 the best, in order, not to defend himself if it were not able 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 by the enemy, 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."

26. And thus did Josephus dispose of both his body and his forces for the useless part of the citizens, the women and children, when they saw their city encompassed by a threefold army, (for some of the naval 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, stinging with their weapons, and the darts in the hands of the Arabians archers, they made a loud and lamentable outcry of the misfortune, as if they were 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 men too effeminate, by making them commiserate their condition, and command them to hold their peace, and threatened them if they did not, while he came himself before the breach, where his allotment was; for all those who had stood on the other places, took no notice of them, but earnestly waited for the shower of arrows that was coming.

27. And now the trumpeters of the several Roman legions sounded together, and the army made a shout, and the darts flew 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, but as they had only 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: some erred, and of the shield, were exhibited, while the Jews did earnestly endeavor, 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 run away with the Romans till they either fell down dead themselves, or killed their antagonists. But the Jews grew weary with defending themselves continually, and had not snow to come in their places, and succor them; while on the side of the Romans fresh men still succeeded those that were tired, and still new men soon got upon the machines for ascent, in the roads, in the gaps, on the walls, surrounding one another, and joining side to side with their shields, which were a protection to them, they became a body of men not to be broken, and as this brand thrust away the Jews, as though they were themselves but one body, they began already to get upon the wall.

28. Then did Josephus take necessity for his counsellor in this utmost distress, (which necessity is very sagacious in invention when it is irrevocable,) 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 tumble down from the wall, with horrid pains, for the oil did not only sting the burning place, but carried out, foot, under their entire armor, and fed upon their flesh like flame itself, its fat andunctuous nature rendering it soon heated, and slowly cooled, and as the men were cooped up in their head-piece, the flesh being not able to be cut 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 vessels, their hearts were, for the most, easily wounded by those that were behind them.

29. 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, although they had their own means of war, and in a miserable condition, yet were they vehemently bent against those that poured the oil upon them, while every one reproached the man before him as a coward, and one that hindered him from exerting himself; and while the Jews made use of another stratagem to prevent their ascent, and poured boiling fenugreek upon the boards in order to make them slip and fall down; by which means neither could those that were confined on that side, nor those that were to stand 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 the soldiers went down again, the Romans fell; 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 of the Romans, 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 so great; but of the people of Jotapata no more than six men were killed, although, as the hundred of the thousand, were wounded off wounded. This fight happened on the twentieth day of the month Desius [Sivan].

30. Hereupon Vespasian consoled his army on occasion of what happened; and as he found the forces not yet set ready to do than any further exhortations, he 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 burn with fire engines, and not easily liable to be set on fire. These towers he set upon the banks, and placed upon them such as could shoot darts and arrows, with the lighter engines for throwing stones and darts along with them, and besides the Jews, the stoutest men among the slingers, who not being to be seen by reason of the height they stood upon, and the battles that protected them
vice was, that they should make their attack at that hour. But Vespasian had a suspicion about this deserter, as knowing how faithful the Jews were to one another, and how much they despised all associations with their own hands infected with them: this last, because one of the people of Josephus had undergone all sorts of torments, and though they made him pass through a fiery trial of his enemies in his examination, yet would he not admit the monstrous falsehood within the city, and, as he was crucified, smiled at them. However, the probability there was in the relation itself, did partly confirm the truth of what the deserter told them, and they thought he was not a fool to publish the truth. However, Vespasian thought they should be no greater sufferers if the report was a sham; 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 Sabius, and had a few of the fifteenth legion. So they set upon the throats of the wall, and entered the city very quietly. After these came Cerealis the tribune, and Claudius, and led on those that were under them. Not behind them, but before them, the enemy were in the very midst of the city, and when it was already day, yet was not the taking of the city known by those that held it; for a great many of them were fast asleep, and a great mist, which arose 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 were raised up only to find the miseries they were under; and as they were set upon, they put up the gates and the city was taken. And for the Romans, they so well remembered what they had suffered during the siege, that they spared none, nor pitied any, but drove the people down the precipice from the citadel, and slew them by thousands, and that abundantly; for when they saw that they could kill none of the Romans, they resolved to prevent being killed by the Romans, and got together in great numbers in the utmost parts of the city, and killed themselves.

35. However, such of the watch as at first perceived they were taken, and ran away as fast as they could, went up into one of the towers on the north side of the city, and for a while defended themselves there; but as they were encompassed with a multitude of enemies, they tried to use their right hands when it was too late, and at length they cheerfully offered their necks to be cut off by those that stood over them. And Titus, himself, might have saved himself, and given him-own of that siege was without blood [on their side], if there had not been a centurion, Antonius, who was slain at the taking of the city. His death was occasioned by the following treachery. As he and the rest that were bro-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 save him, and give him-son of that siege was without blood [on their side], if there had not been a centurion, Antonius, who was slain at the taking of the city. His death was occasioned by the following treachery. As he and the rest that were bro-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 save him, and give him-son of that siege was without blood [on their side], if there had not been a centurion, Antonius, who was slain at the taking of the city. His death was occasioned by the following treachery. As he and the rest that were bro-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 save him, and give him-

36. And on this day it was that the Romans slew all the multitude that appeared openly; but on the following days they searched the hiding places, and fell upon those that were under ground; and thousands and thousands were indi-cation through every age, excepting the infants and the women, and of these there were gathered together as captives twelve hundred; and as for those that were slain at the taking of the city, they amounted to forty thousand. So Vespasian gave order that the city should be entirely demolished, and all the fortifications burnt down. And thus was Josephus taken, in the thirteenth 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 endeavored 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, both out of the hatred they bore him, and because their general was very desirous to have him. And when they arrived, they immediately and resolutely taken, the greatest part of the war would be over. They then searched among the dead, and looked into the most concealed recesses of the city; but as the city was first taken, he was absent of an important mission; but when he withdrew himself from the enemy when he was in the midst of the city, and leaped into a certain deep pit, whereunto there adjoined a large den at one side of it, which den could not be seen by those that were there. After which time he went out of it, and met with forty persons of eminence that had concealed themselves, and with provisions enough to satisfy them for not a few days. So in the day 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 very 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 had been with them, he was discovered. Whereupon he went out with them for when they were in 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. So they came and invited the man to come 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 he who had been those that invaded him. However, he was afraid that he was invited to come up in order to be punished, until Vespasian sent besides these a third tribune, Nic- nor; to him, he was one that was well known to Josephus, and had a great and a princely reputation among the Jews, and was rather admired than hated; 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 come voluntarily, 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 to him a friend of his own, nor put the fairest color upon the vilest action, by pretending friendship and meas-
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ing perfidious, nor would he have наміst acquiesced, or come to him, had it been to de-

3. Now as Josephus began to hesitate with himself about Nicnaro’s proposal, the soldiery who were with him ran forward and set fire to the dead; but the tribune would not permit them so to do, as being very desirous to take the man alive. And now as Nicnaro lay hard at Josephus to comply, and he understood how the multitude of the enemies threatened him, he was called to mind the dreams which he had dreamed in the night time, whereby God had signified to him beforehand both the future calamities of the Jews, and the events that concerned the Romans, and he had thereupon made some very strange and inauspicious conjectures about the interpretation of such dreams as he had been ambiguously delivered by God. Moreover, he was not unacquainted with the prophecies contained in the sacred books, and he knew not as to the necessity of any action, to depress the same, and since all their good fortune is gone over to the Romans, and since thou hast made choice of this soul of mine to forestall what is to come pass hereafter, I will not avail myself of any such disgraceful thing as to live. And I protest openly, that I do not go over to the Romans as a desetter of the Jews, but as a minister from thee.”

4. When he said this, he compiled with Nicnaro's proposal: and the Jews who had died with him, understood that he yielded to those that invited him to come up, they came about him in a body, and cried out, “Nay, indeed, now may the laws of our forefathers which thou hast made choice of, and therefore availing myself of it, I shall not be good in the sight of God, because in that, God, we mean, who hath created the souls of the Jews of such a temper, that they despise death. O Josephus! art thou still fond of life? and dost thou think thyself in the light in that thy slavery? How soon hast thou forgotten thyself? How many hast thou persuaded to lose their lives for liberty? Thou hast therefore had a false reputation for manhood, and a like false estimate of thy own self, and of God for thy preservation from those against whom thou hast fought so zealously, and art, however, willing to be preserved by them, if they be in earnest. But although the good fortune of the Romans hath never been in our house; that is not our care, but that the glory of our forefathers may not be tarnished. We will lend thee our right hand and a sword; and if thou wilt die willingly, thou wilt die as a general of the Jews; but if unwillingly, thou wilt die as a traitor to them.” As soon as they said this, they began to thrash their swords at him, and threatened them would kill him, if he thought of yielding to the Romans.

5. Upon this, Josephus was afraid of their attack, and was about to be a bracer of the commands of God, if he died before they were delivered. So he began to talk like a philosopher to them in the distress he was then in, when he said thus to them: O my friends, why are we so earnest against ourselves? and why do we set our soul and body, which are such dear companions, at such variance? Can any one pretend that I am not the man I was formerly? Nay, the Romans are sensible how the master 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, therefore, I avoid death from the sword of the Romans, I am truly worthy to be killed by my own sword, and spared enemies; but if these that I would spare their enemy, how much more ought we to have mercy upon ourselves, and to spare ourselves? For it is certainly a foolish thing to do that to ourselves which we quarrel with them for doing to us. I confess freely, that it is a brave thing to die for liberty; but still so that it be in war, and done by those who take that liberty from us; but if we shall neither meet us in battle, nor do they kill us. Now, he is equally a coward who will not die when he is obliged to die, and he who will die when he is not obliged so to do. What are we afraid of, when we will not go up to the Romans? Is it death? If so, what are we afraid of when we but suspect our enemies will inflict it on us, shall we inflict 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 all? For is it to be said, that it is a manly act for one to kill himself? No, certainly, but a most unmanly one; as I should esteem that pilot to be an arrant coward, who, out of fear of a storm, should sink his own ship and perish, and yet save his crew. Now if this is a crime most remote from the common nature of all animals, and an instance of impiety against God our Creator: nor is indeed there any animal that dies by its own contrivance, or by its own means, for the purpose of if by misadventure it be them all; on which account we deem those that openly take it away from us to be our enemies, and those that do it by treachery are punished for so doing. And do not you think that God is much more angry with man than he was when he hath bestowed on him? For from him it is that we have received our being, and we ought to leave to him to dispose of that being away from us. The bodies of all men are indeed mortal, and are created for this matter; and therefore are ever imm mortal, and is a portion of the divinity that inhabits our bodies. Besides, if any one destroys or abuses a depositum he hath received from a mere man, he is esteemed a wicked and ungodly person. And if without blemish out of his body this divine depositum, can we imagine that he who is thereby rifled does not know of it? Moreover, our law justly ordains that slaves which run away from their masters shall be accosted, though the masters they run away from may have been wicked masters to them. And shall we endeavor to run away from God, who is the best of all masters, and not think ourselves ourselves, and be free from that punishment which we receive from God, when he that lent us is pleased to require it back again, enjoy eternal happiness in our own houses? And can we be sure, that their souls are pure and obedient, and obtain a most holy place in heaven, from whence in the revolution of ages, they are again sent into pure bodies; while the souls of those whose hands have acted freely against themselves, are received by the darkest place in Hades, and while God, who is their father, punishes those that offend against either of them in their posterity; for which reason God hates such doers and the crime punished by us our mother? Accordingly our laws determine, that the bodies of such as kill themselves should be exposed till the sun be set, without burial, although at the same time it be allowed by them to be lawful to them [sacer.] That is the way of other nations also enjoin such men’s hands to be cut off when they are dead, which had been made use of in destroying themselves when alive; while they reckoned that 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 men bring upon us, impieties towards our Creator. If we have a mind to preserve ourselves, let us do it; for to be preserved by them and to whom we have given so many demonstrations of our courage, is so way 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 those that had so long lived in safety, 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 Romans may prove treacherous in this matter; for if, after the offer of their Right hand to the security, I be slain by them, I shall die cheerfully, and carry away with me the sense of their perfidiousness, as a consolation greater than victory itself."

6. Now these and many like motives did, deservedly, move them to prevent their murd- ders themselves; but desperation had shut their ears, as having long ago devoted them- selves to die, and they were irritated at Josephus. They then ran upon him with their swords in hand [in the manner following].: "And now, (said he,) since it is resolved among you that you will die, come on, let us confun our mutual deaths to determination by lot. He whom the lot falls to first, let him be killed by him that hath the lot next after him, and thus fortune shall make its progress through us all; nor shall any of us perish by his own right hand, for it would be unfair if, when the rest are gone, somebody should re- pent and save himself." This proposal appeared to them very just; and when he had prevailed 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 neck bare to him that had the next, as supposing that the general would like none 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 happened by chance, or whether by the provi- dence 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 incur his right hand in the blood of his countryman, he persuad- ed himself to place his fidelity to him, and to live as well as himself.  

8. Thus Josephus escaped in the war with the Romans, and in this his own war with his friends, and was led by Nicantor to Vespasian. But now all was together to see him; and as the multitude pressed one upon another about their general, there was a tumult of a various

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*I do not know where to find the law of Moses here mentioned by Josephus, and afterward by Eusebius, B. V. ch. viil, sect. 7.; and almost implied in B. I. ch. xii. see note on Josephus' mention of Phineus for doing so; I mean whereby Jewish generals and people were obliged to kill themselves, rather than go into slavery under heathens. I doubt this would have been no better than self murderer, and I believe it was rather some vain doctrine, or interpretation of the Zard Par- ticles, or Eumes, or Herodians, than a just consequence from any law of God delivered by Moses.*
CHAP. IX.

How Joppa was taken, and Tiberias delivered up.

1. Now Vespasian returned to Ptolemais on the fourth day of the month Panemus, [Tamus,] and he sent to the city to inquire that they should lay down their arms 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 Roman army and its general with all sorts of acclamations and rejoicings, and they lay down their arms 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, insomuch that the sea was bloody a long way, and the number of parts were full of dead bodies, for the Romans came upon those that were carried to the shore, and destroyed them; and the number of the bodies that were thus thrown out of the sea, was four thousand and two hundred. They also took the city without opposition, and utterly demolished it.

4. And thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a little time; but Vespasian, in order to prevent these pirates from coming thither any more, they were strung up, and those that had been taken in them, and those that had been through the city without opposition, and utterly demolished it. 4. And thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a little time; but Vespasian, in order to prevent these pirates from coming thither any more, they were strung up, and those that had been taken in them, and those that had been through the city without opposition, and utterly demolished it. 4. And thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a little time; but Vespasian, in order to prevent these pirates from coming thither any more, they were strung up, and those that had been taken in them, and those that had been through the city without opposition, and utterly demolished it. 4. And thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a little time; but Vespasian, in order to prevent these pirates from coming thither any more, they were strung up, and those that had been taken in them, and those that had been through the city without opposition, and utterly demolished it. 4. And thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a little time; but Vespasian, in order to prevent these pirates from coming thither any more, they were strung up, and those that had been taken in them, and those that had been through the city without opposition, and utterly demolished it.

2. In the mean time there were gathered together as well such as had sedulously got out from among their enemies, as those that had escaped their war from Joppa. These were in all a great number, and repaired Joppa, which had been left desolate by Cestius, in that it might serve them for a place of refuge; and because the adjoining region had been a great waste in this time, it was not easy to support by any means, but the number of them was so great that they determined to go off to sea. They also built themselves a great many piratical ships, and tarped pirates upon the seas near to Syria, and especially Egypt, and made those seas unassailable to all men. Now as soon as Vespasian knew of their conspiracy, he sent both footmen and horsemen to Joppa, which was unguarded 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 endeavor to keep the Romans out, but fled to their ships, and lay at sea all night out of the reach of their darts.

3. This was not naturally a 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 stones that jut out into the sea, and where the channel is narrow. But to this end the seamen have left their footsteps, which attest to the antiquity of that place. 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 called by those that sail there, the black north wind, and there was a tempest and a great one against them, and they left their footsteps, which attest to the antiquity of that place. 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 called by those that sail there, the black north wind, and there was a tempest and a great one against them, and they left their footsteps, which attest to the antiquity of that place. 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 called by those that sail there, the black north wind, and there was a tempest and a great one against them, and they left their footsteps, which attest to the antiquity of that place. 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.

4. So the seamen, bribed on the supposed death of Josephus, and the real death of many more, illustrate some passages in the Bible, which sup-

5. 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 therefore taken at sea, and sent to Rome, and there received a worse treatment than he had imaginably expected; and this had been the case with all the seamen in the same manner, and the city was full of indignation at him, and of reproaches cast upon him: their rage was also aggravated by their afflictions, and more inflamed by their ill success; and what usually becomes an occasion of caution to wise men, I mean affliction became a spur to them to venture on further calamities, and the end of one misery became still worse. The word of another, that 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.
CHAP. I.

Tupans pitched his camp on the city and Termarch, and made the enemy to do the same. The city of the country of the context, and the enemy.
my speech, that you may not be igno-
rous of these matters. For as for the
part of the habitable earth hath been
despoiled of its inhabitants; but so
much as the rest of it remains, and
we are not yet utterly quenched, so we
don't yet lose hope; and a sad thing it
would be for us, were we to sink un- 
scathed in a sea of misfortune. As to
the sea, let me say, it is a place fit for
wrestling in low waters; yet I am afraid
it is too large, and that the multitude
from the enemy should bring a concealed
fright upon us.

3. As Titus was saying this, an extraordinary
fury fell upon the men; and as Trajan was al-
ready come before the fight began, with four
hundred horsemen, they were unseated at it, be-
cause the reputation of the victory would be di-
minished by being consumed by so many. The
Sassanians had also sent both Antonius and Silo,
with two thousand archers, and had given it them in
charge to seize upon the mountain that was over
against the city, and repel those that were upon
the wall; which they did, but so as to dissuad,
and prevented those that attempted to assist
them. And now Titus made his own horse march first against the enemy, as did the others with a great noise after him, and ex-
tracted themselves upon the plain that was
between the enemy which confronted them, by which means they appeared much more numerous than they
really were. Now the Jews, although they were
surprised at their onset, and at their good order,
made resistance against their attack, for a little
while; but when they were pricked with their
long poles, and overborne by the violent noise of
the horsemen, they came to be trampled under
foot, and were forced to run away on every side, which made them disperse them-
selves, and ran to the city as fast as every one of
them was able. So Titus pressed upon the hind-
most, and slew them; and of the rest, some he
killed, and some he spared, and sent them to the
march to the city, till at last they were compelled
to pass by their multitude, and got away, and ran
into the city.

4. But now there fell out a terrible sedition
among them within the city; for the inhabitants
had passed the arms between them, with whom
to the city belonged, were not disposed to
fight from the very beginning; and now the less
so, because they had been beaten: but the for-
iegners, which were very numerous, would
force them to fight so much the more, insomuch
that there was a clamor and 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,
now is the time to make your way; for I know
when God is giving up the Jews to us! Take the
victory which is given you; do not you bear
what a noise they make? Those that have es-
caped our hands are a great impediment against one
another. We have the city, if we desire it; but
besides haste, we must undergo some labor,
and use some courage; for no great thing uses
to be accomplished without danger: accordingly
we must not only and their own auxiliaries,
which necessity will soon compel them to do, but
we must also prevent the coming of our own men
to our assistance, as far as we are we may
conquer so great a multitude, and may ourselves
alone take the city."
ed without fighting: for in hopes of Titus's giving them his right hand for their security, and out of concern that they had not even any consent to the war, they avoided fighting, till Titus had slain the authors of this revolt, and then put a stop to any further slaughters out of commissination of these inhabitants of the place. But for the rest, the lake and the city taken, they sailed as far as they possibly could from the enemy.

8. Hereupon Titus sent one of his horsemen to his father, and let him know the good news of the two successes; at which, as was natural, he was very joyful, both on account of the courage and glorious actions of his son: for he thought now the greatest part of the war was over. He then called 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 pur- sue those that had escaped in the up to Trachonitis, and in breadth forty furlongs, and its length one hundred and forty; its waters are sweet and very agreeable for drinking, for they are finer than the thick water of many lakes in Greece, and it is also pure, and on every side ends directly at the shores, and at the sands; it is also of a temperate nature when you draw it up, and of a more gentle nature than river or fountain water, and yet always cooler than others 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 breeds and sizes, and the sight from those else where. 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 Phiasa, which is at Phiasa, and is not far out of the road on the right hand; and indeed it hath its name of Phiasa (vial or bowl) very justly from the roundness and the height of the fountains, as being round like a wheel; its water continues always up to itsedges, without either sinking or running over. And as this origin of Jordan was formerly not known, it was discovered so to be when Philip was tetrarch of Asia. As for Phiasa, 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's visible stream arises from this cavern, and divides the marshes and fens of the lake of Gennesareth; when it hath run another hundred and twenty miles, it first passes by the city of Julias, and then passes through the middle of the lake of Gennesareth; after which it runs a long way over a desert, and then makes its exit into the lake of Tiberias, and then into the Mediterranean sea.

9. The country also that lies over against this lake hath the same name of Gennesareth; its nature is wonderful, as well as its beauty; its soil is so fruitful that all sorts of trees can grow upon it, and the inhabitants accordingly plant all sorts of trees there; for the temper of the air's suitable to it, and there being several sorts: particularly walnuts, which require the coldest air, flourish there in vast plenty; there are palm-trees also, which grow best in hot air; fig-trees also and olives grow near them, which are of less heat; but the most up to the lake are the vineyards. And it may call this place the ambition of nature, when it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another to agree together; it is a happy contentment of the seasons; as if every one of the fruits produced in the year, in the same year should together nourish different sorts of annual fruit be- yond men's expectations, but preserves them a great while; it supplies men with the principal fruits, with grapes and figs, continually, during ten month of the year, and the rest of the fruits as they become ripe together through the whole year; for besides the good temperature of the air, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain. The people of the country call it Capernaum; but they did not call it the Nile, because it produces the Cuscus fish as well as that lake does which is near to Alexandria. The length of this country extends itself along the lake, that between same name, and is in breadth thirty, and is in breadth twenty. And this is the nature of that place.

9. But now, when the vessels were got ready, Vespasian put upon ship-board as many as would accompany him, and started for Capharnaum, that he might see for himself, how difficult it was for those that were upon the lake, and set sail after them. Now those which were driven into the lake, could neither fly to the land, where all was as in their enemies' hand, and in war against them, nor could they fly upon the land, so that their ships were small and fitted only for pri- vacy; they were too weak to fight with Vespas- ian's vessels, and the mariners that were in them were so few, that they were afraid to come near the Romans for fear of the galleys. For the ship 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 to them, the Romans caught them by the middle, and destroyed them themselves in both cases. As for the stones they threw at the Romans, they only made a sound one after the other, for they threw them against such as were in their armor, while the ships were covered: and when they ventured to come near the Romans, they became sufferers themselves before they could do any harm to the other, and were drowned, they and their ships together. Thus the Romans pursued them thus all day long, and being put to flight the Romans ran many of them through with their long poles. Sometimes the Romans leaped into their ships with swords in their hands, and slew them; but when some of them met the ves- sel, the Romans caught them by the middle, and destroyed at once their ships and themselves who were taken in them. And for such as were drowning in the sea, if they lifted their heads up above the water, they were either cut down at the middle, or cast by the vessels; but if, in the despairs case they were in, they attempted to swim to the enemies, the Romans cut off either their heads or their hands; and indeed they were destroyed by the Romans very every where: being put to flight were forced to get upon the land, while the vessels encompassed them about [on the sea: but as many of these were received when they were getting ashore, they were killed year, soon after the same time of the year, cause and found leaves on a fig-tree near Jerusalem, but not in March, because the time of new figs ripening was now very true; nor were they, therefore, other than old leaves which our Saviour saw, and old figs with he expected, and which even with us commonly grow on the trees all winter long.
by the darts 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 lake all bloody, and full of dead bodies, for not one of them escaped. And a terrible stink, and a very sad sight there was on the following day; so that corn, and as for the shores, they were full of shipwrecks, and of dead bodies all swelled; and as the dead bodies were infamed by the sun, and putrid, they corrupted the air insomuch that the misery was not only the object of conversation, but also the ruin of them. They had, 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 Tarichea, in order to distinguish the foreigners from the old inhabitants; for those foreigners appeared to have begun the war. So upon the consent of Tarichea commanders, whether he ought to save those old inhabitants or not. And when those commanders alleged that the dissipation of those would be to his own disadvantage, because, when they were once set at liberty, they would not be able to subsist, since they would be people destitute of proper habitations, and would be able to compel such as they desired to fight against us, Vespasian acknowledged that they did not deserve to be saved, and that if they had leave given them to fly away, they would make use of it against those that gave them that leave. But still he was considered with himself, after what manner they should be slain; for if he had let them slain, he suspected the people of the country would thereby avenge his enemies; for that to be sure they would never bear it, that so many at had been suppliants to him should be killed; and to offer violence to them, after he had given them assurances 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 they perished as they pleased. For 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 on no other road than that which led to the sea, which was the only one. So they readily believed what they desired to be true, and went along securely, 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 further, or of it, and shut them up in the city. Then came Vespasian, and ordered them all to stand in the stadium, and commanded them to kill the old men, together with the others that were useless, who were in number a thousand and two hundred. Out of the young men he chose six thousand of the strongest, and sent them to Nero, to dig through the lakes, 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 gave them leave to do what he pleased with them: however, the king sold those also for slaves; but for the rest of the multitude, who were Trachonites, and Gaulanites, and of Hippos, and some of Gadara, the greater part of them were seditionous persons and fugitives, who were of such shameful characters, that they preferred war before fame. These prisoners were taken on the eighth day of the month G.:p:ius [Eluk.]

*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 both after public assurance given of sparing the prisoners' lives, and when all knew and confessed that those prisoners were nowy guity of any sedition against the Romans. Nor, in- deed, did Titus now give his consent, so far as appears, never after he had commanded them to be killed; and after this Titus grew quite weary of shedding blood, and of punishing the innocent with the guilty, and gave the people of Gleicha leave to keep the Jewish Sabbath, B. iv. ch. 11. sect. 3, 5; in the midst of their siege. Nor was Vespasian disposed to do what his officers persuaded him, and that from two principal topics, viz. that nothing could be unjust that was done against the Jews, and that when both cannot be consistent, advantage must prevail over justice. Admirable coast doctrines these!*

**BOOK IV.**

**CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE YEAR.—FROM THE SIEGE OF GAMILA TO THE COMING OF TITUS TO RESIDE JERUSALEM.**

**CHAP. 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 consent of Tarichea deliver themselves up to them again. And the Romans received all the fortresses and the cities, excepting Gischala and those that had been seized upon Mount Tabor; Gamala also, which was a city of great name against Tarichea, but on the other side of the lake, conspired with them. This city lay upon the borders of Agrippa's kingdom, as also did Pogassa and Seleucia. And these were both parts of the country that contained; for all that part we call the upper Gaulanitae, as was Gamala of the lower; while Seleucia was situated at the lake Semachonitas, which lake is thirty furlongs in breadth, and sixty in length; its marshes reach as far as the day's journey, and the waters of it respect 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 sent into Great Jordan. Now Agrippa had united Sogans and Seleucia by leagues to himself, at the very beginning of the revolt from the Romans; yet did not Gamala accede to them, but relied upon the difficulty of the place, which was greater than that of Jotapata, for it was situated upon a rough ridge of a high mountain with a kind of neck in the middle; where it begins to ascend, it lengthens itself, and declines as much downwards on the right, towards Lake Semachonita, as 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 straight, and steep in breadth; yet 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 oblique ditch there, and made it so hard to the treading, that which is straight, 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

Relate suspects, that even here we should read Dan instead of Daphne; there being nowhere else any mention of a place called Daphne hereabouts.
fall down upon itself, so heavy was it at the top. It is exposed to the east, and its southern, more, which reaches to an immense height, was in the nature of a citadel to the city; and above that was a precipice, not walled about, but extending itself to an immense depth. There was also a space within the wall, at the street limits of the city.

2. 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 mines about the ground. The people pleased in it were made more bold by the nature of the place, than the people of Jotapata had been, but had much fewer lighting men in it; and they had such a confidence in the situation of the place, that they expected the enemy should 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 strength; on which account they had been able to resist those whom Agrrippa sent to besiege it from month to month.

3. But Vespasian removed from Emmaus, where he had last pitched his camp before the city Tibérias, (now Emmaus, if it be interpreted, may be rendered a warm bath, for therein is a spring which is useful for hot baths, which came to Gamala; yet was it situation such, that he was not able to encompass it all around with soldiers to watch it; but where the places were practicable, he sent men to watch it, and seized upon that unanimous to be over it. After this, he had the legion, according to their usual custom, were fortifying their camp upon that mountain, he began to cast up banks at the bottom, at the part towards the east, where the highest tower of the whole city was; and there he set up the tenth legion; after them that were on the walls about a surrender, he was hit with a stone on his right elbow by one of the slingers; he was then immediately surrounded with his symptoms. But the Romans were excited to set about the siege, by their indignation on the king’s account, and by their fear on their own account, as concluding that those men would omit no kinds of barbarity against foreigners and enemies; and were so engaged against one of their own nation, and one that had been esteemed far otherwise than what was for their own advantage.

4. Now when the banks were finished, which was done on the sudden, both by the multitude of the men, and by the skill in that kind work, they brought the machines, but Caius and Joseph, who were the most potent men in the city, set their armed men in order, though already in a fright, because they did not suppose the city could hold out long, since they had not a sufficient quantity either of men or of materials to make other devices. However those their leaders encouraged them, and brought them out upon the walls, and for a while indeed they drove away those that were upon them; but when those machines threw darts and stones at them, they retired into the city; then did the Romans bring battering-rams to three several places, and made the walls shake and fall."

The wall then poured in the course of the wall that were thrown down, with a mighty sound of trumpets and noise of armor, and with a shout of the soldiers, and brake by force upon 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 greater 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, and fell upon their enemies who had attached them and beat them down, to the lower parts, and as they were distressed by the narrowness and difficulty of the place, slew them; and so these Romans could neither beat those back that were above them, nor escape the force of their number, and so were forced to retire; and so they were compelled to fly into their enemies’ houses, which were low; but these houses, being thus full of soldiers, whose weight they could not bear, fell down suddenly; and when one house did so, a great many of those that were under it, as did those do to such as were under them. By this means a vast number of the Romans perished, for they were so terribly distressed, that although they saw the houses on their subduing, yet they could not be the tops of them; so that a great many were ground to powder by these ruins, and a great many of those that got from under them lost some of their limbs, but still a greater number were suffocated by the dust that rose from those ruins. The people of Gamala supposed this to be an assistance afforded them by God, and without regarding what damage they suffered themselves, they pressed forward, and thrust the enemy upon the walls; and where the place was practicable, they threw stones or darts at them, and slew them. Now the very ruins afforded them stones enough, and for iron darts they had what they wanted; and thus they afforded them what they wanted; for, drawing the swords of those that were dead, they made use of them to despatch such as were only half dead; and, there were a great number who, upon their falling down, were driven back to the wall, without being able to find another, and fell down dead among the crowd.

5. Those, therefore, that were able to find the ways out of the city retired. But now Vespasian always staid among those that were hard set, for he was deepely affected with seeing the ruins of the city falling upon his army, and forgot to take care of his own preservation. He went up gradually towards the highest parts of the city before he was aware, and was left in the midst of dances, and began to count and to note him, and even his son Titus was not with him at that time, having been sent into Syria to Maccabees. However, he thought it not safe to fly, nor did he esteem it a fit thing for him to do; but calling to mind the situations he had done from and recollecting his courage, as if he had been excited by a divine fury, he covered himself, and those that were with him with their shields and formed a testudo over both their heads and their arms, and bore the enemy’s attack, who came running down from the top of the city; and without showing any dread at the multitude of the men or of their darts, he endured all until the enemy were the more frightened by the number within them and remitted of their attacks; and when they pressed less fearfully upon him, he retired, though without showing his back to them till he was gotten out of the walls; and there, in the presence of the Romans fell in this battle, among whom was Eleazar, the deacon, a man who appeared not only in this engagement, wherein he fell, but every where, and in former engagements, to be one of the greatest courages, and one that had done very great mischief to the Jews. But there was a centurion whose name was Galles, who during this disorder being encompassed about, he and ten other soldiers privately crept into the house of a certain person, where he heard them talking at supper what the people intended to do.
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 his soldiers, and the Romans raised their banks, and attempted 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 subterranean caverns; while those who remained of that were of being or had reason stayed 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 Gamala were in. But now Vespasian went about another work by the doing of this siege, and that was to subdue those that had seized upon Mount Tabor, a place that lies in the midst between the city Thapsa to Thyatira, Scythopolis, whose top is elevated as high as thirty furlongs, and is hardly to be ascended on so steep a road; its top is a plain of twenty-six furlongs, and all encompassed with a wall. Now, Josephus, the historian of this time, says gifts were brought to the city 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 might not be disappointed of what he might recover what had been lost formerly; and as for what had now happened, it was neither owing to their own enmity, nor to the valor of the Jews, but the difficulty of the place was the occasion of their advantage and of our disappointment. Upon reflecting on which matter one might blame your zeal as perfectly unaccountable; for when the enemy had retired to their highest fastnesses, you ought to have restrained your undaunted resolution, and presented yourself at the top of the city, to be exposed to dangers; but upon your having obtained the lower parts of the city, you ought to have provoked those that had retired thither to a safe and settled battle; on which account you might have had the Jews chiefly support themselves by us. We ought therefore to return to our own virtue, and to be rather angry than any longer deserted at this unlucky misfortune, and let every one seek for his own individual safety, for this means he will avenge those that have been destroyed, and punish those that have killed them. For myself, I will endeavor, as I have now done, to go first before you against your enemies in every engagement, and to be the last that returns from it.

7. So Vespasian encouraged his army by this speech; but for the people of Gamala, it happened that they took courage for a little while, upon such great and unaccountable success as they had bad. But when they considered with themselves that they had now no hopes of any terms of accommodation, and reflecting upon it that they had already lost all their advantages and victories began already to be short, they were exceedingly 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 innumerable dealt the same to the rest of the wall that still remained round the city. And the Jews, as the Romans raised their banks, made a watch 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 subterranean caverns; while those who remained of that were of being or had reason stayed 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. 

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at other places were under such disturbance, that they ran away; the Romans also slew many of those that ventured to oppose them, among whom was Jarebu. He was slain by a dart, as he was running away over that part of the wall that was broken down; but as those that were in the city were greatly affrighted at the noise, they ran hither and thither, and a great consternation fell upon them; but all the rest had fallen in at once upon them. Then it was that Chares, who was ill, and under the physician's bands, gave up the ghost, the fear he was in greatly contributing to make his distemper fatal to him. For in one city well remain'd of their former ill success, that they did not enter the city till the three and twentieth day of the forementioned month.

18. At which time Titus, who was now return'd out of the indignation 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 cities which they rolled down as perceived that he was coming, they made a noise, and betook themselves to their arms; and as that his entrance was presently known to those that were in the city, some of them caught bold of their children and wives, and left them after them, and fled away to the citadel, with lamentations 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 them, as not knowing what the world to do, fell among the Roman guards, while the groans of those that were killed, were prodigiously great everywhere, and the blood ran down all the lower parts of the city from the windows; and even Titus himself came to his assistance against those that had fled to the citadel, and brought his whole army with him: now this upper part of the city was every way rocky, and difficult of ascent, and elevated to a vast altitude, and very full of people on all sides, and encompassed with precipices, whereby the Jews cut off those that came up to them, and did much mischief to the others by their darts, and those that did run down upon them, while they were themselves so high that the enemies' darts could hardly reach them. However, there arose such a divine storm against them as was instrumental to their destruction: the Romans darts and rocks, and made those which they threw return back, and drove them obliquely away from them: nor could the Jews indeed stand upon the precipices, by reason of the violence of the wind, having nothing that they could 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 the case that were slain at 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 despaired of escaping, threw themselves down; and they wvitnesst themselves also, down the precipices, into the valley beneath, which, near the citadel, had been dug hollow to a vast depth, but so it happened that the anger of God appeared not so extravagant, as was the madness of those that were now taken, while the Romans slew but four thousand, whereas the number of those that had thrown themselves down was found to be five thousand; and nor did any one escape except two women, who were the daughters of Philip, and Philip himself was the son of a certain eminent man called Jachinus, who had been general of king Agrippa's army; and these did therefore escape, for 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 Gausala taken on the three and twentieth day of the month Hyperberetius, [Tiari], whereas the city had first revolted on the fourth and twentieth day of the month Gorpiaus, [Elul].

CHAP. II.

The Surrender of Gischala; when John fled from it to Jerusalem.

1. Now no place of Gidsela remained to be taken but the wall below to Gischala, whose multitude yet were desirous of peace; for they were generally husbandmen, and always applied themselves to cultivate the fruits of the earth. However, there were a great number that belonged to a kind of robbers who were also exposed, and had crept in among them, and some 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 Læris, that drew these 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 insipid in advising, and he was a great plasterer over every body that he was fond of war, in order to thrust himself into authority; and the seditions part of the people of Gischala were under his management, by whom means the populace, who seemed ready to follow the Romans, all in order to surrender, waited for the coming of the Romans in battle array. Vespasian sent against them Titus, with a thousand horsemen, but withdrew the tenth legion to Scythopolis, while he remained still at Jerusalem; Titus, in his assistance to his men, that he might allow them to refresh themselves after their long and hard campaign, thinking withal that the plenty which was in those cities would improve their bodies and their spirits, and the provision that were near Jerusalem with them afterwards: 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 way in other places got all together therewith. It was also naturally strong, and the walls that were built round it made him not a little concerned about it. Moreover, the noise that were in it was so courageous and bold, that every one thought the consideration of the walls it would be hard to subdue them; for which reason he took care of, and exercised his soldiers beforehand for the taking of the city, and trained them to wrestlers before they begin their undertaking.

2. Now Titus, as he rode up to Gischala, found it would be easy for him to take the city upon the first onset; but knew withal, that if he took it by force, the city would be destroyed by the soldiers without mercy. (Now he was already satiated with the shedding of blood, and pitied the major part, who would then perish without distinction, together with the guilty.)—So he was rather desirous that the city might be delivered to him on terms. Accordingly, when he saw the wall full of those men that were of the corrupted party, he said to them, that " he could not but wonder what it was they depended on, when they alone stood to their right hands, and another city was taken by them, especially when they have seen cities much better fortified than theirs is, overthrown by a single attack upon them; while as many as have entrenched themselves to the security of the Romans' right hands, which he now offers to them, without regarding their former insolence, do enjoy their possessions in safety; for while they had hopes of recovering their liberty, they might be pardoned; but that their continuance still is their opposition
when they saw that to be impossible, was inexcusable; for that, if they will not comply with such humane offers, and right hands for security, they should have experience of such a war that shall spare none of the city about them, and that they could not conscien-
tably that the wall would be but a trifle, when battered by the Roman machines; in depending on which, they demonstrate themselves to be only Galliennes that were not better than arrogant slaves and captives."

3. Now some of the populace durst not only make a reply, but durst not so much as get upon the wall, for it was all taken up by the robbers, who were everywhere in the city about guard, to prevent any of the rest from going out in order to propose terms of submission, and from receiving any of the horsemen into the city. But John returned Titus this answer, that "for himself he was content to hearken to his propos-
als, and that he would either persuade or force those that refusing. Yet he said, that Titus ought to have such regard to the Jewish law, as to grant them leave to celebrate that day which when the seventh day was, when the seventh day was to be celebrated transgress the law; and that the day could be of no disadvantage to him; for why should any body think that the Jews could not have preserved it; and that he was content to be punished, if he should fly away; which he might prevent by placing his camp round about them; and that they should think it a great point gained, if they might not be obliged to transgress the laws of their coun-
tree, upon which he brought the business to Feb. 19. he had de-
deal with them, without their expectation of such a favor, to preserve the laws of those they saved inviolable. Thus did he use, for one thing, to put a trick upon Titus, not so much out of regard to the seventh day, as to his own pre-
servation; for he was afraid lest he should be quite deserted, if the city should be taken, and had his hopes of life in that night, and in his flight then the seventh day of the week, on which it was therefore, preserved this John, that he might bring on the destruction of Jerusalem: as also it was his work that Titus was prevailed with by this pretense for a delay, and that he pitched his camp, that the city could not be taken before Lent. Cæ-
des was a strong Mediterranean village of the Tyrians, which always hated and made war against the Jews; it had also a great number of inhabitants, and was well fortified, which made it a good place for such as were enemies to the Jewish nation.

4. Now in the night time, when John saw that there was no Roman guard about the city, he seized the opportunity directly, and, taking with him not only the armed men that were with him, but a considerable number of those that had lit-
tle to do, together with their families, he fled to Jerusalem. And indeed, though the man was making haste to get away, and was troubled with fears of being caught, yet did he prevail with himself to take out of the city along with him a multitude of women and children, as far as twenty furlongs; but there he left them, as he proceeded farther on his journey, which made the Romans, to the number of two thousand, lamentations; for the farther every one of them was from his own people, the nearer they thought themselves to be to their enemies. They also affrighted themselves with this thought, that they should be found that were not near their families, just at hand, and still turned themselves back at the mere noise they made themselves in this their hasty flight, as if those from whom they fled were just upon them. Many also of them missed their ways, and the earnestness of such as aimed to outgo the rest, threw down many of them. And indeed there was a miserable destruction made of the women and children; while some of them took the chance to call the high priests and kinsmen back, and to beseech them, with the bitterest laments, to stay for them; but John's exhortation, who cried out to them to save themselves, and fly away, prevailed. He said also, that if the Romans should fall upon those whom they left behind they would be re-
venged on them for it. So this multitude that ran thus away was dispersed abroad, according to which each of them was able to run, one faster or slower than another.

5. Now 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, in great secu-

Concluding John of Gischala. Concerning the Zealots, and the High Priest Ananus. 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 as a fruit of those miseries that had happened abroad, when their breath was so short, and hot, and quick, that if itself it declared the great dis-

2.
cities, 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 Gischala, and their decent departure, and they perceived that it was not to them that 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 guessed those things to be plain indications that the peace 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 hopes he gave them. He affirmed that the safety of the country depended on the present condition, and exulted his own power. He also jested 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, so that they would take them, and then by the pines 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 more unfortunate, and killed those that were in custody, that they might meddle with Antipas, one of the royal line, and the most potent man in the whole city, insomuch that the public treasures were committed to his care: him they took and conducted without resistance into Jerusalem, where they thought he would be a person of great note, with Sophas the son of Rague; both of whom were of royal lineage also. And besides these, they did the same to the principal men of the country. This ceased a time, not that the Jews thought every one contented himself with taking care of his own safety, as they would do if the city had been taken in war.

Then also the Jews were not satisfied with the bonds into which they had put the men foremostmentioned; nor did they think it safe for them to keep them thus in custody long, since they were men very powerful, and had numerous families of their own, and would not suffer them to be treated with so much violence. And in this respect they thought the 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 of the priests of the temple, John an accounting officer, 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 so conducted the lot of those that were in custody 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 did, 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 saviors of the city.

John brought the people 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 wickedness in their wicked undertakings.
for such as obtained this highest of all honors 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 sorts of controvirsies and tricks, and gained them, without the consent of any of them, by the mutual quarrels of those who might have obstructed their measures; till at length, when they were satisfied with the unjust actions they had done towards men, they transferred their calumny to God itself, and came into the sanctuary with polluted feet.

7. And now the multitude were going to rise against them already; for Anaanias, the ancients of the high priests, persuaded them to it. He was a man who was slowly corrupted, but learned, and withal a long time in 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 where they might resort, in order to avoid the resentment of the people; for they feared, that with 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 disposed of by God in a family. The pretence they made for this was the most elegant practice, while they said, that of old it was determined by lot; but in truth, it was no better than a dissolution of an undeniable law, and a contracting contrivance to seize upon the government, derived from those that presumed to appoint governors as they pleased themselves.

8. Hereupon they sent for one of the pontifical tribes, which is called Euticho, and cast lots what should be the second; and as many as there were to be two, and caused the sacred lot so far as to demonstrate their iniquity after the plainest manner, for it fell upon one whose name was Phanesia, the son of Samuel, of the village Apha. He was a man not only unlawful by the law of the high priesthood, but that did not well know what the high priesthood was, such a mere rustic was he: yet did they hate this man, without his own consent, out of the country, as if they were acting a play upon the stage, and added to the jest. They put him the sacred garments, and upon every occasion instructed him what he was to do. This horrid piece of wickedness was sport and pastime with them, but occasioned the other people, that act of impiety, that they should have been ashamed of, to be a jest of, to shed tears, and sorely lament the desolation of such a sacred dignity.

9. And now the people could no longer bear the insolence of this procedure, but did all together run severally and freely to show that tyranny; and indeed they were the Geron the son of Josephus, and Symeon the son of Gamaliel, who encouraged them, by going up and down the temple, and making their presence in conclave, and as they saw them alone, to be heard longer, but to inflict punishment upon these pests and plagues of their freedom, and to purge the temple of these bloody polluters of it. The best es-

*This tribe or course of the high priests, or priests called Euticho, seems to have learned Mr. Loth's, one well versed in Josephus, to be that I Chron. xxxv. 8. The name of Josephus is called Gamaliel, as well as Jannaeus, as some have to have put some to have put one for the other, course of Euticho and I think this to be so mean an improbable conjecture.

†This Symeon, the son of Gamaliel, is mentioned as the president of the Jewish sanhedrin, and one that perished in the destruction of Jerusalem, by the Jewish rabbin, as a land observer on this place. He also tells us, that these rabbis mention one Jews the son of Josephus, by whose name is called Gamaliel, as having been high priest and before the destruction of Jerusalem; so that if be were the same person with this Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, in Josephus, he must have lived to be very old or they have been very bad chronologists.
great a degree walled in, and see your enemies over your heads, to what purpose is it to take counsel, and what have you to support your minds, with such a view? Perhaps you seek for the Romans, that they may protect our holy places: are our matters then brought to that pass, and are we come to that degree of misery, that our enemies themselves are expected to pity us? Or will you think our fate will not suffice you, nor turn upon those that strike you, which you may observe in wild beasts themselves, that they will avenge themselves on those on which they strike. Will you not call to mind, every one of you, the tales which your parents have told you, before your eyes what afflictions you yourselves have undergone? and will not such things sharpen your souls to revenge? Is therefore that most holy temple, which your forefathers of an immemorial age have incessantly adored, shall we be permitted to lose in our lifetime? I mean the city of liberty? Truly we are in love with slavery, and in love with those that lord it over us, as if we had received that principle of subjection from our ancestors; yet it is not for the sake of liberty; nor were they so far overcome by the power of the Egyptians or the Medes, but that still they did what they thought it, notwithstanding their commands to the contrary. It is not for the sake of war with the Romans? (I need not with determining whether it be an advantageous and profitable war or not.) What pretence is there for it? Is it not that we may enjoy our liberty? Besides, that we may have the lord of the immovable east and west be lords over us, and yet bear tyrants of our own country? Although I must say that submission to foreigners may be borne, because fortune hath already doosed us to it, while submission to our own is too uncongenial, and brought upon us by our own consent. However, since I have had occasion to mention the Romans, I will not conceal a thing, that, as I am speaking, comes into my mind, and affects me considerably. I say that we shall be taken by them, (God forbid the event should be so,) yet we can undergo nothing that will be hard to be borne than what these men have already brought upon us. How then can we be for shedding tears, when we see the Roman donations in our temple, while we, withal see those of our own nation taking our spoils, and plundering our glorious metropolis, and slaughtering our men, and even our churches and temples themselves would have sustained? To see those Romans never going beyond the bounds allotted to profane persons, nor venturing to break in upon any of our sacred customs, nay, having a horror on account of our sacred walls; while some that have been born in this very country, and brought up in our customs, and called Jews, do walk about in the midst of the holy places, at the very time when their hands are still warm with the slaughter of their own countrymen. Besides, can any one be afraid of a war abroad, and that such as will have comparatively much greater moderation than our own people have? For truly, if we may suit our words to a description that, it is tolerable that may hereafter find the Romans to be the supporters of our laws, and those within ourselves the subverters of them. And now I am persuaded that if the people here comes satisfied before, I speak, that these overthrow our liberties desire to be destroyed, and that nobody can so much as devise a punishment that they have not deserved by what they have done, and that you are all provoked against them; those their wicked actions, when you have suffered so greatly. But perhaps many of you are affrighted at the multitude of these sealots, and at their audaciousness, as well as at the advantage they have of being higher in the temple, than we are; for these circumstances, as they have been occasioned by your negligence, so will they become still greater by being still longer neglected; for their multitude is every day augmented, by their parties, till men running away to those that like to themselves, and their audacity is therefore inflamed because they meet with no obstruction to their designs. And for their higher place, they will make use of it for engines also, and in their new sort of tyranny, if we do not in this, that if we get up to fight them, they will be made tamers by their own consciences; and what advantages they have in the height of their situation, they will lose by the opposition of their reason. To those that are now afflicted by them, and affronted by them, will make what they throw at us return against themselves, and these impious wraths will be killed by their own dart: and let them, if they are so insolent 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 church, but for the sake of his sanctuary. I will assist you both with my counsel and with my hand; nor shall any vagueness of ours be wanting for your support, nor shall you see that I will be sparing of my body neither.
enemies; but the populace grew very angry, and became more and more numerous, and reproached those that gave back, and those behind would not afford room to those that were going off, but forced them on again, till at length they made their hole body to turn. The two assemblies, and the robbers could no longer oppose them, but were forced gradually to retire into the temple; when Ananus and his party fell into it at the same time together with them. This made no longer possible, and deprived them of the first court; so they fled into the inner court immediately, and shut the gates. Now Ananus did not think fit to make any attack against the holy gates, although the other thing that was possible against the temple. He also deemed it unlawful to introduce the multitude into that court before they were purified; he therefore chose out of them all by lot six thousand armed men, and placed them as guards in the cloisters; so there was a succession of such guards one after another, and every one was forced to attend in his course; although many of the chief of the city were dismissed by those that took on them the government, upon their hiring some of the people, and sending them to keep the guard in their stead.

13. Now it was John who, as we told you, ran away from Glischas, that was the occasion of all these proceedings; but when John, in case that he was not present, because of the movement of the people, was not present, because of the movement of the people, was absent, he was, in the person of Ananus, and of the chief of the people, just at this time, the active man against him, for he flattered them so extravagantly, that he was but the more suspected: and his constant attendance every where, even when he was not invited to be present, made him strongly suspected of being a spy of the zealots, or they plainly perceived that they understood all the resolutions taken against them at their consultations. Nor was there any one whom they had so much reason to suspect of that discourse; as the more they were secure of the present, the more they were used to trust in it, and the more potent was he grown by his wicked practices.

He was also supported by many of those eminent men, who were to be consulted upon all considerable affairs; it was therefore thought reasonable to oblige him to give them assurance of his good-will upon oath: accordingly, John took such an oath readily, that he would be on the people's side, and would not betray any of their counsels or enterprises to their enemies, and that he would not overthrow those that attacked them, and that both by his hand and his advice. So Ananus and his party believed his oath, and did now receive him to their consultations without any fear being done. Nay, the zealots did not think him, that they sent him as their ambassador into the temple, to the zealots, with proposals of accommodation; for they were very desirous to avoid the pollution of the temple as much as they possibly could. It was, no one of their nation should be slain therein.

14. But now this John, as if his oath had been made to the zealots, and for confirmation of his good-will to them, and not against them, went into the temple, and stood in the midst of them, and spoke as follows: that he had run many hazards on their account, and in order to let them know of every thing that was secretly connived against them by Ananus and his party: but that birth and he and they should be cast into the most imminent danger, unless some providential assistance were afforded them for that Ananus had appointed a fast for the next day against them, that they might obtain admission in the temple in a rest, and could not be compelled 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 further, that he was by the providence of God he was himself 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 interest with his people, and guard them, to save their lives, or to provide some foreign assistance for themselves: that if they fostered themselves with the hopes of parliaments, he denounced to them what desperate things they had done, or could suppose, that as soon as the actors repeated, those that had suffered by them must be presently reconciled to them: while those that have done such injuries, they might expect that the people are frequently hated by the others for such 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 knew how they had been injured, and kindred been equally injured. These were the things that would always be laying plots against them; and that a large body of people were very angry on account of their gross breaches of their laws, and [illegal] judicatures, inasmuch, that although some part might conspire against them, those would be quite overborne by the majority.

CHAP. IV.

The Idumeans, being sent for by the Zealots, came immediately to Jerusalem; and when they were excluded out of the city, they lay all Night there. Jesus, one of the High Priests, makes a Speech to them; and Simon, the Idumeans, makes a Reply to it.

§ 1. Now by this crafty speech John made the zealots afraid; yet he durst not directly name what foreign assistance he meant, but in a covert way only intimated at the Idumeans. But now that he might particularly irritate the leaders of the zealots, he calumniated Ananus, that he was about a piece of barbarity, and did in a special manner threaten them. These leaders were迭代, the son of Simon, who seemed the most plausible man of them all, both in considering what was fit to be done, and in the execution of what he had determined upon, and Zacharias, the son of Phleeke, both of whom derived their families from the temple, now called the foremen. These men had heard not only the common threatenings which belonged to them all, but those peculiarly levelled against themselves, and, besides how Ananus and his party, in order to secure their own dominion, did stigmatize them, to come to them, for that also was part of John's lie, they hesitated a great while what they should and made a market-place, nay, a tem of thieves, without scruple. Matt. xii. 12, 13; Mark xii. 15-17. Accordingly, Josephus himself, when he speaks of the two inner courts of the temple, with the courts of the court of the Gentiles as in our B. v. ch. ix. sect. 3.
do, considering the shortness of the time by which they were straitened; because the people were prepared to attack them very soon, and because the smallness of the plot laid against them had almost cut off all their hopes of getting any assistance; for they might be under the height of their afflictions before any of their confederates could be informed of it. However, it was resolved to call in the Idumeans; so they wrote a short letter to this effect, that "Ananus had imposed upon the people, and was betraying their metropolis to the Romans; that they themselves had revolted from the rest, and were in custody in the temple, on account of the preservation of their liberty; that there was but a small remnant of what they hoped for them; and that unless they would come immediately to their assistance, they should themselves be soon in the power of Ananus, and the city would be in the power of the Romans." Thus were the Idumeans called to their deliverance; and that unless they would come immediately to their assistance, they should themselves be soon in the power of Ananus, and the city would be in the power of the Romans. 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 this was true; and yet, what for religion or any other qualification still more necessary than the former, they were very swift of foot; for they knew well enough that these would immediately comply with their desires, as being ever a tumultuous and disorderly nation, always on the watch upon every motion, delighting in mutations; and upon your flattering them ever so little, and petitioning them, they soon take their arms, and put themselves into motion, and make haste to a battle, as if it were to a feast. There was, indeed, occasion for quick dispatch in the carrying of this message, in which point the messengers were no way defective. Both their names were Ananus; and they soon came to the rulers of the Idumeans.

2. Now these rulers were greatly surprised at the contents of the letter, and at what those that came with it further told them; whereupon they were against the nation like madness, 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 defend the liberty of the metropolis, and twenty thousand of them were put into battle array, and came to Jerusalem, under four commanders, John and Jacob, the sons of Sosan; and besides these were Simon the son of Cathas, and Phanuel the son of Clodocus.

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 him; for as he knew of it before they came, he ordered the gates to be shut against them, and that the walls should be guarded. Yet did he not by any means think of fighting against them, but, before they came to blows, to try what persuasions would work. Accordingly, Jesus, the eldest of the high priest, went up to the temple tower that was over against them, and said thus, "Many troubles indeed, and those of various kinds, have fallen upon this city, yet in none of them have we wavered in our resolve against our fortune and our country, when you are come to assist wicked men, and this after a manner very extraordinary; for I see that you are come to support the vilest men against us, and this with so great alacrity, as you could show against the likes, in the metropolis had called you to her assistance against barbarians. And if I had perceived that your army was composed of men like unto those who invited them, I had not deemed 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 scoffing of the whole country, who have spent in debauchery their own substance, and, by way of trial beforehand, have shamed the neighboring villages, cities, and towns, in the upshot of all have privately run together into this holy city. They are robbers, who by their profuse wickedness have profaned this most sacred floor, and who are to be watched, and have given more liberty to sancti, and expelling the afores of those whom they have slaughtered upon their unseizable bellies. As for the multitude that is with you, one may see them so decently adorned in their arms and banners, as to suppose they have the metropolis called them to her assistance against foreigners. What can a man call this procedure of yours, but the sport of fortune, when he sees a whole nation coming to protect a mink of wicked for us? to sell ourselves to the Romans; while what it could possibly be that should move you to do this so suddenly; because certainly you would not take on your armor on behalf of robbers, and against a people of kin to you, without considering the consequences. Now, though we have an item that the Romans are pretended, and that we are supposed to be going to betray this city to them; for some of our men have taken ladders later to the temple, and have said they are come to set their metropolis free. Now, we cannot but admire at these wretches in their devising such a lie as this against us; for they knew there was no other way to irritate against us that were naturally desirous of liberty, and on that account the best disposed to fight against foreign enemies, but by framing a tale as if we were going to betray that most desirable thing, liberty. But you ought to be sensible of the confidence of people the Roman; while this calumny, and against what sort of people that calumny is raised, and to gather the truth of things, not by fictitious speeches, but out of the actions of both parties; for what occasion is there 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 neighboring countries were not yet yet extinguished; or to be reconciled to the Romans, if we were desirous of it, they have subdued Galilees, and are thereby become proud and insolent; and to endeavor to please them at the time when they are strong, would bring such a calamity upon us as worse than death. As for myself indeed, I should have preferred peace with them before death; but now we have once made war upon them, and fought with them, I prefer death with repentance, than living in captivity under them. But further, whether do they pretend that we, who are the rulers of the people, have sent thus privately to the Romans, or hath it beer done under a suffrage of the people? If it be ourselves only that have done this, I name those friends of ours that have been sent, as our servants, to manage this treachery. Hath any one been caught as he went out on this errand, and made known the number and companionship of those that were in possession of our letters? How could he be concealed from such a vast number of our fellow-citizens, among whom we are conversant every hour, while what is done privately in the courts in such an affair? For there are not few in number, but no few in number, and under confinement also, and are not able to come out of the temple into the city. Is this the first time that they are come 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 we let us both alone, and neither insult upon our calamities, nor abide with these plotters against their metropolis: for though you should have over so great a suspicion that some of us have discovered with the Romans, it is the Roman to watch the passages into the city; and in case any thing that we have been accused of is brought to light, them to come, and defend your metropolis, and to inflict punishment on those that are found guilty; for the enemy has probably you who are so near to the city. 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 shall the idumeans give any attention to what he said, but were in a rage, because they did not meet with a ready entrance into the city. The generals also had indignation at the offer of laying down their arms, and coming to a captivity, to throw them away at any man's injunction whomsoever. But Simon, the son of Cathlis, one of their commanders, with much ado quieted the tumult of his own men, and stood for their important practices but this only, that they become traitors. And now you Idumeans are come hither already with your arms; it is your duty, in the first place, to be assisting to your metropolis, and to join with us in cutting off these and their rampants and rascal and our regular tribunals, that have tramped upon our laws, and made their swords the arbiters of right and wrong; for they have seized upon men of great sense, and under no accusation, as if they were guilty of a crime, as if the high and the bloody, and tortured them with putting them into bonds, and, without bearing to hear what they had to say, or what supplications they made, they de- sist to kill you; if you please, come into the city, though time is precious, and we have taken a view of the marks still remaining of what I now say, and may see the houses that have been depopulated by their rapacious hands, with those wives and families that are in black mourning for their slaughtered relations. Whereupon you hear their groans and lamentations all the city over; for there is nobody but hast tasted of the incursions of these profane wretches, who have proved a people not to die, while the news was not meant to have transferred their impudent robberies out of the country, and the remote cities, into this city, the very face and head of the whole nation, but out of the city into the temple also; for that is the case, I say, they have taken up for the preservation of its liberty. 5. And while they will not intrust the guard of our metropolis to their kindred, profess to make their judges of the differences that are among them; and yet they would have us trust them others without a legal trial, they do themselves conspire 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 foreign nations, and the fountain-bread whose preparations are made against us. And this place, which is adored by the habitable world, and honored by such as only know it by report, as far as the ends of the earth are to have their own among themselves. They now triumph in the desperate condition they are already in, when they hear that one people is going to fight against another people, and one city against another city, these, by themselves, are fighting together against its own bowels. Instead of which procedure, it were highly fit and reasonable, as I said before, for you to join with us in cutting off these wretches, and in particular to be revenged on them for cutting off our heads. And I mean, for having the impudence to invite you to assist them, of whom you ought to have stood in fear, as ready to punish them. But if you have some regard to these men's invocation of you, yet may think that you enrage the city under the notion of our kindred, and take upon you a middle name between that of auxiliaries and of enemies, and so become judges in this cause. However, consider what these men will gain by being called into judgment before you, for such undeniable and such flagrant crimes, who would not themselves, in fear to hear such as had no accusations laid against them to speak a word for themselves. However, let us gain this advantage by your coming. But if, still, they will neither take our part in that indignation we Jerusalem was not assigned or appropriated to the tribe of Benjamin or Judah, but every tribe had equal right to it. (at their coming to worship there at the several festivals.) See a little before, ch. ill. sect. 3. for
most dangerous parts of this treason. But if these men have been more merciful than the public necessity required, we that are Idumeans will preserve this house of God, and will fight for our common country, and will oppose by war those that attack us, as those that attack us, and will not let those that betray them from within. Here will we defend the walls in our armor, 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."

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 in danger on both sides. Nor indeed were the minds of the Idumeans at rest, for they were in a rage at the injury that had been offered them by their exclusion out of the city; and when they thought the zealots had been strong, but saw nothing of theirs to support them, they were in doubt about the matter, and many of them repented that they had come thither. But the shame that would attend them in case they returned without doing anything at all, so far overcame that their repentance, that they lay all night before the wall, though in a very bad encampment; for there broke out a prodigious storm in the night, with the utmost violence, and very heavy rain, with the largest showers of rain, with continual lightnings, terrible thunderings, and amazing concussions and bellowings of the earth, that was in an earthquake. These things were a manifest indication that some disaster was coming upon men when the system of the world was put into this disorder, and any one would guess that these wonders foreboded some great calamities that were coming.

Now the opinion of the Idumeans and of the citizens of Jerusalem was the same. The Idumeans thought that God was angry at their taking arms, and that they would not escape punishment for their making war upon their metropolis. Ananus and his party thought that they had conquered without fighting, and that God acted as a general for them; but truly they proved both ill conjurers at what was to come, and made those events to be ominous to their enemies, while they were themselves to undergo the ill effects of them. The Idumeans feared that another enemy was uniting their bodies into one band, and thereby kept themselves warm, and connecting their shields over their heads, were not so much hurt by the rain. But the zealots were more deeply concerned at the danger that was in them, as they were for themselves, and got together, and looked about them to see whether they could devise any means of assisting them. The hotter 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 if they were the part of the Idumeans that was armed, and unskilled in the affairs of war; and that besides, the multitude of the citizens would not be easily gathered together, but confined to their houses by the storm; and if there were any hazard in their undertaking, it became them to suffer any thing whatsoever themselves, rather than to overlook so great a multitude as were miserably perishing on their account. But the meaner sort of them disapproved of their forcible 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 was counselled on this expedition, which was done every hour; which indeed was done upon other nights, but was omitted that night, not by reason of any slothfulness of Ananus, but by the overbearing appointment of fate. That so both he might himself perish, and the multitude of the guards might perish with him; for truly as the night was far gone, and the storm was very terrible, Ananus gave the guards in the cloisters leave to go to sleep; while it came into the heads of the zealots to set them on, and they employed and to cut the bars of the gates to pieces. The noise of the wind, and that not inferior sound of the thunder, did here also conspire with their designs, that the noise of the wave was not heard by the Idumeans.

7. So they 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 it came to pass upon the Idumeans themselves, which disturbed them, as imagining that Ananus and his party were coming to attack them, so that every one of them had his right hand upon his sword, in order to defend himself; but they soon came to know so that they were that came to them, and were known to enter the city. And had the Idumeans then fallen upon the city, nothing could have hindered them from destroying the people every man of them, such was the rage they were in at that time; but they first of all made haste to get to the zealots out of custody, which those that brought them earnestly desired them to do, and not to overlook those for whose sakes they were come, in the zealots. And indeed they were put into a still greater danger; for that when they had once seized upon the guards, it would be easy for them to fall upon the city; but that if the city were once alarmed, they would not then be able to defend themselves as soon as they should perceive they were there, they would put themselves in order to fight them, and would hinder their coming into the temple.

CHAP. V.
The Cruelty of the Idumeans, when they were gotten into the Temple, during the Storm; and of the Zealots, Concerning the Slaughter of Ana- num and his Brethren, and Zacharias. And how the Idumeans retired home.

§ 1. Thus advice 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 the Idumeans came through the outer door, they came boldly out of the inner temple, and mixing 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, and likewise some of those that came of the Idumeans, who made a cry, the whole multitude arose, and 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 boldly, as hoping to overpower 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 the Idumeans being armed, dropped all their courage, and betook themselves to lamentations. But some few of the younger sort covered themselves with their armor, and valiantly received the Idumeans, and for a while protected the multitude of old men. Others, indeed, gave a signal to those that were in the city the calamities they were in; but when these were also made sensible that the Idumeans were come in, they set upon them all together, and faintly only, they returned the terrible echo of wailing and lamented their misfortunes. A great howling of the women was excited also, and every one of the guards were in danger of being killed. The words of this story, in which the zealots and the Idumeans; and the storm itself rendered the cry more terrible; nor did the Idumeans spare any body, for as they naturally a most barbarous and bloody nation, had been distressed by
the tempest, 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 their lives, and to those that fought them, insomuch that they ran through those with their swords who desired them to re- main still in the temple, and the stone wall to be broken, and begged of them to have regard to their com- mon temple. Now there was at present neither any place for flight, nor any hope of preservation, but as they were driven one upon another to cast a way their dead, without any other part were driven together by force, as there was now no place of retirement, and the murder- ers were upon them, and having no other way, threw themselves down headlong into the city; whereas as a last effect, they underwent a 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 satis- tisied by these slaughters; but they now be- tooke themselves to the city, and plundered every house, and slew all their sons into the sixth hour; and another multitude, they esteemed it needless to go on with killing them; but they sought for the high priests, and the generality went with the greatest zeal against them; and as soon as they caught them, they put them upon their dead bodies, in way of jest, upbraided Ananus with his kindness to the people, and Ja- nus with his speech made to them from the wall. Nay, they proceeded to that degree of impiety, as to have no favor to be shown to them without bia- rial, although the Jews used to take so much care of the burial of men, that they took down those that were condemned and crucified, and buried them before the going down of the sun. I should say, upon their heads, for 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, whereas they saw their high priest, and the procures 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 grandeur of that nobility, and dignity, and honor, of which he was possessed, he had been a lamb to God more than six years, the most of the meanest of the people; he was a prodigous lover of liberty, and an admirer of a democracy in government, and did ever prefer the public welfare before his own advantage, and preferred persons in all the employments. Insomuch that many of them were sensible that the Romans were not to be conquer- ed. He also foresaw that of necessity a war would follow; and that unless the Jews made up matters with them very dexterously, they would be de- stroyed: to say all in a word, if Ananus sur- vived: they had certainly compounded matters; for he was a shrewd man in speaking and per- suading the people, and had already gotten the means sufficient to seize his estate, and to get there for the war. And the Jews had then put 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 superior to the rest; and I cannot but think, that it was because God had doomed the city to de- struction, as a polluted city, and was resolved to purge his sanctuary by fire, that he cut off these their wise and learned men, in order to put those that a little before had worn the sacred garments, and had presided over the public worship, and been esteemed venerable by those that dwelt on the whole habitable earth when they were alive, and had been for many years ke- eled, and seen to be the food of dogs and wild beasts. And I cannot but imagine that vitor- itself groaned 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 people 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. In order against their friends and friends that of some them would turn over to their party; but not one of them would comply with their de- sires, but all of them preferred death before being inrolled among such wicked wretches as acted so cowardly. And they pursued their captives by force of thousands of them brought upon them terrible torments; for they were so scourged and tortured, that their bodies were not able to sustain their torments, till at length, and with difficulty, they had the leave to be loosed, and enfranchised. That was the time 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 other prisoners; and the terror that was upon the people was so great, that none had courage enough of itself to be 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 mourned for others soon underwent the same death with those whom they mourned for. Only in the night time they would take up a little dust, and throw it upon the bodies; but before that meekness had ready to expose themselves to danger would do it in the day time; and there were twelve thousand of the better sort which perished in this manner.

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 in- 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 did not only hope to take off the friend of the wealthy, but also a man that had great power to destroy them. So they called together, by a public proclamation, seventy of the principal men of the populace, for a show, Baruch, in Josephus, was then about thirty-four years future; and since that slaughter was between the ten pe- ple and the Idumeans, it is evident that this story do not belong to the time of the temple; and that Zacharias the son of Baruch is not Zacharias in the text of 1 Macc. 7, 23, and Zacharias the son of Baruch, whom our Saviour says the Jews slew between the temple and the al- se. But this Zacharias was not the same, because Zacharias the son of Josephus in almost all the copies of the text of Zacharias and grandson of Ida, Zech. 1, 1, and how he was put to death, viz., be putting into the temple have no authority that that before St. Matthew; while this Zacharias was the son of Baruch; since the slaughter was past when our Sav- iour spoke those words, the Jews had then already slain him, whereas the slaughter of Zacharias the son of
most dangerous parts of this treason. But if these men have been more merciful than the public necessity required, we that are Idumaeans will preserve this house of God, and will fight for our country against all the forces of the world, which attack them from abroad, as those that betray them from within. Here will we abide before the walls in arms, 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 Idumaeans make an acclamation to what Simon had said; but Jesus went away sorrowful, as seeing that the Idumaeans were against all moderate counsels, and that the city was besieged on both sides. Nor indeed were the minds of the Idumaeans at rest, for they were in a rage at the injury that had been offered them by their exclusion out of the city; and when they became friends to liberty, and repent of what they have done against it."

7. So they secretly went out of the temple to the wall of the city, and made use of their saws, and opened that gate which was over against the Idumaeans. Now at first there came a fear upon the Idumaeans themselves, which disturbed them, as imagining that Ananus and his party were coming to attack them, so that every one of them had his right hand upon his sword, in order to defend himself. But when the noise of the saws was not heard by the others.

The Cruelty of the Idumaeans, 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 Idumaeans retired home.

§ 1. Tarn advice pleased the Idumaeans; and they ascended through the city to the temple. The zealots were also in great expectation of their coming, and were in at that time; but when they perceived that the Idumaeans were not to be opposed, they went out of the temple, and awaited the Idumaeans. When therefore these were entering, they also came boldly out of the inner temple, and and united themselves with the Idumaeans, they attacked the guards; and some of those that were upon the inside of the temple, and some that were asleep, but as those that were now awakened made a cry, the whole multitude arose, and in the tumult they were in, caught hold of their arms immediately, and betook themselves to the wall of the temple, and took the guards which they thought were only the zealots who attacked them, they went on boldly, as hoping to overpower them by their numbers; but when they saw others pressing upon them also, they perceived the multitude of them that were with them, and laid aside their arms, together with their courage, and betook themselves to lamentations. But some few of the younger sort covered themselves with their arms, and valiantly received the Idumaeans, and for a while protected the multitude of old men. Others, indeed, gave a signal to those that were in the city of the calamities they were in; but when these were also made sensible that the Idumaeans were come, they returned the terrible echo of waiting, and lamented their misfortunes. A great howling of the women was excited also, and every one of the guards was in danger of being killed. The storm of Idumaeans was so terrible that they utterly overran the Idumaeans; and the storm itself rendered the city more terrible; nor did the Idumaeans spare any body, for as they are naturally a most barbarous and bloody nation, all had been despatched by
the tempest, they made use of their weapons against those that had shot the gates against them, and acted in the same manner as to those that supplicated for their lives, and to those that fought them, insomuch that they ran through those with their swords who desired them to remember the relation there was between them, and begged of them to have regard to their com-
mon interest, and that they had destroyed them to any place for flight, nor 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 were no place of concealment that they might not find, and those that were upon them, and having no other way, threw themselves headlong into the city; whereby, is my opinion, they underwent a more mischievous destruction than which they avoid-
ed, because that was a voluntary act. The outer temple was all of it overshadowed with blood; and that day, as it came on, saw eight thousand five hundred dead bodies there.

3. But the rage of the Idumeans was not sat-\niated by these slaughters; but they now be-
took 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 the war any more; but when some of the high priests, and the generality went with the greatest zeal against them; and as soon as they caught them they slew them; and then standing upon their dead bodies, in a way of jest, upbraided Ananus and the Jews, because they were so unwise andTurks, and their bodies were not able to sustain their tortures, till at length, and with difficulty, they had the favor to be slain. Those whom they caught in the day time were slain in the night, and then buried in their houses, and the ruin of her affairs, whereas they saw their high priest, and the procurer of their preservation, slain in the midst of their city. He was on other accounts also a very unwise man, and a very just man; and beside the grandeur of that nobility, and dignity, and honor, of which he was possessed, he had been a lover of a kind of parity, even with regard to the most meanest of the people; he was a prodigious lover of liberty in government, and did ever prefer the public welfare before his own advantage, and preferred peace above all things; for he was thoroughly sensible that the Romans were not to be conquered. He, too, foresaw that of necessity a war would follow, and that unless the Jews made up matters with them very dexterously, they would be de-
stroyed: to say all in a word, if Ananus had sur-
\n
4. And now these zealots and Idumeans were quite weary of barely killing men, so they had the \n
**Ecclesiasticus, or worldly worship, as the author to the Hebrews calls the service, μνημοσύνεις, a worldly worship, as the author to the Hebrews calls the service, μνημοσύνεις, a worldly worship, as the author to the Hebrews calls the service, μνημοσύνεις, a worldly worship, as the author to the Hebrews calls the service, μνημοσύνεις, a worldly worship, as the author to the Hebrews calls the service, μνημοσύνεις, a worldly worship, as the author to the Hebrews calls the service, μνημοσύνεις, a worldly worship, as the author to the Hebrews calls the service, μνημοσύνεις, a worldly worship, as the author to the Hebrews calls the service, μνημοσύνεις, a worldly worship, as the author to the Hebrews calls the service, μνημοσύνεις, a worldly worship, as the author to the Hebrews calls the service, μνημοσύνεις, a worldly worship, as the author to the Hebrews calls the service, μνημοσύνεις, a worldly worship, as the author to the Hebrews calls the service, μνημοσύνεις, a worldly worship, as the author to the Hebrews calls the service, μνημοσύ

Baruch, in Josephus, was then about thirty-four years future; and since that slaughter was between the tem-
ple and the altar, in the court of the priests, one of the most sacred parts of the temple, and judge-
as if they were real judges, while they had no proper authority. Before these was Zacharias accused of a design to betray their policy to the Romans, and of having treasonously sent to Herodians for that purpose. Now there appeared no proof or sign of what he was accused of, 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. So then, when Zacharias clearly saw that there was no 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 to them; he did not deny the imputation of life and death. 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 all the practices of the law, and made heavy lamentation upon the confusion they had brought public affairs to; in the mean time the zealots grew tumultuous, and had much ado to abstain from drawing their swords, although they would 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 being brought up, the verdict, that every person accused 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 kept back at the judgment, for not understanding 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 stabbed him; and as he fell down dead, they bantered him, and said, 'Thou hast also our verdict, and this will prove a more sure acquittal to thee than 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 Idumaeans repented of their coming, and were displeased at what had befallen them. And they assembled together by one of the zealots, who had come privately to them, he declared to them what a number of wicked pranks they had themselves done in conjunction with those that invited them, and gave an account of what mischief had been done against their metropolis. He said, that "they had taken arms, as though the high priests were betraying their metropolis to the Romans, but had made no indication of any such treachery, that they might have procured those that had pretended to believe such a thing, while they did themselves the works of war and tyranny after an insolent manner. It had been indeed the business of the people to have hasted them from sun up to their proceedings at the first, but seeing they 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 them, any more assistance to such as are subverting the laws of their forefathers; for that if any had taken it 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 Amasis is dead, and that almost all those people had been destroyed in one night's time. That one may perceive many of themselves now repenting 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 inimical as to perpetrate the vilest acts, under the eyes of those that had supported them; and that their future actions would be laid to the charge of the Idumaeans, and would be so laid to their charge till somebody obstructs their proceedings, or separates himself from the same wicked action; that they therefore ought to retire home, since they had given themselves to treason appears by a calamity, and that there was no expectation of the coming of the Romans at this time, and that the government of the city was secured by such walls as cannot easily be thrown down. And, by seizing the opportunity of their own destruction, make some excuse for themselves, as 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 Idumaeans, slew a great many more of the Citi-
zens. And how Neposianus disturbed the Ro-
mans, when they were very earnest to march against the Jews, from proceeding in the War at that Time.

1. The Idumaeans complied with these per-
suasions, and in the first place they set those that were in the prisons at liberty, being about two thousand of the populace, who thereupon fled away immediately to Simon, one whom we shall speak of presently. After which these Idumaeans retired from theirropic places, which departure of theirs was a great surprise to both parties; for the people not knowing of their repentance, pulled up their courage for a while, as eased of so many of their enemies, so as to be able to run some of their shortest methods for all their executions; and what they had once resolved upon, they put in practice sooner than any one could imagine. But their thrist was chiefly after the blood of Jews, and it was a very great desire of their sort of which they destroyed out of envy, the other out of fear; for they thought their whole security lay in leaving no potent men alive; on which account they slew Goriion, a person emi-
nently renowned; and they killed also; he was also for a democracy, and of as great boldness and freedom of spirit as were any of the Jews whosoever; the principal thing that ruined him, added to his other advantages, was his free speaking. Nor did Niger of Bechiches escape their hands: he had been a man of great valor in their war with the Romans, but was now drawn through the middle of the city; and as he went he was most cruelly put to death, and showed the scars of his wounds; and when he was brought 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 it, he death they offered to be chiefly desired of them, so did they slay him [without permitting him to be buried.] Now when they were slaying him, he made this impassion upon them, that they might undergo both for his sake, and for the Romans, all that they might come to the mutual slaughter of one another; all which imprecations God confirmed against these impious men, and was what came most justly upon them, when not long after they tasted of their own medicine, as in their mutual seditions one against another. So when this Niger was killed, their fears of being over-
turned were diminished; and, indeed, there was no part of the people but they found out some pretence to destroy them; for some were, there-
BOOK IV.—CHAP. VII.

fore, slain, because they had differences with some of them: and as to those who had not opposed them in times of peace, they watched reasonable opportunities to gain some accusation against them; and if any one did not come near them at the very first, they used to pursue him, as if he had not broken the law, and had only committed a great fault by chance. For he was a proud man: if any one came with boldness, he was esteemed a contemner of them: and if any one came as aiming to oblige them, he was supposed to have some treacherous plot against them, and was seized that very day, and cast into prison, as they had determined, whether they were of the greatest or smallest sort, was death. Nor could any one escape unless he were very inconceivable, either on account of the meanness of his birth or on account of his wealth.

2. And now all the rest of the commanders of the Romans deemed this sedition among their enemies to be of great advantage to them, and were very earnest to march to the city; and they used to say, in order to make haste, and to say to him, that "the providence of God is on our side, by setting our enemies at variance against one another; that still the change in such cases may be advantageous, and that it may be the better case for us, because they may be tired out of their civil miseries, or repent them of such doings." But Vespasian replied, that "they were greatly mistaken in what they thought fit to be shown them, because the enemy, who were the most of them, made a show of their hands, and of their weapons, but do it at their own hazard, without considering what was for their advantage, and for their security; for that if they now go and attack the city immediately, they shall be occasion to their enemies to unite together, and shall convert their force, now it is in its height, against themselves. But if they stay awhile they shall have fewer enemies, because the Jews will be consumed in this medley; that he acts as a general of the Romans better than he can do, and is giving the Jews up to them without any pains of their own, and granting their army a victory without any danger; that therefore let them be bold, and let them take on themselves the labors of the city. For us we shall lay upon them the hard labor of war: for we ought to esteem those that do what is agreeable to temperance and prudence, no less glorious than those that have gained great reputation by their actions in war: that he shall lend on his army with greater force, when their enemies are diminished, and his own army refreshed after the continual labors they had undergone. However, that this is not a proper time to propose to ourselves the glory of victory; for those that are exchanged may be prejudiced in the favor of an enemy; those that are made to be exchange in the making of armor or building of walls, nor indeed in getting together auxiliaries, while the advantage will be on their side who give them such opportunity of delay; but those that are exchanged are vexed to pieces every day by their civil wars and dissensions, and are under greater miseries than, if they were once taken, could be inflicted on them by us. Whether therefore any one hath regard to what is for our safety, he shall lend on his army with greater force, to do otherwise, or

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*This prediction that "the city of Jerusalem" should then be taken, and the sanctuary burnt, by right of war, when a sedition should invade the Jews, and their city and temple be destitute of their princes, is quoted as concluded by B. vi. ch. xx. sec. 4, 5. — "When any one shall begin to stay his countrymen in the city," etc. It is wanting in our previous copies of the Old Testament. See Essay on the Old Test., p. 104—112. But this prediction, as Josephus well remarks here, though with the other predic-

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 desolator at home; for should we now conquer them, it would be said the conquest was not owing to our bravery, but to their sedition."

3. And now the commanders joined in their approbation of what Vespasian had said, and it was soon discovered how wise an opinion he had given. And indeed many there were of the Jews that deserted them that very day, and went to the Romans, and described them how 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 none but the poor were slain. Along all the roads they were shut up in barns and houses; and 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 made death in their own city appear of the two places less terrible to them. But those that were left to that degree of barbarity, as not to bestow a burial either on these slain in the city, or on those that lay along the roads; but as if they had made an agreement among themselves that they should all burn them, in order that they might destroy their own nations, and the laws of their country and the laws of God, 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 putrify under the sun; and the same punishment was allotted to such as buried, as to those that deserted, which was no other than death; while he that granted the favor of a grave to another, would presently stand in need of a grave himself. To all which, it was said in a word, no one would remain unblamed; nor was any one of them entirely lost among them as mercy; for what were the greatest objects of pity did most of all irritate these wretches, and they transferred their rage from the living to those that had been slain, and from the dead to the living. Nor was the terror so very great, that he who survived called them that were first dead happy, as being at rest already; as did those that were under torture in the prisons, declare, that, upon this occasion, they lay under no miseries whatever.

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 ridiculed them as the tricks of jugglers; yet did they think that these prophets were speaking [the rewards of] virtue, and [punishments of] vice, which when these zealots violated, they occasioned the fulfilling of those very prophecies belonging to their own country; for there was a certain ancient race of those men, that "the city should then be taken and the sanctuary burnt," by right of war, when a sedition should invade the Jews, and their own hands should pollute the temple of God." Now while those zealots did not [Jehovah] believe these predictions, they made themselves the instruments of their accomplishment.

CHAP. VII.

How John tyrannized over the rest; and what Mischiefs the Zealots did at Masada. How also Vespasian took Gadera; and what Actions were performed by him.

1. By this time John was beginning to tyrannize, and thought it beneath him to accommodate the actions of the prophets it was now touched by the se
dictions, were by their very means soon exactly fulfilled. However, I cannot but here take notice of Grotius's positive suspicions that Joseph. Matt. xvi, 1, here quoted by Dr. Houghton, that "it ought to be taken for granted, as a certain truth, that many predictions of the Jewish prophets were preserved not in writing, but by mem-
ory." Whence, it seems to me, so far from certain that I think it has no evidence nor probability of all.
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 treacherously sent to Vespasian for that purpose. Now there appeared no proof or sign of what he was accused of, but they affirmed themselves that they were well persuaded that so it was, and desired that such their affirmation might be taken for sufficient evidence. Now when Zacharias clearly saw that there was no 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 to them, and 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 dear a part of the text of the law, and made heavy lamentation upon the confusion they had brought public affairs to; in the mean time the zealots grew tumultuous, and had much ado to restrain from drawing their swords, although they presented 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 being present, and the accused person accused 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 acquisal, and they all cried out for not understanding 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 as he fell down dead, they banished him, and said, "Thus hast also our verdict, and this will prove a more sure acquittal to thee than the other. They also threw him down from the temple immediately into the valley below, and as he fell down dead, they took the judge 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, the crime might become their messengers, to let them know they were no better than slaves.

5. But by this time the Idumaeans repented of their coming, and were displeased at what had befallen, when they were assembled together by one of the zealots, who had come privately to them, he declared to them what a number of wicked pranks they had themselves done in conjunction with those that invited them, and gave a parcel of their accounts of what mischiefs had been done 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 thing; and when they had pretended to believe such a thing, while they did themselves the works of war and tyranny after an insolent manner. It had been indeed their business to have hindered him from going to their proceedings at the first, but seeing they 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 them any longer. He especially warned any who assembled to such an end, and subverting the laws of their forefathers; for 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 those who had excluded them have been punished, and Amasse is dead, and that almost all those people had been destroyed in one night's time. That one may perceive many of themselves now repenting 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 imputant as to perpetrate the vilest things, under the eyes of those that had supported them; and that their wicked actions would be laid to the charge of the Idumaeans, and would be so laid to the charge of the Romans, till somebody obstructs their proceedings, or separates himself from the same wicked action; that they therefore ought to retire home, since the reputation of treason appears to be a charm, and as there was no expectation of the coming of the Romans at this time, and that the government of the city was secured by such walls as cannot easily be thrown down. As I by words, or any farther means of which he was able, to make some excuse for themselves, as to what they had been so tar deluded as to have been partners with them hitherto."

CHAP. VI.

How the Zealots, when they were freed from the Idumaeans, slew a great many more of the Citizens. And how Vespasian disarmed the Romans, when they were very earnest to march against the Jews, from proceeding in the War at that Time.

1. The Idumaeans complied with these persuasions: in the first place they set those that were in the prisons at liberty, being about two thousand of the populace, who thereupon fled away immediately to Simon, one whom we shall speak of presently. After which these Idumaeans retired from them, and were made free, which departure of theirs was a great surprise to both parties; for the people not knowing of their repentance, pulled up their courage for a while, as easied of so many of their enemies. And when the zealots grew more insolent, not as deserted by their confederates, but as freed from such men as might hinder their designs, and put some stop to their wickedness. Accordingly, they made no longer any delay, nor took any deliberation what to do. And the Romans, who were for the shortest methods for all their executions; and what they had once resolved upon, they put in practice sooner than any one could imagine. But their thirst was chiefly after the blood of vassals, and men of a great sort of which they destroyed out of envy, the other out of fear; for they thought their whole security lay in leaving no potent men alive; or which account they slew Giorion, a person eminent for their appearance, and not less so than he; he was also for a democracy, and of so great boldness and freedom of spirit as were any of the Jews whatsoever; the principal thing that ruined him, added to their other advantages, was his free speaking. Nor did Nigrus of Jerusalem escape their hands: he had been a man of great valor in their war with the Romans, but was now drawn through the middle of the city; as, as he went he frequently cried out, and showed their design of destroying many people. But the gates were got out of the gates, and disarmed of his preservation, he besought them to grant him a burial; but as they had threatened him beforehand not to let him go awake, and then to be buried, which he chiefly desired of them, so did they slay him [without permitting him to be buried]; Now when they were slaying him, he made this intercession upon them, that they might undergo both by their own violence, what they intended, and all, that they might come to the mutual slaughter of one another; all which imprecations God confirmed against those impious men, and was what came most justly upon them, when not long afterward they tasted of their own medicine, in their mutual seditions one against another. So when this Nigrus was killed, their fear of being overturned were diminished; and, indeed, there was no part of the people but they found out some pretense to destroy them; for some were, there-
fore, since, because they had differences with some of them; and as to those who had not opposed them in times of peace, they watched seasons opportunities to gain some occupation against them, and if any of them died, he was under their suspicion as a proud man: if any one came with boldness, he was esteemed a contemner of them; and if any one came as aiming to oblige them, he was supposed to have already seen them. And if they were absent from them; while the only punishment of crimes, whether they were of the greatest or smallest sort, was death. Nor could any one escape unless he were very inconsiderable, either on account of the meaness of his birth or on account of his fortune.

3. And now all the rest of the commanders of the Romans deemed this sedition among their enemies to be of great advantage to them, and were not represented by themselves to the urged Vespasian, as their lord and general in all cases, to make haste, and said to him, that "the providence of God is on our side, by settling our enemies at variance against one another; that still more advanced their country, and that they will be accomplished without the theatre, love to make a show of their hands, and of their weapons, but do it at their own hazard, without considering what was for their advantage, and for their security; for if they stay awhile, they shall have fewer enemies, since the only way their enemies are destroying each other with their own hands, and falling into the greatest misfortunes, which is the case, to sit still as spectators of the dangers and torture in the theatre, and to hang with men that love murder, and are mad one against another. But if any one imagines that the glory of victory, when it is gotten without fighting, will be more insipid, let him know that the glory of victory is the more ancient, and what is obtained is more profitable than the dangers of a battle; for we ought to esteem those that do what is agreeable to temperance and prudence, no less glorious than those that have gained great things. For he shall lead on his army with greater force, when their enemies are diminished, and his own army refreshed after the continual labours they had undergone. However, that this is not a proper time for action, (for theews are now employed in making of armor or building of walls, nor indeed in getting together auxiliaries, while the advantage will be on their side who give them some present to the enemy of delay; but that the Jews are vased to pieces every day by their civil wars and dissensions, and are under greater miseries than, if they were once taken, could be inflicted on them by us. Whether therefore any one has reason to doubt that these Jews to destroy another, or

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 desolation at home; for should we now conquer them, it would be said the conquest was not owing to our bravery, but to their sedition." And now the commanders joined in their approbation of what Vespasian had said, and it was soon discovered how wise an opinion he had formed, in the very number of the Jews that deserted every day, and fled away from the sealots, 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 going 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 sabbath was this, that the rich purchased their flight by money, while the poor was to be obtained by the艰辛 of war. And all the roads also vast numbers of dead bodies lay on heaps, and even many of those that were so zealous in desiring, at length chose rather to perish within the city; for the hopes of burial made death less terrible to them in their own country, and the very terror of the country and the laws of nature, and at the same time that they defied men with their wicked actions, they would pollute the Divinity itself also, they left the dead bodies to putrify under the same sun; and if their bodies had been exposed to such as buried any, as to those that deserted, which was no other than death; while he that granted the favor of a grave to another, would present himself in need of a grave himself. To any all in a way much more fitting, so entirely lost among them as mercy; for what were the greatest objects of pity did most of all irritate these wretches, and they transferred their rage from the living to the dead. 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 better circumstances, and not at all in the same 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 ridiculed them. For the majority of these prophets foretell many things concerning [the rewards of] virtue, and [punishments of] vice, which when these sealots violated, they occasioned the fulfilling of these very prophecies, which belong to the time of our Lord. For there was a certain ancient oracle of those men, that "the city should then be taken and the sanctuary burnt," by right of war, when a sedition should invade the Jews, and their own hands should pollute the temple of God." However, the sealots did not [quite] disbelieve these predictions, they made themselves the instruments of their accomplishment.

CHAP. VII.

How John tyrannized over the rest: and what Mischief the Zealots did at Masada. How Vespasian took Masada; and what Actions were performed by Placidius.

1. By this time John was beginning to tyrannize, and thought it beneath him to accept the predictions of the prophets it was now lawful led by them, and that the sanctuary burnt, by right of war, when a sedition should invade the Jews, because their own hands should pollute that temple;" or, as it is in St. vi. ch. xii. sect. 5., "When any one shall begin to slay his countrymen in the city," is wanting in our pre-
of barely the same honours that others had; and joining to himself by degrees a party of the wickedest of them all, he broke off from the rest of the faction. This was brought about by his still disagreeing with the opinions of others, and giving out injunctions of his own in a very improper manner, and that it was not civil war, but a monarchical power. Now some submitted to him out of their fear of him, and others out of their good-will to him; for he was a shrewd man to entice men to him, both by declaring them and putting cheats upon them. Nay, many there were that thought they should be safer themselves, if the causes of their past inordinate actions should now be reduced to one head, and the great many of great activity should be very opportunity to ravage the same. Accordingly, when every one of them had plundered their own villages, they then retired into the deserts; and yet were these men that now got together and joined in the conspiracy by parties, so 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 had been brought up; and inasmuch as they knew that he would have this pretence always against them, that they had opposed him when he was first advanced; while every one chose rather to suffer anything whatsoever in war, than to be taken in a voluntary slavery for some time, they should afterward perish. So the sedition was divided into two parts, and John reigned in opposition to his adversaries over one of them; but for their leaders, the other led them, and yet they did not all, or at least very little, meddle with arabs in their quarrels, but they fought earnestly against the people, and contended one with another of which of them should bring home the greatest prize. And the city had struggled with three of the greatest misfortunes, war, and tyranny, and sedition, it appeared upon the comparison, that the war was the least troublesome to the populace of them all. Accordingly, they ran away from their own houses to foreigners, and obtained that preservation from the Romans which they despaired to obtain among their own people.

And now a fourth misfortune arose, in order to bring our nation to destruction. There was a fortress of very great strength not far from Jerusalem, which had been built by our ancient kings, both as a repository for their effects in the house, and as a subject of the preservation of their bodies at the same time. It was called Macedion. Those that were called Sicarii had taken possession of it formerly, but at this time they overran the neighboring countries, aiming only to procure to themselves necessaries; and these 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 enterprises against their country, and at the head of unleavened bread, 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 any notice to those that could have 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 caught them unawares. They also dispersed them, and cast them out of the city; so for such as could not run away, being women and children, they

* By these *civili* or holy places, as distinct from cities, must be meant _proconsules_, or houses of prayer, out of cities: of which we find mention made in the New Testament and other authors. See Luke vi. 12; Acts xxi. 35, 36; Antig. B. xiv. ch. x. sect. 35; his Life, sect. 36. 16. _1000 v._ pius, publicius, praecipuus.
people of Gades admitted Vespasian with joyful acclamations, and received from him the security of his right hand, as also a garrius of horsemen and footmen, to guard them against the excursions of the rumagetae; for as to their wall, they had pulled it down before the Romans discovered it, so they might not give them assurance that they were lovers of peace, and that, if they had a mind, they could not now make war against them.

And since Placidus did not wish to send them back from Gades with five hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen, while he returned himself to Ceorea with the rest of the army, but as soon as these fugitives arrived, he placed them just behind their backs, and before they came in close fight, they ran together to a certain village, which was called Bethanahs, where finding a great multitude of young men, and arming them, partly by their own consent, partly by force, they readily and suddenly assaulted Placidus and the troops that were with them. These horsemen at the first onset gave way a little, as contriving to ensnare them farther off the wall, and when they had driven them near the place that those, as soon as they saw their courage, and then destroyed: for as they fell upon the Romans, when they were joined close together, and, as it were, walling about with their entire armor, they were not able to charge them, nor to resist their terror; nor were they able to break their ranks, while they were themselves ran through by the Roman darts, and, like the wildest of wild beasts, rushed upon the points of others' swords; some of them were destroyed with their enemies' swords upon their faces, and others were dispersed by the horsemen.

5. Now Placidus' concern was to exclude them in their flight from getting into the village, and causing his horse to march cautiously on that side of them, he then turned short upon them, and at the same time his men made use of their darts, and easily took their aim at those that were nearest to them, as they made those that were behind them; and then back upon each other those were in, till at last the most courageous of them brake through those horsemen, and fled to the wall of the village. And now those that guarded the wall were in great doubt what to do; for the men that were about the village were those that came from Gades, 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 and in disorder, the Roman horsemen were just ready to fall in with them. However, the guards prevented them and shut the gates, when Placidus made an assault upon them, and fighting courageously till his darts and his swords had fallen upon the wall, and of them that were in the city, when the useless multitude were destroyed, but those that were more potent ran away, and the soldiers placed themselves by those that was under the village on fire. As for those that ran out of the village, they stirred up such as were in the country; and exasperating their own calamiies, and telling them that the whole army of the Romans were upon them; and when he was upon the other side: so they got in great numbers together, and fled to Jericho, for they knew no other place that could afford them any hope of escaping, it being a city that had a strong wall, and a great multitude of inhabitants guarded by fire, and fortified at every place that holds the city, and by which their dislike to their metropolis, and fortified his camp, and, leaving the fifth legion therein, he came to the toparchy of Bethlephem. He then destroyed that place and the neighboring places which were guarded by fire, and fortified at no place whatever; and when he had seized upon two villages, which were in the very midst of the whole multitude to the river side, where they were stopped by the current, so for it had been augmented lately by rains, and was not fordable,}
of Idumea, Betarion and Capharbotion, 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 no small part of his own forces in them, who overran and laid waste one town after another; and while he was in the midst of his campaign he came down through the country of Samaria, and hard by the city by others called Neapolis, (or Sichem,) but by the people of the country called Areta, to Coraz, where he pitched his camp, on the second day of the month Thous (Sivan;) and on the day following he came to Jericho, on which day Tamar, one of his commanders, joined him with the forces he had left at Perea, all the places beyond Jor- dan being subdued already.

2. Hereupon a great multitude prevented their approach, and came out of Jericho, and fled to those mountainous parts that lay over against Tiberias, whose nature was contrary to each other; for the former is salt and unfruitful, but that of Tiberias is sweet and fruitful. This plain is much burnt up in summer time, and, by reason of the extraordinary heat, contains a very unwholesome air, and is destitute of all water excepting the river Jordan, which water of Jordan is the occasion why those plantations of palm-trees that are near its banks are more flourishing and much more fruitful, as are those that are remote from it. Hence it comes to pass that those trees become exceedingly fruitful, and the fruit of them; when they are pressed, yield an excellent kind of honey, not much inferior in sweetness to other honey. This country withal produces honey from bees also; it also bears that which is called honey-suckle, so that the possession of all these fruits is that cypress trees also, and those that bear myrobalanum; so that he who should pronounce this place to be divine, would not be mistaken, wherefore in such part the sun shines, there are reeds, and of the most excellent sort. And indeed, if we speak of those other fruits, it will not be easy to light on any climate in the habitable earth, that can well be compared to it, what is here grown comes up in such clusters; the cause of which seems to me to be the warmth of the air, and the fertility of the waters; the warmth calling forth the sprouts, and making them spread, and the moisture making every one of them, and bringing them into fruit; and the sun, in that part, is proved to be very hot, which it stands in need of in summer time. Now this country is then so badly burnt up, that nobody cares to come at it, and if the water be drawn up before sunrising, and after that exposure becomes exceedingly fruitful, and the fruit becomes of a nature quite contrary to the ambient air; as in winter again it becomes warm; and if you go into it, it appears very gentle. The same air is here also of so good a temperature that the people of the country are clothed in linen only, even when snow covers the rest of Judea. This place is one hundred and fifty far- ings from Jerusalem, and sixty from Jordan. The country as far as Jerusalem is destitute of all water except the sea, and that lake Asphaltitis lies lower indeed, though it be easily deserted and barren. But so much shall suffice to have been said about Jericho, and of the great happiness of its situation.

3. Notwithstanding which, there is a fountain by Jericho, that runs plentifully, and is very fit for watering the ground; it arises near the old city, which Joshua the son of Num, the general of the Israelites, took the first of all the cities of the land of Canaan, by right of war. The report is, that this fountain, at the beginning, caused not only the blazing of the earth and the trees, but of the children born of women, and of all the fruits of the same. Also a fountain in Jordan, and that in the great river Jordan, was a fountain by which stretched out his righteous hand unto heaven, and pouring out a mild drizzle-offering, he made this supplication, that "the current might be made as broad as the veins of fresh water that might be opened; that God also would bring into the place a more temperate and fertile soil as for the current, and would bestow upon the people of that country plenty of the better sort of trees and that water, which had been the occasion of barrenness and famine before, from that time did supply a numerous posterity, and afford great abundance to the country. Accordingly, the stream is so great in width and so wide, that if it do but once touch a country, it affords a sweeter nourishment than other waters do, when they lie so long upon them till they are stunted with them. For which reason, the adven- ture is so great in Jordan, and of the people in wetted, and that they continued to be righteous." To these prayer Eliezer joined proper operations of his hands, after a skillful manner of the ancient fashion; and that water, which had been the occasion of barrenness and famine before, from that time did supply a numerous posterity, and afford great abundance to the country. Accordingly, the stream is so great in width and so wide, that if it do but once touch a country, it affords a sweeter nourishment than other waters do, when they lie so long upon them till they are stunted with them. For which reason, the adven- ture is so great in Jordan, and of the people in wetted, and that they continued to be righteous." To these prayer Eliezer joined proper operations of his hands, after a skillful manner of the ancient fashion; and that water, which had been the occasion of barrenness and famine before, from that time did supply a numerous posterity, and afford great abundance to the country. 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could not swim, should have their hands tied behind them, and be thrown into the deep, when it so happened that they all swam, as if a wind had extinguished them. The effects of the color of the lake is wonderful, for it changes its appearance thrice every day, and as the rays of the sun fall differently upon it, the sight is variously reflected. However, it casts not such a black cloud of bitumen in many places of it: these swim at the top of the water, and resemble both in shape and bigness headless bulls; and when the laborers that belong to the lake come to it, and catch hold of it as it hangs together, they draw it into their ships; but if the ship is full, it is not easy to cut off the rest, for at so tremendous as to make the ship hang upon its close till they set it loose with the menstrual blood of women, and with urine, to which alone it yields. Captives are not sold for cauking of ships, but for the sure of men's bodies: accordingly it is mixed in a great many medicines. The length of this lake is five hundred and eighty furlongs, where it is extended as far as Zaphon and Asphaltus, 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 burned up. It is believed that the destruction of the city by fire 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 place. There were the commands of Tithes. They 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 these marks of credibility which our very sight affords us.

CHAP. IX.
That Vespasian, after he had taken Gades, 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 about Jerusalem, and erected citadels at Jericho and Adida, and placed his auxiliaries in them both, partly out of his own Romans, and partly out of the body of his auxiliaries. He also sent Lucas Aneus to Gerasa, and delivered to him a band of horsemen and a considerable number of footmen. So when he had taken the city, which he did at the first onset, he slew a thousand of those young men who had not prevented him by flying away: but he took their captives, and continued to plunder them, and to plunder them of their effects: after which he set fire to their houses, and went away to the adjoining villages, while the men of power fled away, and the weaker part were destroyed, and what was remaining was all burnt down. And now the war having gone through all the mountainous 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 not minded 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 compassing the city round about on all sides.

2. Now as Vespasian was returned to Cesarea, and was going to work; for he had not gone directly to Jerusalem, he was informed 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 in the arrangement of affairs to those vile wretches, Nyumphidius and Tigellinus, his unworthy freemen; and how he had a plot laid against him by them, and was deserted by all his guards, and ran away with four more of his most trusty freemen, and anew fled into the suburb of Rome; and how those that occasioned his death were in no time brought themselves to punishment; how also the war in Gaul ended; and how Galba was made emperor; and returned unto Spain to Rome; and how he was accused by the soldiers as a pusillanimous person, and slain by treachery in the middle of the market-place at Rome, and Otho was made emperor; with his expedition against the comitatus of the Zephyrion; and how the ship was his, and how he was put to death; and besides what troubles there were under Vitellius, and the fight that was about the capitol; as also how Antonius Primus and Mucianus slew Vitellius, and his German legions, and thereby put an end to that civil war; I think it omitted to give an exact account of them, because they are well known by all, and they are described by a great number of Greek and Roman authors; yet for the sake of the connexion of matters, and that my history may not be the worse, I have just touched upon every thing briefly. Wherefore Vespasian put off at first his expedition against Jerusalem, and stood waiting what the empire would be transferred after the death of Otho. And it is certain that Galba was made emperor, he attempted nothing till he also should send him some directions about the war; however, he sent his son Titus to him, to salute him, and to receive his command; but, forasmuch as the emperor had erred and done wrong, Titus sailed along with Titus to Galba; but as they were sailing in their long ships by the coast of Achai, for it was winter time, they heard that Galba was slain, before they could come to him; after which he had been two months and as many days. After whom Otho took the government, and undertook the management of public affairs. So Agrippa resolved to go on to Rome, without any terror on account of the change in the government; and at the first he suspected it not; but I have just touched upon everything. I have just touched upon everything, and now they were both in suspense about the public affairs, the Roman empire being then in a fluctuating condition, and not knowing what would happen with 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. But now there arose an open war in Jeru-

*See the note on B. r. ch. xii. sect. 6.

However, we may observe with Ottilas, that Josephus writes the name of the second of them not Otto, with many others, but Otho, with the colons. 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 villages that lay in
the mountainous country, and when there were
still men left, he sent them away, that came out,
that 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 were cor-
rupted by him; so that his army was no longer
corrupted by his power and plunder, but a great many
of the populace were obedient to him as to their
ruler. He then overran the Acrabatene topa-
archy, and the places that reached as far as the
Great Idumea; for he built a wall at a certain
village of Nain, and made the valley called Paran,
he enlarged many of the
•
cares, and many others found he ready for his
purposes; these he made into fortresses,
for his treasures, and receptacles for his prey, and
therein he laid up the fruits that he had got by
rape; and many of his partisans had their
dwelling in them, and he made no secret of it.
they that wounded his army 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
willing to prevent one that was growing up to
oppose them out against them, 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 trust so much upon his forces, as to
make an assault upon the walls; thus he repaired
the first to subdue Idumea, 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 sudden the
increase of their people, and 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. Thus they received Simon at
their borders, where they fought him, and con-
tinued the battle all that day, and the dispute lay
whether they had conquered him or been con-
quered by him. So he went back to Nain, as did
the Idumeans return home. Now was it long ere
Simon got possession of the whole country; when he pitched his camp at a certain village
called Thecoco, and sent Eleasar, one of his com-
panions, to those that kept garrison at Herodion,
and let him make them understand that he was
a 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 sur-
render of the place, they fell upon him with their
drawn swords, but he found that he had no place
for flight, when he threw himself down from the
wall into the valley beneath; so he died imme-
diately; but the Idumeans, who were already
much afraid of Simon’s power, thought fit to take
a vivid desire of his own army, before they hazard-
ed a battle with him.
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, if he thought it best for himself, to the village
Alcur, 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 not reveal the place to him before he ceased
him and promised that he would assist him in subduing
all Idumea under him; upon which account he
was feared after an oblying manner by Sim-
on, and elevated by his mighty promises; and
when he came to his own city, he first
believed the army of Simon, and said it was mani-

* Some of the ancients call this famous tree, or grove, as hee, others a turpentine tree, or grove. It has been
* very famous in all the past ages, and is so, suppose, at
BOOK IV.—CHAP. IX.

autonomous his states, 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 enjoined them to tell the people, that Simon swore by the God of the universe, who sees all things, that unless they would restore the princess, he would break down their walls, and inflicts the like punishment upon all the citizens, without sparing any age, and without making any distinction between the guilty and the innocent. These threats were good enough to frighten the people, but the zealots themselves also, that they sent his wife back to him, when he became a little milder, and left off his perpetual bloodshedding.

9 But now sedition and civil war prevailed, not only within the country, but also from the Philipids in Illyria, for now Gaiba 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 Vitellius led on a detachment of Vitellius, who were Vitellius's generals, at Bethsaica in Gaul, Otho gained the advantage on the first day, but on the second day Vitellius's soldiers had the upper hand, and 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 came over to Vitellius's generals, and he committed a new tyrant with the senate, and was betrayed in the mean time Vespasian marched from Cappadocia, on the fifth day of the month Thesius, [Sivan,] and marched against those places of Judea which were not yet overthrown. So he went up to the mountainous country, and took those towns, which were called the Gophnittik and Acrabatene toparchies. After which he took Bethel and Ephraim, two small cities, and when he had put garrisons into them, he rode as far as Jeru- salem, and took into his possession and many captives; but Ceresus, one of his commanders, took a body of horsemen and footmen, and laid waste that part of Idumea which was called the Upper Idumea, and attacked Capha, near which they pretended to be a small city, and took it at the first assault, and burnt it down. He also attacked Capharabam, and laid siege to it, for it had a very strong wall, and when he expected to spend a long time in that siege, those that were within it had the wit to find a way out of it, after which they came to beg pardon, and surrendered themselves up to him. When Ceresus had conquered them he went to Hebron, another very ancient city. I have told you already, that this city is situated in a very high mountain, and he took it, and burnt it, 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 Herodium, Massada, and Machbeth, which was 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 recovered her from the robbers, he returned to the Idumea, and marched into Judaea, 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 into the city, and made them wear of his, and all "e-reauang: and when he lighted upon any laborers 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 any Roman force, and made him very potent, who made them a suitable request 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 mustering of the men, and attention to the women, it was sport to them. They also devour- ed what spoils they had taken, together with their blood, and indulged themselves in famishing wantonness, without any disturbance, till they were satiated. But in their excess, they shaved their hair and put on women's garments, and were besmeared over with ointments; and that they might appear very comely, they had painted under their eyes, and adorned not only the ornaments, but also the lustre of women, in which they were, and such intolerable uncleanness, that they invented unlawful pleasures of that sort; and thus did they roll themselves up and down the city, as in a brothel house, and defiled it entirely with their impure actions: nay, while their faces looked like the faces of women, they killed with their right hands; and when their guilt was effeminate, they presently attacked men, and became warri oes, and drew their swords and daggers under their dyed cloaks, and ran every body through whom they lighted upon. However, Simon waited for such as ran away from John, and was the more bloody of the two: and he who had escaped the tyrant with the sword, was slain by Simon, and Betar was besieged all the time 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 the army that was under John raise a sedition also upon him, and could not part the zealots, who prepared 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 those that were in the tyrant's service out of the fortress that was built by Grapte, who was a relation of Isates, the king of Adiabene; the Idumeans fell in with them, and drove the zealots out thence into the temple, and betook themselves to plunder John's effects; for both he himself was in that palace, and therein had he laid up the spoils he had acquired by his tyranny. In the mean time the multitude of the zealots that were dispersed over the city ran together to the temple to the multitude that had come to Jerusalem, and they were 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 better soldiers than they, as at their madness, lest it should give occasion to 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 what manner they should avoid their assault. Now it was God who turned their opinions to the worst advice, and thence devised such a remedy to get themselves free as was worse than the disease itself. Accordingly, in the meantime, the zealots, in order to desire the introduction of a second tyrant into the city; which resolution they brought to perfection, and sent Matthias the high priest, to the temple, where he was, to the other part of whom they had so often been afraid. Those also who had fled from the zealots in Jerusalem, joined in this request to him, out of the desire they had of preserving their houses and their effects. Accordingly, he 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 as their savior and their preserver: but afterwards, when he was in the temple, he was to 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.
19. And thus did Simon get possession of Jerusalem, in the third year of the war, in the month Xabath, when the Jews were at a disadvantage, with his multitude of sealots, 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 distress to send soldiers, and to be seen to. Simon also tolerates 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 assailants. However, a considerable number of the city fell; and many were carried off wounded; for the sealots 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 darts might come from higher places, one at the northeast corner of the court, one above the Xystus, the third at another corner over against the former city, and the last was erected above the top of the Parthoschames with the priests stood of course, and gave a signal beforehand, with a trumpet, at the beginning of every seventh day, in the evening twilight, as also at the time of the sabbath. Very fond was Simon of appearing to notice the people when they were to leave off work, and when they were to go to work again. These men also set their engines to cast darts and stones withal, upon those towers, with their engines to and fro, and now and then made his assault upon the temple more faintly, by reason that the greatest part of his men grew weary of the work; yet did he not leave off his opposition, because his army was superior to the others, although it was by those whom he threw by the engines was 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 troubles came about Rome on all sides; for Vitellius was come from Germany with his soldiers and drew along with him a great multitude of other men besides. And when the places allotted for the soldiers could not contain them, he made at Misenus, and set all the houses with armed men: which men, when they saw the riches of Rome with those eyes which had never seen such riches before, and found themselves drawn round about on all sides with silver and gold, and all such that could not contain their covetous desires, and were ready to betake 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 that he was not yet armed as to govern, and could not, with any satisfaction, owe 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 tumults he was under, nor to apply himself farther to other wars, when his native country was laid waste, and his family was in danger of extermination by him to avenge his country, so much was he restrained by the consideration of the distance therefrom; because fortune might prevent him, and do a world of mischief before he could himself make his way to it. Simon also tells 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 assailants. However, a considerable number of the city fell; and many were carried off wounded; for the sealots 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 darts might come from higher places, one at the northeast corner of the court, one above the Xystus, the third at another corner over against the former city, and the last was erected above the top of the Parthoschames with the priests stood of course, and gave a signal beforehand, with a trumpet, at the beginning of every seventh day, in the evening twilight, as also at the time of the sabbath. Very fond was Simon of appearing to notice the people when they were to leave off work, and when they were to go to work again. These men also set their engines to cast darts and stones withal, upon those towers, with their engines to and fro, and now and then made his assault upon the temple more faintly, by reason that the greatest part of his men grew weary of the work; yet did he not leave off his opposition, because his army was superior to the others, although it was by those whom he threw by the engines was carried a great way, and slew many of those that fought for him.

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enbowed him to ease the government, which was in danger. Now Vespasian's concern had been far from meritorious; he had no belief that he not intend to set up for governor himself, though his actions showed him to deserve it, while he preferred that safety which is in a pri- vate man's hand, and that it was not suitable to his dignity: but while he refused the empire, the commanders insisted the more earnestly upon his acceptance, and the soldiers came about him, with their drawn swords in their hands, and they demanded that he should at least consent according to his dignity. And when he had shown his reluctance a great while, and had endeavored to thrust away his dominion from him, he at length, being not able to persuade them, yielded to that impression and consented. However, as ever Alexander had read this letter, he readily obliged the legions and the multitude to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, both of whom willingly complied with him, as already acquainted with the conquest and prosperity of the constitution in their neighborhood. Accordingly Vespasian, looking upon himself as already intrusted with the government, got all things ready for his journey (to Rome.) Now some carried this news abroad among the bishop of every city, and they thought, that he was emperor over the East, upon which every city kept festivals, and celebrated sacrifices and oblations for such good news; the legions also that were in Mygiana and Pannonia, which had been so lately moved from their little provinces that were at Alexandria to the other two legions 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 fortune. For Egypt is hard to be entered by land, and hath no good havens by sea. It hath on the west the dry deserts of Libya, and on the south Syene, that divides it fromEthiopia, as well as on either side of the Nile, which can be sailed over; and on the east the Red Sea, extending as far as Coptos; 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 this is Egypt; and about on every side. Its length between Pelusium and Syene is two thousand furlongs, and the passage by sea from Pelusium to Pelusium is three thousand and six hundred furlongs. Its river Nile is 900 stadia (of the Greek) as the Pharaoh, the forenamed catahuda hithering 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 currents of the river, and the winds, blow with the tide under the water, which obliges the mariners to turn from a straight direction: its left side is blocked up by works made by men's hands on both sides; on its right side lies the island called Pharos, which is situated just before sea- trance, and supports a very great tower, that affords the sight of a fire to such as sail within three hundred furlongs of it; that ships may cast anchor in the greatest way off in the night time by reason of the distinctness of the light. It is also joined to the island by a very great pier, the handwork of men, against which when the sea dashes itself, and its waves are broken against those boundari- ries, the navigation becomes very troublesome, if he was first proclaimed in Egypt, and that on the 8th of July, while they still say it was the fifth of he is mentioned just before sea-trance, and implies less. See Eurys on the Revelation, p. 135. Here we have an authentic description of the bounds and circumstances of Egypt in the days of Vespasian and Titus.

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 con- quent exponent of the Medes and Persians, v. vi., or and the entrance through a narrow passage is considered divine, yet the country, as you are got into it, is very safe one, and of thirty furlongs 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, is hitherto distributed into all the habitable earth.

6. Justly, therefore, did Vespasian desire to ob- tain that government, in order to corroborate his attempts upon the whole empire; so he immediately sent in his letter to the 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 ber- den of the government, was desirous to have him for his confidant and protector. Afterward, as ever Alexander had read this letter, he readily obliged the legions and the multitude to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, both of whom willingly complied with him, as already acquainted with the conquest and prosperity of the constitution in their neighborhood. Accordingly Vespasian, looking upon himself as already intrusted with the government, got all things ready for his journey (to Rome.) Now some carried this news abroad among the bishop of every city, and they thought, that he was emperor over the East, upon which every city kept festivals, and celebrated sacrifices and oblations for such good news; the legions also that were in Mygiana and Pannonia, which had been so lately moved from their little provinces that were at Alexandria to the other two legions 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 fortune. For Egypt is hard to be entered by land, and hath no good havens by sea. It hath on the west the dry deserts of Libya, and on the south Syene, that divides it from Ethiopia, as well as on either side of the Nile, which can be sailed over; and on the east the Red Sea, extending as far as Coptos; 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 this is Egypt; and about on every side. Its length between Pelusium and Syene is two thousand furlongs, and the passage by sea from Pelusium to Pelusium is three thousand and six hundred furlongs. Its river Nile is 900 stadia (of the Greek) as the Pharaoh, the forenamed catahuda hithering 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 currents of the river, and the winds, blow with the tide under the water, which obliges the mariners to turn from a straight direction: its left side is blocked up by works made by men's hands on both sides; on its right side lies the island called Pharos, which is situated just before sea-trance, and supports a very great tower, that affords the sight of a fire to such as sail within three hundred furlongs of it; that ships may cast anchor in the greatest way off in the night time by reason of the distinctness of the light. It is also joined to the island by a very great pier, the handwork of men, against which when the sea dashes itself, and its waves are broken against those boundari-
the condition of a captive or prisoner." So he called for Josephus, and commanded that he should be set at liberty; whereupon the commanders promised themselves glorious things, from this requital Vespasian made to a stranger. "It was their pleasure, said his father; and said, "O father, it is but just that the scandal [of a "riot"-er] should be taken off Josephus, together with his iron chain. For if we do not barely loose his bonds, but cut them to pieces, he will be the more ready to loose that had not been sooner than 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 tenderly testifying 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 an answer to the request, and disposed of the places of power justly, and according to every one's deserts, he came to Antioch, and consulting which way he had best take, he preferred to go to Rome, rather than to march to Alexandria. For he saw that Alexandria was sure to him already, but that the affairs at Rome were put into disorder by Vitellius; so he sent Mucianus to Italy, and committed a considerable army, both of horsemen and footmen, to him; yet he was afraid of great storms; as the 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 Mydia, for he was the governor of that province, and made ready in order to fight Vitellius; whereupon Vitellius sent away Cecina with a great army, having a mighty confidence in him, because of his having beaten Otho. Thus Cecina 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, he retired with his army to Antioch. Accordingly he assembled the centurions and tribunes that were under his command, and persuaded them to go over to Antonius, and this by diminishing the reputation of Vitellius, by exterminating his army.

3. Vespasian 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 favor, and, while they were likely to be overcome in battle, to avoid the danger beforehand, and go over to Antonius willingly; that Vespasian was able of himself to subdue who he pleased without their resistance, while Vitellius could not preserve what he had already with it."  

4. Cecina said this, and much more to the same purpose, and persuaded them to comply with him, for both he and his army deserted; but still the very same night the soldiers repented of what they had done, and a fear seized on them, lest perhaps Vitellius, who sent them, should get the better; and, drawing their swords, they assaulted Cecina, 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, but put him in bonds, as a traitor, and were about to send him to Vitellius. When [Antonius] Primus heard of this, he raised up his men immediately, and made them put on their arms, and march immediately; whereupon they put themselves in order of battle, and made a resistance for a while, but were soon beaten, and fled to Cremona: then did Primus take his horsemen, and cut off their enemy, and destroyed a great multitude of them before the city, and fell into the city together with the rest, and gave leave to his soldiers to plunder it. And here it is manifest that many strangers, who were as 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 Mydia, than five thousand five hundred: he then loosed Cecina, and sent him to Vespasian to tell him the good news. So he came, and was received by him, and covered the scandal of his treachery by the unexpected beauty of his character. He came over to him, with Dominicus, his brother's son, whose encouragement was of a very great weight for the compassing the government. Now Vitellius was not much conversant in the things of war, and turned his eyes to those that had revolted with Sabinius, with Thistling, out of his own natural barbarity, and noble blood, he testified that part of the army which came along with him to fight against the capital, and many bold actions were done on the 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 Dominicus, with many of the others that followed the leader, perished with his army. Mucianus, vessel, while the rest of the multitude were entirely cut to pieces, and Sabinius himself was brought to Vitellius, and then slain; the soldiers also plundered the temple of its sacred rites, and set it on fire. But now it was fit. But now within a day's time, Antonius, with his army, and were met by Vellitius and his army; and having had a battle in three several places, the last were all destroyed. Then did Vitellius come out of the palace, in his cupa, and satiated with an extravagant and luxurious meal, as in the last extremity; and being drawn along through the multitude, and abused with all sorts of torment, had his head cut off in the streets, and his headless body was detained eight months and five days; and had he lived much longer, I cannot but think the empire would not have been sufficient for his lust. Of the others that were slain, were numbered above fifty thousand; and many of them were also slain in the third day of the month Apellus (Casius) on the next day Mucianus came into the city with his selves. And, indeed, Scaliger justly complains, as Dr. Hudson observes on chap. ix. sect. 9, that this period is very confused and uncertain in the ancient authors. They were probably some of them contemporary for war in Syria as those in Asia. Which wise conduct in a more behasten ought to put those rulers and ministers of state to shame, who, professing Christian principles, have been so often indolent and negligent, and their kingdoms to vice and to destruction.
army and ordered Aesinius and his men to leave off killing; for they were still searching the houses, and killed many of Vitellius's soldiers, and many of the populace, as supposing them to be of his party, when the two sides might have made a compact between them and others. He then produced Domitian, and recommended him to the multitude, until his father should come himself: so the people being now freed from the fear of Domitians, made haste to Euphrasian, for Vespasian, as for their emperor, and kept festival days for his confirmation, and for the destruction of Vitellius.

5. And now, as Vespasian was come to Alexandria, this news came from Rome; and at the same time came embassies from all his own habitable earth, to congratulate him upon his advancement; and though this Alexandria was the greatest of all cities next to Rome, it proved too narrow to contain the multitude that then came to it. So upon this confirmation of Vespasian's entire government, which was now settled, and upon the unexpected deliverance of the public affairs of the Romans from ruin, Vespasian turned his mind to justice; removed the tributary, and subdued the Jews. However, he himself made haste to go to Rome, as the winter was now almost over, and so set the affairs of Alexandria in order,

but sent his son Titus, with a part of his army, to destroy Jerusalem. Titus marched on foot as far as Nicopolis, which is distant twenty furlongs from Alexandria; there he put his army on board the ships which the propitious river along the Medesian Nomes, as far as the city Thusa; 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 Hermopolis Magna. This he thought proper; but he refreshed his army at that place for two days, 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 Great Jupiter, and on the next day at Osrocene. This station had no water, but the people of the country make use of water brought from other places. After this he rested at Rhinocurrea, 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 Jannina, and after that to Joppa, and from Joppa to Cesarea, having taken the way to pass over to the rest of his other forces together at that place.

* There are cofns of this Cæsarian Jupiter still extant as Spanhelam here informs us.

BOOK V.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF NEAR SIX MONTHS.—FROM THE COMING OF TITUS TO BE SIEGE JERUSALEM TO THE GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED.

CHAP. I.
Concerning the Sedition at Jerusalem, and what terrible Miseries afflicted the City by their Means.

1. WHEN, therefore, Titus had marched over that desert which lies between Egypt and Syria, in the manner forementioned, he came to Cesarea, having resolved to set his forces in order at that place before he began the war. Nay, indeed, while he was assisting his father at Alexandria in settling that government which had been newly conferred upon them by God, it so happened, that the sedition at Jerusalem was revived, and parted into three factions; and that one faction fought against the other, whichpartition in such evil cases may be said to be a good thing, and the effect of divine justice. Now, as to the attack the zealots made upon the people, and which I esteem the beginning of the city's destruction, it hath been already explained after an accurate manner; as also whence it arose, and to how great a mischief it was increased. But, for the present sedition, one should not mistake if he called it a sedition begotten by another sedition, and to be like a wild beast grown mad, which, for want of food from abroad, fell upon eating its own flesh.

2. For Eleazar, the son of Simon, who made the first separation of the zealots from the people, when he retire into the temple, appeared very angry at John's insolent attempts, which he made every day upon the people; for this man never left off murdering; but the truth was, that he could not bear to submit to a tyrant who set up after him. So he being desirous of gaining the entire power and dominion to himself, revolted from John, and took to his assistance Judas, the son of Chelicius, and Simon, the son of Earon, who were among the men of greatest power. There was also with him Herakiah, the son of Chobar, a person of eminence. Each of these were followed by a great many of the zealots; they seized upon the inner court of the temple, and laid their arms upon the holy gates and over the holy fronts of that court. And because they had plenty of provisions, they were of good courage, for there was a great abundance of victuals; they were consecrated to sacred uses, and they scrupled not the making use of them yet were they afraid on account of their small number, and when they had laid up their arms there, they did not stir from the place they were in. Now, when John, what advantage he had over Eleazar in the multitude of his followers, the like disadvantage he had in the situation he was in since he had his enemies over his head; and a he could not make any assault upon them with out some terror, so was his anger too great to let them be at rest; nay, although he suffered more mischief from Eleazar and his party than he could inflict upon them, yet would he not leave off as assailing them, insomuch that there were continual sallies made one against another; so that the temple was defiled everywhere with murders.

3. But now the tyrant Simon, the son of Gio rius, whom the people had invited in, out of the hope they had of his assistance in the great dis tress they were in, having in lower the upper city, and a great part of the lower, did not make more vehement assaults upon John and his party, because they were fought against from above, and also because they were not pressed when they attacked them, as they were before the attacks of the others above them. Whereby, came to pass that John did both receive and inflict great damage, and that easily, as he was fought against by both sides; and the same advantage that Eleazar and his party had over him, since he was beneath them, the same advantage he had, by his higher situation, over Simon. Of which account he easily repelled the attacks that were made from beneath, by the weapons throw from their hands only; but was obliged to repel.

* This appears to be the first time that the zealots ventured to pollute this most sacred court of the temple, which was the court of the priests, wherein the temple itself and the altar stood. So that the con jurers of those that would interpret that Zacharias, who

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those that threw their darts from the temple above him, by his engine of war; for he had such engines, as threw darts, and javelins, and shot and that in a small number, by which he did not only defend himself from such as fought against him, but slew moreover many of the priests, as they were about their sacred ministrations. For notwithstanding these men were not armed against him, yet they were afraid of impurity, and admit those that desired to offer their sacrifices, although they took care to search the people of their own country beforehand, and both suspected and watched them, while they were not so much on guard against them, and though they were not convinced, for they had left of them, how cruel soever they were, to come into that court, were yet often destroyed by this sedition; for those darts that were thrown by them, were shot against the priests, with which they went over all the buildings, and reached as far as the altar and the temple itself, and all upon the priests and those that were about the sacred offices: isomuch, that many persons who came this is with a propitiate, or from the ends of the earth, to offer sacrifices at this celebrated place, which was esteemed holy by all mankind, fell down before their own sacrifices themselves, and sprinkled that altar which was venerable among all nations; and Eleazar and Simeon, with their own blood, till the dead bodies of strangers were mingled together, with those of their own country, and those of profile persons with those of the priests, and the blood of all sorts of dead carcase was lad in the holy vessels. And now, "O most wretched city, what misery so great as this didst thou suffer from the Romans, when they came to purify thee from thy intestine hatred?" For thou couldst be no longer a holy place. For God would not that longer continue in being, after thou hadst been a sepulchre for the bodies of thy own people, and hadst made the holy house itself a burying place in this city of those. Yet mayest thou again, again, if perchance thou wilt hereafter appease the anger of that God who is the author of thy destruction." But I must restrain myself from these passions by the rules of history, since this is a matter of the most impious lamentations, but for historical narrations; I therefore return to the operations that follow in this sedition.

4. And now there were three treacherous factions in the city, the one parted from the other. Eleazar and Simeon kept the temple, the other portion came against John in their cups. Those that were with John plundered the populace, and went out with zeal against Simon. This Simon had his supply of provisions from the city, in opposition to John. When therefore John was surprised, and insulted on both sides he made his men turn about, throwing his darts upon those citizens that came up against him from the cloisters he had in his possession, while he opposed those that attacked him from the temple with his engines of war. And if at any time he was freed from those that were above him, which happened frequently, from their being drunk and tired, he collected out with a great number upon Simon and his party; and this was the reason why in part of the city as he could come at, fell he set on fire those houses that were full of corn, and of all other provisions. The same thing was done by Simon, when upon that the retreat, he attacked the city also; as if they had all on purpose done it to retire the Romans, by destroying what the city had laid up

* The Levites.

† This is an excellent reflection of Josephus including his hopes of the restoration of the Jews upon their re- 

\ **Hopes of Israel, as Manasseh-ben-Israel, the fa- 

\ **mous Jewish rabbi, styles it, in his small but remarka- 

\ **ble work, a sect, of which the Jewish priests are everywhere full. See the principal of those proselytes collected together at the end of the Essay on the Revolution, page 125, \n
\ **This destruction of such a vast quantity of corn and against the siege, and by thus cutting off the 

\ **nerves of their own power. Accordingly, it re- 

\ **came to pass, that all the places that were about 

\ **the temple were burnt down, and are besides an 

\ **intermediate desert space, ready for fighting on 

\ **both sides of it; and that almost all that corn 

\ **was burnt, which would have been sufficient for 

\ **a siege of many years. So they were taken by 

\ **the siege, in which the Jews were expected, and 

\ **should they have been, unless they had prepared 

\ **the way for it by this procedure.

5. And now, as the city was engaged in a war 

\ **on all sides, from these treacherous crowds of 

\ **priests, and those that deserted them, and from 

\ **them, were like a great body torn in pieces. The 

\ **aged men and the women were in such distress 

\ **by their internal calamities, that they wished for 

\ **the Romans; and the Romans came with a view 

\ **to order their delivery from their domestic miseries. The citizens themselves were under a terrible consternation and fear; nor had they any opportunity of taking counsel, and of 

\ **changing their condition; but they were so 

\ **anxious and afraid of the Romans, that they 

\ **agreed of coming to an agreement with their ene-

\ **mies; nor could such an one have a mind free 

\ **away; for guards were set at all places, and the 

\ **heads of the robbers, although they were seditions 

\ **one, were set upon the public, and were cut off 

\ **on the heads of the robbers, although they were 

\ **suspected of an inclination to desert to them, as their 

\ **common enemies. They agreed in nothing but this, 

\ **to kill those that were against them, those that 

\ **were fighting was incessant, both by day and by 

\ **night; but the lamentations of those that mourn-

\ **ed exceeded the other; nor was there ever any 

\ **occasion for them to leave off their lamentations, 

\ **because they were instructed to do it by the 

\ **figure that was upon them, and was made upon 

\ **the Roman, or were suspected of an inclination 

\ **to desert to them, as their common enemies.

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\ **any occasion for them to leave off their lamentations, 

\ **because they were instructed to do it by the 

\ **figure that was upon them, and was made upon
towers, he finding them long enough to oppose from these their adversaries that fought from the tower of the city, and that they had them brought and erected behind the inner court over against the west end of the cloister, where alone he could erect them, whereas the other sides of that court had so many steps as would make it impossible to come at that gate last, and that it went up the rear. Thus did John hope to be too hard for his enemies by these engines constructed by his impiety; but God himself demonstrated that his pains would prove of no use to him, by bringing the Romans upon him before he could see 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 out of Cæsarea. He had with him three legions that had been on campaign, and 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 valor, so did it abandon itself to its enemies, and put, with such.temptation.s on the Jews, as remembering what they had formerly suffered from them. Of these legions he ordered the fifth to meet him, by going through Emusaeus, and the tenth to go up to the Antonia, and the sixth to go up into the surrounding country, and join the rest: besides which, marched those auxiliaries that came from the kings, being now in number than before, together with a consular number that came from Syria. Those also that had been selected out of these four legions, and sent with Mucianus to Italy, had their places filled up out of those soldiers that came out of Egypt with Titus, which were two thousand men, chosen out of the armies at Alexandria. There followed him also three thousand drawn from those that guarded the river Euphrates; as also, there came Tiberius Alexander, who was a friend of his, most valuable to all his purposes, and his father as well as his prudence. He had former been governor of Alexandria, but was now thought worthy to be general of the army [under Titus]. The reason of this, that he had been the first who had encouraged Vespasian, and it was late to accept this his new dominion, and join'd 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 this war, both by his age and skill in such affairs.

chap. II.
How Titus marched to Jerusalem, and how he was in Danger, as he was taking a Place of the City.

Of the Place also where he pitched his Camp.

1. Now as Titus was upon his march into the enemy's country, the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings marched first, having all the other auxiliaries with them. After them followed those that were to prepare the roads, and measure out the camp; then came the commanders' baggage, and after that the other soldiers, who were completely armed to support them; then came Titus himself; next the baggage, the baggage horses, 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, with their select bodies; after these came the ensigns, with the eagle; and before these ensigns came the trumpets, and behind those the main body of the army in their ranks, every legion being six deep; the servants belonging to every legion came after these; and before these last their baggage; the mercenaries came on the right, and the rest on the left, up the rear. Now Titus, according to the Roman usage, went in front of the army after a decent manner, and marched through Samaria to Gophna, a city that had been formerly taken by his father, and there received the guarded by the Roman soldiers: and, when he had lodged there one night he marched on in the morning; and when he had gone as far as a day's march, he pitched his camp at that valley which the Jews, in their own tongue, called the cistern; from which place there is a certain village called Gabadath-saul, which signifies, The Hill of Saul, being distant from Jeru- salem about thirty furlongs. There it was that he chose out six hundred select horsemen, and went to take some view of his place to effect strength it was of, and how courageous the Jews were; whether when they saw him, and before they came to a direct battle, they would be affrighted and desert him; for he had been informed, what was really true, that most of the people had fallen under the power of the seditions and the robbers, were greatly desirous of peace; but being too weak to rise up against the rest, they lay still.

2. Now, so long as he rode along the straight road which led to the wall of the city, nobody appeared out of the gates; but when he went out of that road, and declined towards the tower of Peophina, and led the head of horsemen obliquely, an immense number of the Jews leaped out suddenly at the towers called the Women's Towers, through that gate which was over against the monuments of Queen Heleasa, and intercepted his passage; and stood opposite to those that still ran along the road, hindered them from joining those that had declined out of it. They intercepted Titus also, with a few others. Now it was here impossible for him to go forward, or to have time to build trenches as dug in them from the wall to preserve the gardens round about, and were full of gardens obliquely situated, and of many hedges; and to return back to his own men, he saw it was also impossible, by the number of the bedouins and the enemies that lay between them; many of whom did not so much as know the king was in any danger; but supposed him still among them. So he perceived, that his preservation must be wholly owing to the courage of his horse, and cried out aloud to those that were about him, to follow him, and ran with violence into the midst of his enemies, in order to force his way through them to his own men. And hence, we may principally learn, that both the success of wars and the dangers that kings are in, are under the providence of God; for while such a number of darts were thrown at Titus, when he had neither his headpiece on, nor his breastplate, (for, as I told you, he was not set to fight, but to view the city,) none of them touched his body, but went aside without hurting him, as if all of them missed him on purpose, and only made a noise as they passed by march, as Josephus assures us, Antiq. B. xvii. ch. xi. sect. 4; Of the War, B. ii. ch. vi. sect. 3. Thus also the Jews call it the Roman Empire, under the name of Ochella, could bring their engines close to the cloisters of that court endways, upon the floor of the court of Israel, and the name of that temple in the description of the temples hereto belonging.

1. We may here note, that Titus is here called a king, and not a prince, as he was before; this was rather than the emperor's son and general of the Roman army, and his father Vespasian was still alive, just as the New Testament says, a bruised reed, or was broken, Matt. ii. 25, though he was properly no more than a king, as Josephus assures us, Antiq. B. xvii. ch. xi. sect. 4; Of the War, B. ii. ch. vi. sect. 3. Thus also the Jews call it the Roman Empire, under the name of Ochella, could bring their engines close to the cloisters of that court endways, upon the floor of the court of Israel, and the name of that temple in the description of the temples hereto belonging.

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‡ This destruction of such a
BOOK V.—CHAP. II.

I. 

On the borders of his march, John the Baptist was seized and beheaded. The eunuchs of Herod, as he had heard of the death of John, were afraid of the preachers of the Gospel, and in order to escape the danger, they sent a message to the Roman governors. When they heard the news, they ordered the eunuchs to be arrested and put to death. Then they sent a messenger to the Roman legate to inform him of the event. The Roman legate, learning of the death of John, was greatly grieved, and he ordered the expedition to be delayed. He also sent a messenger to the Roman legate in Judea to inform him of the event.

II. 

There being no gate on the west, and only on the west, there was none to oppose them from those who had the advantage of the enemy. The Romans, therefore, marched up to the city, and at the same time the eunuchs of Herod, as he had heard of the death of John, were afraid of the preachers of the Gospel, and in order to escape the danger, they sent a message to the Roman governors. When they heard the news, they ordered the eunuchs to be arrested and put to death. Then they sent a messenger to the Roman legate to inform him of the event. The Roman legate, learning of the death of John, was greatly grieved, and he ordered the expedition to be delayed. He also sent a messenger to the Roman legate in Judea to inform him of the event.

III. 

The Romans, upon hearing of the death of John, were greatly grieved, and they ordered the eunuchs to be arrested and put to death. Then they sent a messenger to the Roman legate to inform him of the event. The Roman legate, learning of the death of John, was greatly grieved, and he ordered the expedition to be delayed. He also sent a messenger to the Roman legate in Judea to inform him of the event.

IV. 

When the Romans heard the news, they ordered the eunuchs to be arrested and put to death. Then they sent a messenger to the Roman legate to inform him of the event. The Roman legate, learning of the death of John, was greatly grieved, and he ordered the expedition to be delayed. He also sent a messenger to the Roman legate in Judea to inform him of the event.

V. 

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VI. 

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X. 

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WAR OF THE JEWS.

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 horse ride over those that were overthrowen. The enemy indeed made a great shout at the boldness of Gesem and exhorted one another to rush upon him. Yet did those against whom he marched did not go off from him in great numbers; while those that were in the same danger kept up close to him, though they were wounded by him, and those on the other sides; for they had each of them but this one hope of escaping, if they could assist Titus in opening himself a way that he might not be encompassed 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 others then drew as a flank on the first, 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 in the disposition of forming on their side, made them very courageous for the future.

3. But now, as soon as that legion that had been at Emmaus was joined to Cæsar at night, he removed thence, when it was day, and came to Jericho and Titus; from whence the citizens 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 thence, was a plain, and very properly named the Plain of Maccabees (for it was not 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 order ed another camp to be fortified, at three furlongs farther, and the rest of the soldiers went with them. And 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 themselves; and, if any 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 had before by Versailest expert, and so for that they were running himself upon the Jews on their bank, with those select troops that were with him, and slew a considerable number, and wounded more of them, and drove the others 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 Romans, and engaged in a volley. These legions now 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, proposed between them, which is named Cedron.

4. Now, when hitherto the several parties in the city had been dashing one against another perpetually, this foreign war, now suddenly came upon them, and lay as a stop to their contentions one against another; and, as the seditions now saw with astonishment the Romans pitching three several camps, they began to think of an awkward sort of concord, and the several parties here, beasts of their own species, being without a common law, none but Titus himself, and a few others with him, being left in the midst of the secessions. Now these others who were his friends, despised the rest of the parties and were about to go with their general, earnestly exhorting him "to give way to these Jews that are full 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 supporting the place of a common soldier, to venture to turn back upon the enemys so suddenly, and this because he was right.
armed men, when they were gotten in, tawed their garments away, and presently appeared in their armor. Upon which there was a very great disorder and disturbance about the holy house; while the people, who had no confidence in the sedition, supposed that this assault was made against all without distinction; as the zealots thought it was made against themselves only. So these left off guarding the gates any longer, and went with others from their houses; and these, when they came to an engagement, fled away into the subterranean caverns of the temple; while the people that stood trembling at the altar and about the holy house, were rolled on heaps to one another; and others fled away with wooden and iron weapons without mercy. Such also, as had differences with others, slew many persons that were quiet, out of their own private enmity and hatred, as if they were opposite to such seditions; and all those Romans formerly offended any of these plotters, were now known, and were led away to the slaughter: and when they had done abundance of horrid mischief to the guiltless, they granted a truce to the guilty, and let them flee away, and some another, till certain of them saw their general in the very midst of an action, and, being under great concern for him, they loudly pressed the gates, and formed a legion, and now shame made them turn back, and they reproached one another, that they did worse than run away, by deserting Caesar. So they used their utmost force against the Jews, and now chose the choice horsemen and horse, and fired them on heaps into the bottom of the valley. Then did the Jews turn about and fight them: but as they were themselves retiring, and now because the Romans had the advantage of the greater height of ground, and the gates of this temple were open to the whole valley. Caesar also pressed upon those that were near him, and sent the legion again to fortify their camp; while he, and those that were with him before, opposed the enemy, and kept the gate. And the greater part of them, so much, that if I may be allowed neither to add anything out of flattery, nor to diminish anything out of envy, but to speak the plain truth, Caesar did twice deliver that entire legion when it was in opposition, and gave them a quiet opportunity of fortifying their camp.

CHAP. III.

How the Sedition was again revised within Jerusalem, and yet the Jews contrived Snares for the Romans. How Titus also threatened his Soldiers for their unaccountable Rashness.

1. As now the war abroad ceased for a while, the sedition within was revived; and on the first of unleavened bread, which was now come, it being the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, when it is believed the Jews were first freed from the Egyptians, Eleazar and his party opened the gates of this temple, and admitted of the people, as were desirous to worship God into it. But John made use of this festival as a cloak for his treacherous designs, and armed the most inconsiderable part of the people, and sent them with great zeal into the temple, in order to seize upon it; which

* Here we see the true occasion of those vast numbers of Jews that were in Jerusalem during this siege of Titus, and perished therein; that the slope began at the first from the Egyptians, Eleazar and his party opened the gates of this temple, and admitted of the people, as were desirous to worship God into it. But John made use of this festival as a cloak for his treacherous designs, and armed the most inconsiderable part of the people, and sent them with great zeal into the temple, in order to seize upon it; which...
us they pleased, and hoping that the other party would open their gates to them, set to the execution of their designs accordingly. But for Titus himself, he had this surprising conduct of the Jews in suspension; for whereas he had invited them to come to terms of accommodation, by Josephus, but one day before, he could then receive no civil answer from them; so he ordered them, as they were in their houses, to be taken. However, some of them that were set in the front of the works prevented him, and catching up their arms ran to the gates; whereas those that seemed to have been ejected, at the first retired: but as soon as the Jews saw the towers were gone down between the two towers on each side of the gate, the Jews ran out and encompassed them round, and fell upon them behind, while that multitude which stood upon the wall, threw a heap of stones and darts of all sorts at them; but the Romans, being in 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 stones they were under for being wild and hard, and the fire 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 Romans with stones or wood indeed, that gave them as many blows again, and at last repelled those that had encompassed them about, while the Jews pursued them as they retir'd, and followed them and threw darts at them as far as the monuments of Hippicus, and in another like manner, but two surlongs from the city. However, the tenth legion continued in its own place, upon the Mount of Olives.

4. After this, these Jews, without keeping any decursion, grew insolent upon their good fortune, and jested upon the Romans for being deluded by the trick they had put upon them, and making a noise to the beating of their shields, leaped for gladness, and made joyful exclamation; while these soldiers were received with threatening by their officers, and with indignation by Cesar himself, [who spake to them thus:] "These Jews, that are only contradicted by their mistake, do every thing with care and circumspection; they contrive stratagems and lay ambushes, and fortune gives success to their stratagems, because they are obedient, and preserve their good order as well in the day time as in the night. The Romans, to whom fortune uses to be ever subservient, by reason of their good order, and ready submission to their commanders, have now had ill success by their contrary behavior; and by the evidence of this, that we had A from action, they have been caught; and that which is the most to their reproach, they have gone on without their commanders in the very presence of them. The ordinary [say Titus] of laws of war cannot but grow more trivially, when my father also himself when he shall be informed of this wound that hath been given us, since 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 in the least break into good order, while at this time they have seen an entire army run into disorder. However, those that have been so insolent shall be made immediately serve as soldiers; and rather 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 that were concerned with these soldiers' minds sunk down in despair, as expecting to be put to death, and that hastily and quickly. However, the other legions came round about Titus, and entreated his favor to these their fellow-soldiers, and made supplication to him that he would pardon the rashness of a few, on account of the better obedience of all the rest; and promised for them, that they should make amends for their present fault by their more virtuous behavior in the time to come.

5. Cesar complied with their desires, and with what prudence dictated to him also; for he esteemed it fit to punish single persons by reparation, but that the punishment of great multitudes should proceed no further than the actual proofs; so he was reconciled to the soldiers but gave them a special charge to act more wisely for the future; and he considered with himself how he might be even with the Jews for their actions. However, the Romans and the wall had been levelled, which was done in four days; and as he was desirous to bring the baggage of the army with the rest of the multitude that followed him, safely to the camp, he set the seventh part of his army against that wall which lay on the north quarter of the city, and over against the western part of it, and made his army seven deep, with the footmen placed before them, and the horsemen behind them; however, as the archers stood in the midst in seven ranks. And now as the Jews were prohibited by so great a body of men, from making sallies upon the Romans, both the beasts that bare the burdens and belonged to the three hundred, were in the multitude, marched on without any fear. But as for Titus himself, he was but about two surlongs distant from the wall at that part of it that the Romans advanced against. The tower which was called Phœnix, at which tower the compass of the wall belonging to the north bended, and extended itself over against the west; but the other part of the army fortified itself at the feet of Hippius, and was distributed in the like manner, but two surlongs 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 was necessary to have two as well as three; these were two hills, which are opposite to one another, and have a valley to divide them, and each valley the corresponding rows of houses on both hills ends. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and instead of a direct. Accordingly, it was called the Citadel by king David; he was the father of that Solomon who built this temple at the first; but it is now called the Upper Market-place. But the other hill is called the Lower City, and the lower city, is of the shape of a moon when she is horned; over against there was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra, and parted from the other by a broad valley. However, in the time of the Asa, when the city was increased, 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 Acra, and reduced it to a levelness that was before, that the temple might be superior to it. Now the valley of the Chemedmongers, as it was called, and was that which we told you before distinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, except that of the Temple, which is covered by a fountain which hath sweet water in it, and that in great plenty also. But on the outsides, these hills are surrounded by deep valleys, and by reason of the precipices to them belonging, on both sides, they are much increased. 2. Now, of these three walls, the old one was hard to be taken, both by reason of the valleys, and of that hill on which it was built, and which was above them. But besides that great advantage, as to the place where they were wattled, it was also built very strong; because David and Solomon, and the following kings, were very zealous about this work. Now that wall

* Perhaps, say Dr. Hudson, here was that gate called the Gate of the Corner, in 2 Chron. xxvi. 8 et ch.
began on the north, at the tower called Hippicus, and extended as far as the Xistus, 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 outward, it becomes clear that the same place, and extended through a place called Betho, to the gate of the Esseus: and after that it went southward, having its bounding above the fountain Siloam, where it also beads again to what is known as the pool, and reached as far as a certain place which they called Ophelas, where it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple. The second wall took its beginning from that gate which they called Genneth, which is the sixth mile by the old road, and passed the northern quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower Antonia. The beginning of the third wall was at the tower Hippicus, whence it reached as far as the north quarter of the town, and reached that hill to the city, made considerably larger, and occasioned that which is in number the fourth, and is called Beseitha, to be inhabited also. It lies over against the tower of Antonia, but is divided from it by a ditch, and 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 the security that arose from its 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 Beseitha in our language, which if interpreted means Tower, partaking in its nature of 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, the foundations, out of the fear he was in of Claudius Caesar, lest he should suspect that so strong a wall was built in order to make some innovation in public affairs: for the city could no way have been more strongly fortified, and it was added to the manner 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 shored in by the fortifications of the conqueror. There was nothing in the world, which gave more height to the Jews, as high as twenty cubits, above which it had battlements of two cubits, and turrets of three cubits altitude, inasmuch that the altitude extended as far as twenty-five cubits.

The fifth tower was called by some one it was twenty cubits in breadth and twenty cubits in height; 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 the towers, which was twenty cubits, 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 those were each two hundred cubits; but in the middle wall were forty towers, and the old wall was parted into sixty, so, as the compass of the city was thirty-three furlongs. Now the third wall was all of it wonderful; yet was the tower Paphians elevated above it at the northwest corner, and there Titus pitched his own tent; for being seven cubits high it both afforded a prospect of Arabia at sunrising, as well as did of the utmost limits of the Hebrew possessions at the sea westward. Moreover, it was an octagon, and over against it was the tower Hippicus, which was split and hard by the old road. 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 in the former occasions, he 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 averred himself descended, and to 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 friend, had a breadth of twenty-five cubits, and its height thirty, and it had no vacancy in it. Over this solid building, which was composed of great stones united together, there was a reservoir of twenty cubits deep, 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 towers all round of three cubits height; in which 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; over which was its old height of three cubits; over which a cloister went round about, whose height was ten cubits, and it was covered from enemies by breastwork and bulwarks. There was also built over that cloister another tower, partaking in its nature of a place for bathing; so that this tower wasted nothing that might make it appear to be a royal palace. It was also adorned with battlements and turrets, more than was the foregoing, and the entire altitude of it was a little higher, so that the appearance of it resembled the tower of Pharos; which exhibited a fire to such as sailed to Alexandria, but was much larger than it in compass. This was now converted to a house, whereas Seleucus, exercising his property as an army, had a temple within the same.

The third tower was Marianne, for that was his queen's name: it was solid as high as twenty cubits: its breadth and its length were twenty cubits, and were equal to each other; its upper buildings were of more variety than the other towers had; for the king thought it most proper for him to adorn that which was denominated from his wife better than those denominated from the men, which 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 were built; for the first was built on a high hill, and was itself a kind of elevation 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 made of common small stones, nor 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 en-
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sults united to one another, that each tower looked like one entire rock of stone, so growing naturally, and afterwards cut by the hands of the artists into their present shape and corners; so little, or not at all, does the stones that join them appear. Now as these towers were themselves on the north side of the wall, the king had a palace inwardly thereto adjointed, which exceeds all my ability to describe it; for it was so very curious, made in the depth of construction, but was entirely walked about the height of thirty cubits, and was adorned with towers at equal distances, and with large bed- chambers, who stood round, and those throughout a hundred and more guests space, in which the variety of the stones is not to be expressed; for a large quantity of those that were rare of that kind was collected together. Their roofs were also wonderful, both for size or height, or being a grand picture 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 grand, and large, and moreover, several groves of trees and long walks through them, with deep canals, and cisterns, that in several parts were filled with braced statues, through which the water ran out. There were withal many dove-courts at the bottom, and were the breasts and the sides broad where 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 Romans consumed; for that city was burnt by the Romans, but by these internal plots, 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 plan at the top was barely sufficient for the holy house and the altar, for the ground about it was very uneven, and like a precipice; but when king Solomon had procured the person that should build the temple, he 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 asked. But in future ages the people added new banks, and the hill grew a large plain. They then broke down the wall on the north side, and took in as much as sufficed afterwards for the compass of the entire temple. And when they had built walls on three sides of the temple round about, from the addition of the hill, and had formed a work that was greater than could be

hoped for, in which whole long ages were spent by them, all their sacred treasures were ex- hibited, which were still replenished by those tributes which were sent to God from the whole had house. It had the same number of upper courts with cloisters, as well as they [af- terward] did the lowest [court of the] temple. The lowest part of this was erected to the height of a hundred cubits, and in some places more, yet did not exceed the height of the parapet. As they appear, for they brought earth and filled up the valleys, as being desirous to make them on a level with the narrow streets of the city; wherein they put the houses that stood in the way, in imitation for the great plenty of money they then had, and the liberality of the people, made this attempt of their to succeed to an incredible degree. And what could not be so much as hoped for as ever habitable city was built, even in the same perseverance and length of time, brought to perfection.

§ 2. Now for the works that were above these foundations, these were not unworthy of such foundations; for all the cloisters were double, and the pillars to fly by being 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 and wrought; the spandrels of them, 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 of the temple on the north side were adorned with frescoes, 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 from the temple by the east door [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 gold doors, and that in equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, some in Greek, 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 the priests of the first court were by fourteen steps below it, and there were other steps, each of five cubits square, that led to the gates, which gates on the north and south sides were eight, on each of those sides four, and of necessity two on the east. For since there was a partition built for the women on the east side, as the proper place wherein they were to which Josephus speaks of elsewhere, Antiq. B. xv. ch. 21, sect. 2; and which Mr. Mason searched, and describes, p. 100, as extant under ground at this day.

What Josephus seems here to mean is this, that these pillars supporting the cloisters in the second court, had their foundations or lower parts as deep in the floor of the first or lowest court, but that for these ports, or those lower parts of the building were not ground to the same level, but were reduced to twenty-five furlongs above, and unequal the difference of their heights to be fifteen cubits. These steps should give an ascent of fifteen cubits, half a cubit seeming sufficient for a single step. Possibly there were fourteen or fifteen steps at the palace itself, and the court itself, which would bring the whole near to the just proportion. See sect. 3, 19, 24. But I determine nothing.

*These three courts in Josephus, built by Herod the Great, are, in the opinion of Reid, the very same that are mentioned by the Talmudists, and named by them Herod's three courts. Nor is there any reason to sup- pose otherwise, since in both accounts they were ex- pressed tame pigeons which were kept in them. I see the description of the temple hereto belonging, chief among the rest, that which Josephus here says belong the original antecedence of this mount Moriah, that it was quite too little for the temple, and that at first it held only the foundation of the stone building, and that the foundations were to be added long afterward by degrees, to render it capable of the cloisters for the other. There was without all doubt also in the sculp- tures, and not at all confirmed by his exactier account in the Antiquities. All that is or can be true here is this, that the cloisters in the temple, almost long afterward, to be encompassed with cloisters, the southern foundation for these cloisters was found not to be large or firm enough, and was raised, and that additional foundation supported by great pillars and arbours under ground, which Josephus speaks of elsewhere, Antiq. B. xv. ch. 21, sect. 2; and which Mr. Mason searched, and describes, p. 100, as extant under ground at this day.
worse, there was a secretory for a second gate for them: this gate was cut out of its wall, over against the first gate. There was also on the other side of this court a large open place, through which was a passage into the court of the women; for as to the other gates, the women were not allowed to pass through them: nor were there passages on the other side of the temple, for they go beyond their own wall. The place was allotted to the women of our own country, and of other countries, provided they were of the same nation, and that equally: the western side of this court had no such limits, but the whole was built entire on that side. But then the cloisters which were between the gates extended from the wall inward before the chambers: for they were supported by very fine and large pillars. These and the angle, except in their magnitude, were no way inferior to those of the lower court.

3. Now size of these gates were on every side covered over with gold and silver, as were the purest and most splendid images; whereas was one gate that was without [the inward court] of the holy house, which was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those that were only covered over with silver and gold. Each gate had above twelve cubits, and their breadth fifteen. However, they had large spaces within of thirty cubits, and had on each side rooms, and those, both in breadth and in length, built like towers, and their height was above sixty cubits. Two pillars did also support these rooms, and were in circumference twelve cubits. Now the magnitudes of the other gates were equal one to another; but that over the Corinthian gate, which opened on the east over against the holy house, was much larger; for its height was fifty cubits, and its doors were forty cubits; and it was adorned after a most costly manner, as having much richer work, both the silver and gold used on them than the other. These were not covered with gold and silver and gold poured upon them by Alexander the father of Tiberius. Now there were fifteen steps, which led away from the wall of the court of the women on either side of this gate: whereas those that led thither from the other gates were five steps shorter.

4. As to the holy house itself, which was placed in the midst [of the inner court], that most splendid building, it was equal to by twelve steps; and in front its height and its breadth were equal, and each a hundred cubits, though it was behind forty cubits narrower, for on its front it had what may be styled shoulders; and on the other side was fifty and fifteen cubits. Its first gate was seventy cubits high, and twenty-five cubits broad; but this gate had no doors; for it represented the universal visibility of heaven, and that it cannot be excluded from any place. Its form was covered with gold all over, and through it the first part of the house, that was more inward, did all of it appear; which, as it was very large, so did all the parts about the more inward part appear to shine to those that saw them: but then, as the whole was divided into two parts within, it was only the first part of it that was open to our view. Its height extended all along to ninety cubits in height, and fifty in breadth. But that gate which was at this end of the first part of the house, was, as we were already observed, all over covered with gold, as was its wide wall about it: it had also golden vases above it, from which clusters of grapes hung as tall as a man's height. But then this house, as it was divided into two parts, the inner part was lower than the appearance of the outer, and had golden doors of fifty-five cubits altitude, and golden gates above it, the latter being doors there was a veil of equal largeness with the doors. It was a Babylonian curtain; embroi-dered with blue, and fine lines, and scarlet, and purple, and of a contexture that was truly wonderful. Nor was this mixture of colors without its meaning, or a certain image of the universe; for by the scarlet there seemed to be eminently signified fire, by the fine lines the earth, by the blue the sea and air, by the purple the set of those having their colors the foundation of this realm, and the fine lines and the purple have their own origin for that foundation, the earth producing the one and the sea the other. This curtain had also emblazoned on it, or embroidered all that was mystical in the heavens, excepting that of the twelve signs, representing living creatures.

5. When any persons entered into the temple, its floor received them. This part of the temple, therefore, was in height sixty cubits, being the same length the same; whereas its breadth was but twenty cubits; but still that sixty cubits in length was divided again, and the first part of it was cut off at forty cubits, and had in it three things that were very extraordinary. First, there was the kind, 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 seven lamps were upon a table, and that was the circle of the zodiac and the year; but the altar of incense, by its thirteen kinds of sweet-smelling spices with which the seas replenished it, signified, that God is the possessor of all things that are both in the under world and in the habitable parts of the earth, and that they are all to be dedicated to his use. But the innermost part of the temple of all was twenty cubits. This was also separated from the outer part by a veil. In this there was nothing at all. It was inaccessible and invisible, and not to be seen by any; and was called the Holy of Holies. Now, about the sides of the lower part of the temple there were little houses with little courts another: there were a great many of them, and they were of three stories high; there were also entrances on each side into them from the gate of the temple. But the superior part of the temple had no sand dunes and fine any farther, because the temple was there narrower, and forty cubits higher, of a smaller body than the lower parts of it. Thus we collect that the whole height, including the sixty cubits from the floor, amounted to a hundred and forty cubits.

6. Now the outward face of the temple in its front wanted nothing that was likely to surprise either men's minds or their eyes; for it was covered all over with plates of gold of great height, and, in the light of the sun, en- ded back a very fiery splendor, and made those who forced themselves to look upon it, to turn their eyes away, just as they would have done at the sun's own rays. But this temple appeared to strangers, when they were coming to it at a distance, like a mountain covered with snow; for, as to those parts of it that were not gilt, they were exceeding white. On its top it had spires with sharp points to the sky, just as if it had been built up by birds sitting upon it. Of its stones some of them were forty-five cubits in length, five in height, and six in breadth. Before this temple stood the altar, fifteen cubits high, and equal in length and breadth; its elevation was fifty cubits. The figure it was built in was a square, and it had corners like horns; and the passage up to it was by an inaccessible acclivity. It was formed without any iron tool, nor did any such tool so much as touch it at any time. There was also a wall of partition, about a cubit in height, made of fine stones, and so as to be graceful to the sight; this encompassed the holy house, and the altar, and kept the people that were in the temple from coming near the priests. Moreover, those that had the garments and the lappery were excluded out of
the city entirely: women also, when their courses were upon them, were shut out of the temple; nor when they were free from that impurity, were they allowed to go beyond the limit before mentioned: men also, that were not thoroughly pure, were prohibited to come into the inner [court of the] temple; nay, the priests themselves that were not pure, were prohibited to come into it also. None of the stock of the priests that could not minister by reason of some defect in their bodies, came within the partition, together with those that had no such imperfection, and had their share with them by reason of their stature, or the uses of some except their own private garments; for nobody but he that officiated had on his sacred garments; but then those priests that were without any blemish upon them, went up to the altar clothed in fine linen. They abstained entirely from whom most of this fear, lest otherwise they should transgress some rules of their ministerian. The high priest did also go up with them; not always indeed, but on the seventh days and new moons, and if any festivals lying in tow; one was sent every year, happened. When he officiated, he had on a pair of breeches that reached beneath his privy parts to his thighs, and had on an inner garment of linen, together with a blue garment purple. Those parts reached to the feet. There were also golden bands that hung upon the fringes, and pomegranates intermingled among them. The bands signified thought and reverence, and the pomegranates that tied the garment to the breast, was embroidered with five rows of various colors, of gold, and purple, and scarlet, as also of fine linen and blue, with which colors we told you before 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 tromacher for the breast. There were upon it two golden buttons like small shirts fitting in tow; one was sent in the other; a sardius, a topas, and an emerald; a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire; an agate, an amethyst, and a ligure; an oxyx, a beryl, and a chrysolite; upon every one of which was again set a precious stone of the value 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 were two sacred names [the sacred name of God] it consists of four vowels. However, the 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 custom is for all of us to keep a fast to God. And thus much concerning the city and the temple; but, for the customs and laws hereto relating, we shall speak more accurately another time; for there remain great many things thereto 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 east side; and it stood upon a rock of fifty cubits in height, and was on a great precipice: it was the work of king Herod, wherein he demonstrated his natural magnanimity. In the first place, the rock itself was covered over with smooth pieces of stone, from its foundation, both for ornament, and that any one who would either try 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 entrance of the tower itself, there stood all the space of the tower of Antonia 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 antechambers, such as courts 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 magnitude it seemed a palace for the entire structure. The entire structure 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 southeast corner was seventy cub- its high, and as it were the temple was to be viewed: but on the corner, where it joined to the two cloisters of the temple, it had passages down to them both, through which the guard (for there always lay in this tower a Roman legion) went several ways among the clois- ters, 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, when Antiochus went to ravish it; 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 for the hill Bezetha, it was divided into two, and this 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 inhabitants of the city from going into the temple, and was in no place so convenient for the Jews, as to a fortress, which 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 Tyrant Simon and John. How also, as Titus was going round the Wall of the City, he was wounded by a javelin. Accident provoked Titus to press on the Siege.

§ 1. Now the warlike men that were in the city, and the multitude of the seditions that were with Simon, were ten thousand, besides the Idumeans. These ten thousand had fifty commanders, over whom An Simon was to reign to. The Idumeans that paid him homage were five thou- sand, and had eight commanders, among whom those of greatest name were Jacob the son of Saas, and Simon the son of Cathbas. John, who had been and was a notable man, and served as a learned men under twenty commanders; the leaders also that had come over to him, and left of their opposition, were two thousand four hundred, and was among the leaders was one Saul, a man of great and noble name. Lastly, Eleazar, together with Simon the son of Arius. Now, while these factions fought one against another, the people were their prey on both sides, as we have said already; and that part of the people which would not join 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 east, and which went down to that place of Marpha- sas, who was king of the Adiabene, beyond Euphrates; he also held that fountain, and the Aen which was no other than the lower city; he also held that which reached to the palace of queen Hec- sob, and he had a rock of fifty cubits high, and the temple and the parts thereto adjoinning, for a good way, as also Opila, and the valley called the Valley of Cedron; and when the parts that were inter- posed between their possessions were bent by them, they left a space wherein they were not to fight with each other; for this internal sedition did not cease even when the Romans were en...

*Those three guards that lay in the tower of Antonia must be those that guarded the city, the temple, and that tower of Antonia.
acted 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 madness, and attempted the same stratagem, and the same plot, and did everything that the besiegers could desire them to do; for they never suffered anything that was worse from the Romans, then they made each other suffer; nor was there any misery more dreadful then the sight they beheld, that could be conceived new. But it was most of all unhappy before it was overthrown, while those that took it did it a greater kindness; for I venture to say, that the destruction of Titus, and the Romans destroyed the sedition, which it was a much harder thing to do than to destroy the wall; so that we may justly acribe our misfortunes to our own people, and the just vengeance that attended the miseries of all the Romans, destroyed the sedition, which it was a much harder thing to do than to destroy the wall, because the latter was much easier to be taken. But at this time, as he was going round about the city, one of his friends, whose name was Nicomer, was wounded with a dart on his left shoulder, as he approached, together with Josephus, to 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 Caesar, as for the Jews, as well as for the temple itself, and the building by the city, the builders neglecting to build the wall strong where the new city was not much inhabited; here also was an easy passage to the third wall, through which he thought to take the upper part of the city, and to break the temple itself. But at this time, as he was going round about the city, one of his friends, whose name was Nicomer, was wounded with a dart on his left shoulder, as he approached, together with Josephus, to 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 Caesar, as for the temple itself, and the building by the city, the builders neglecting to build the wall strong where the new city was not much inhabited; here also was an easy passage to the third wall, through which he thought to take the upper part of the city, and to break the temple itself.
them at one blow. Yet did not the Jews, under all this distress, permit the Romans to raise their banks in quiet; but they shrieked and boldly ex-
posed themselves, and repelled them both by night and by day.

4. And now, upon the finishing the Roman works, the workmen measured the distance there from the wall, and this by lead and a line, which they threw to it from their hek, for there they could not measure it any otherwise, because the Jews would shoot at them, if they came to measure it themselves; and when they found that the banks were now quite as high, they answered not them thither. Then did Titus set his engines at proper distances, so much nearer to the wall, that the Jews might not be able to repel them, and gave orders they should go to work; and when he perceived them to make no head round about from three pieces, and that on the sdden there was a great noise made by the citizens that were within the city, and no less a terror fell upon the seditions themselves; whereupon both sides, seeing the common danger of their obstinacy, contrived to make a like defence. So those of different factions cried out one to another, that they acted entirely as in concert with their ene-
emies; whereas they ought, however, notwithstanding, not to oppose the just and necessary daring con-
cord, in their present circumstances, to lay aside their enmities one against another, and to unite together against the Romans. Accordingly, Si-
mon gave those that came from the temple leave, by the first division, to go upon the wall; and John also himself, though he could not believe that Simon was in earnest, gave them the same leave. So on both sides they laid aside their hatred and their personal quarrels, and turned themselves into one body; they then ran round the walls, and having a vast number of torches with them, they threw them at the machines, and shot darts per-
mutually upon those that impelled those engines with the wall; but, on the other side, the boldier sort kept out by troops upon the hurdles that cov-
ered the machines, and pulled them to pieces, and fell upon those that belonged to them, and beat them, not so much by any skill they had, as by the common danger of their obstinacy. However, Titus himself still sent assistance to those that were the hardest set, and placed both horsemen and archers on the several sides of the engines, and thereby beat off those that brought the stones; and he also therewith perplexed those that shot stones or darts from the towers; and then set the engines to work in good earnest; yet did not the wall yield to these blows, excepting where the battering-ram of the fifteenth legi-
nion made a breach of a tower, so that while the wall itself continued unhurt; for the wall was not presently in the same danger with the tower, which was extant far above it; nor could the fall of that part of the tower easily break down any part of the wall itself together with it.

5. And now the Jews intermitted their sallies for a while; but when they observed the Ro-
mans dispersed all abroad at their works, and in that disorder, thought themselves upon a very safe chance, they shot out of their towers and gates upon the Jews who had retired out of weariness and fear, they sat 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 gates, and therewith fortified themselves, where, at the cry they made, those that were near them came presently to their as-
sistance, and those farther off came running after them; and here the boldness of the Jews was too hard for the good order of the Romans; and as they beat those whom they first fell upon, so they pressed upon those that were now gotten to-
gether. So this fight about the machines was very hot, while the one side tried hard to set them over the other side to prevent it; on both sides there was a confused cry made, and many of those in the forefront of the battle were slain. However, the Jews were now too hard for the Romans, by the furious assaults they made like madmen; and the fire caught hold of the works, and the Roman soldiers, and the engines them-
selves, had been in danger of being burnt; had not many of those select soldiers that came from Alexandria opposed themselves to prevent it, and had not they beloved themselves with great prudence; for the fire had blown from the banks, for they could have done; for they oxidied those in the fight that had greater reputation than themselves before. This was the state of things till Cæs
er had the two sides to see the extent of the ruin and the enemy, when he himself slew twelve of those that were in the forefront of the Jews; which death of these men, when the rest of the multitude saw, they gave way, and he pursued them, and drove them all round about, and the wall, and the works from the fire. Now, it happened at this fight, that a certain Jew was taken alive, who, by Titus's order, was crucified before the wall, to see whether the rest of them would be afraid of their own obstinacy. But after the Jews were retired, John, who was com-
mander of the Idumæans, and was talking to a certain soldier of his acquaintance before the wall, was wounded by a dart shot at him by an Arab, to such a degree that he died of his greatest lamentation to the Jews, and sorrow to the seditions. For he was a man of great emi-
nence, 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 Ro-
mans, after great Slaughter had been made, got possession of the first Wall. How also Titus made his Assaults upon the second Wall: as also concerning Longinus the Roman, and Car-
nes.

§ 1. Now on the next night, a surprising dis-
turbance fell upon the Romans; for whereas Ti-
tus had given orders for the erection of three towers of fifty cubits high, that by setting men upon them at every bank, he might from thence 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, fear fell upon the army, and they, suppos-
ing that the enemy was coming to attack them; then the general called together the whole army, and made his speech thus: Whereupon a disturbance and a tumult arose among the legions, and no-
body could tell what had happened, they went on after a disconsolate manner; and seeing no enemy appear, they were afraid one of another, and every one demanded of his neighbor the watchword with great earnestness, as though the Jews had invaded their camp. And now they were like people under a panic fear, till Ti-
tus was informed of what had happened, and gave orders that all should be accustomed with it; and then, though with some difficulty, they got clear of the disturbance they had been under.

2. Now these towers were very troublesome to the enemy; and they thought therefore that they were very courageous; for they shot at them out of their lighter engines from those towers, as they did also by those that threw darts, and the archers, and those that flung stones. For neither could they avoid the blows by reason of their height, and it was not practicable to take them, nor to overturn them, they were so heavy; nor to set them on fire, because they were covered with plates of iron; besides they retired out of the reach of the darts, and did no longer endeavor to hinder the impression of their rams, which, by continually beating upon the wall, did gradually prevail against it; so that the wall did not give way to that; for which did the Jews themselves call the greatest of their engines, because it conquered all things. And, now, they were for a long while
BOOK V.—CHAP. VII.

green many of fighting, and of keeping garbage, and were retired to lodge on the night times at a distance from the wall. It was on other accounts also thought by them to be superfluous to guard the wall, there being, besides that, two other fortifications still remaining, and these the most notable of the fortifications of the city, which had been ill concerted on all occasions; so a great many grew lazy and retired. Then the Romans mounted the breach, where Nico had made one, and all the Jews left the guarding that wall, and returned to the second trail; and so together they got over that wall opened the gates and received all the army within it. And thus did the Romans get possession of this first wall, on the fifteenth day of the siege, which was the seventh day of the month Adar, the fourth year, for 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 raised 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, and each of them defended that wall; while John and his faction did it from the tower of Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the temple, and fought the Romans before the monuments of king Alexander the Great. But Titus then took care to receive them from harm, as well as to have them overcome their enemies. He also said, that inconsiderate violence was madness, and that this alone was the true courage, that was joined with good conduct. He also said, that there was no room for care, when they fought their enemies, that they received no harm from them at the same time and thereby show themselves to be truly valiant men.

4. And now Titus brought one of his engines to the middle tower of the north part of the wall, in which a certain crafty Jew, whose name was Castor, lay in ambush, with ten others like himself, the rest being fled away by reason of the archers. Titus therefore kindled the engines, and great fear, under their breakplates: 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 engines. For the compassionate of Titus also was upon them; and Titus, in the innocence of his heart, believing him to be in earnest, and hoping that the Jews did now repent, stopped the working of the battering-ram, and forbade them to shoot at the wall, but said, that what he had a mind to say to him. He said, that he would come down, if he would give him his right hand for his security. To which Titus replied, that he was well pleased with such his agreeable conduct, and would be well pleased if all the Jews would be of his mind, and that he was ready to give the like security to the city. Now five of the ten dissembled with him, and pretended to beg for mercy, while the rest cried with rage that they would see them all killed. And Titus, having taken care of the safety of the Romans, while it was in their power to die in a state of freedom. Now while these men were quarrelling for a long while, the attack was laid; Castor also sent to Simon, and told him that they were about to accuse him of what was to be done, because he would elude the power of the Romans for a considerable time. And at the same time that he sent thus to him, he appeared openly to exhort those that were about to accuse him of their security; but they seemed very angry at it, and branded their naked swords upon the breastworks, and struck themselves upon their breasts, and fell down as if they had been slain. Hereupon Titus stood up, and gave a loud shout 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
4. And now, upon the finishing the Roman works, the workmen measured the distance there as from the wall, and this by lead and a line, which the leadsman drew to it from the tower. For he could not measure it any otherwise, because the Jews would shoot at them, if they came to measure it themselves; and when they found that the engines could reach the wall, they brought their engines to it. Titus did allow the distances at proper distances, so much nearer to the wall, that the Jews might not be able to repel them, and gave orders they should go to work; and when thereon a prodigious noise echoed round about from three places, and that on the sudden there was a great noise made by the citizens that were within the city, and no less a terror fell upon the seditions themselves; whereupon both sides by common danger they were in, contrived to make a like defence. So those of different factions cried out one to another, that they acted entirely as in concert with their enemies; whereas they ought, however, notwithstanding God, did not join them in a lasting concord, in their present circumstances, to lay aside their enmities one against another, and to unite together against the Romans. Accordingly, Simon gave those that came from the temple leave, by judgment, to go upon the wall; John also himself, though he could not believe that Simon was in earnest, gave them the same leave. So on both sides they laid aside their hatred and their peculiar quarrels, and formed themselves into one order of itself, and ran round on the banks, and having a vast number of torches with them, they threw them at the machines, and shot darts perpendicularly upon those that impelled those engines within the wall; and they, the soldier sort leaped out by troops upon the banks that covered the machines, and pulled them to pieces, and fell upon those that belonged to them, and beat them, not so much by any skill they had, as principally by the boldness of their attacks. However, Titus himself still sent men to those who were the hardest set, and placed both horsemen and archers on the several sides of the engines, and thereby beat off those that brought that outwardly. And there was no further those that shot stones or darts from the towers, and then set the engines to work in good earnest; yet did not the wall yield to these blows, excepting where the battering-ram of the fifteenthengine was, when the corbels of the tower itself continued unhurt; for the wall was not presently in the same danger with the tower, which was extent far above it; nor could the fall of that part of the tower easily break down any part of the wall itself, and the Romans, in the watchword with great eagerness, at that time the Jews had invaded their camp. And now they were like people under a great fear, till Titus was informed of what had happened, and that the Romans, in their several orders, that all should be expected with the and then, though with some dilatation, clear of the disturbances.

5. And now the Jews intermitted their sallies for a while; but when they observed the Romans dispersed all abroad at their works, and in their several camps, (for they thought the Jews dispersed very carelessly, and 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, and to the very very hard fortune of those that were near them, the assistance, and those farther off came running after them; and so the boldness of the Jews was hard fortune of the order of the Romans, and that they beat them whom they first fell upon those that were now gathering. So this fight about the machine very hot, while the one side tried hard to drive those that were hindered to prevent it, and the other side of the wall, there was a confused cry made, of those in the forefront of the battle.
grew weary of fighting, and of keeping guard, and were retired to lodge on the night times at small distances from the strong hold. And the accounts also thought by them to be superfluous to guard the wall, there being, besides that, two other fortifications still remaining, and they being stalwart, and their counsels having been seconded also by the news of the分散 of the enemy, may have grown less and retired. Then the Romans mounted the breach, where Nico had made one, and all the Jews left the guarding of that wall, and contrived to the second wall, so that those that had gone, being thought by them that they had arrived the wall, they were defended. And thus did the Romans get possession of this first wall, on the sixteenth day of the siege, which was the seventh day of the month Antoninus, [Year 200] of the descent of the number part of it, as well as they did of all the others 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 Augusteum, having marked upon all that lay as far as Cedron, but took care to be out of the reach of the Jews' darts. He then presently began his attacks, upon which the Jews divided themselves into two parties. The one party defended that wall; while John and his faction did it from the tower of Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the temple, and fought the Romans before the monuments of King Alexander; and Simon and his faction did it from the square of ground that was near John's monument, and fortified it as far as to that gate where water was brought into the tower Hippicus. However, the Jews made violent sallies, and John of Jerusalem, 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 wanting the skill of the Romans. But when they fought them one by one, they were quite overpowered 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. And of the sallies, not only were those that were their 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 passed without sleep on both sides, and was more uneasy to the day to them, and 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 armor during the night time, and thereby were always at the point to repel any one that should pass to the battle. Now, among the Jews, the ambition was who should undergo the first dangers and thereby gratify their commanders. Above all, there was a great desperation and dread of Simon, and to that degree he had been overmatched 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, besides the expectation of the conquering, and issue of being defeated, their constant wars, and perpetual warlike exercises, and the grandeur of their dominion: and what was now their chief encouragement, Titus, who was there, that was a very brave man; for it appeared a terrible thing to grow weary, while Caesar was there, and fought bravely as well as he did, and was himself at once an eyewitness of such as behaved themselves valiantly, and he who was to reward them. Also, it was, besides, esteemed an advantage at present to have any one's valor known by Caesar, on which account many of them appeared to have more alacrity than they otherwise would.
showed it to Titus, and complained that this was unfair treatment. So Caesar 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 petitioners meant nothing that was good; he also restrained those friends of his who were zealous to go to him. But still there was one Eneas, a deserter, who said what he would say for the man. Caesar also added to them, that somebody should come and receive the money which he had with him; this made Eneas the more earnestly to run to him with his bosom open. Thus did Caesar take up a great stone, and threw it at him, which missed him a little. He could not bear the idea that he had insulted him, and he did in this matter, as he did in several others, do a great thing, because such cunning tricks have less place under the exercise of greater severity. So he caused the engine to work more strongly than before, on account of his anger at the deceit put upon him. Caesar and his companions set the tower on fire when it began to give way, and leaped through the flame into a hidden vault that was under it, which made the Romans farther suppose that they were men of great courage, as having cast themselves into the fire.

CHAPTER VIII.
How the Romans took the second Wall twice, and got ready for taking the third Wall.
§ 1. Now Caesar took this wall there on the fifth day after he had taken the first: and when the Jews had fled from him, he entered into it with a thousand armed men, and those of his choice troops, and this at a place where were the merchant- shops, because that was a large part of the wall immediately, or had been. And according to a law there was 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, and willing to give up what he was able, to afflict them more than he needed to do, he did not widen the breach of the wall, in order to make a safer retreat upon occasion; for he did not think they would lay snares for those that did. Caesar therefore, when he came in, he did not permit his soldiers to kill any of those they caught, nor to set fire to their houses; nay, he gave leave to the sedi- tious, if they had a mind, to fight without any breach of the law, and according to the people's effect on them; for he was very desirous 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 he was a long man, this humanity of his seemed a mark of his weakness, and they imagined that he made these proposals because he was not able to take the rest of the city. He also threatened death to the people if they should say any one of them a word about a surrender. They moreover cut the throats of such as talked of a peace, and then at- tacked those Romans that were come within the walls, and they met in the narrow streets, and some they fought against from their houses, while they made a sudden sally out at the upper gates, and assaulted such Romans as were beyond the wall, till those that guarded the wall were so affrighted, that they leaped down from their towers, and retired to their several camps. Upon which a great noise was made by the Romans that were within, because they were unacquainted round on every side by their ene- mies; as also by the noise of the people, because they were in fear of those that were left in

the city. Thus did the Jews grow more nume- rous perpetually, and had great advantages over the Romans by their full knowledge of those nar- row lanes; and they wounded a great many of them, and fell upon them, and drove them out of the city. Now these Romans were at pre- sent forced to make the best resistance they could, for they were not able in great numbers to get out at the breach in the wall, it was so wide. They were also confined by the Jews that were gotten within had been cut to pieces if Titus had not sent them succours: for he ordered the archers to stand at the upper ends of these narrower lanes, and stood himself where he was to the greatest advantage, and with his darts he put a stop to them; as with him did Domitian Sabinus also, a valiant man, and see that in this battle appeared so to be. Thus did Caesar's army and the Romans continue to the utmost, to hinder them from coming upon his men, and this until all his soldiers had retreated out of the city.

2. And thus were the Romans driven out after the best resistance themselves of the said wall. Whereupon the fighting men that were in the city were lifted up in their minds, and were elevated upon this their good success, and began to think that the Romans would never enter the city and into the city and after that, if they kept within it themselves, they should not be any more conquered; for God had blinded their minds for the transgressions they had been guilty of, nor could they see how much the Romans had the advantage. But as they were now expelled, no more than they could discern how a famine was creeping upon them; for hitherto they had fed themselves out of the public miseries, and drank the blood of the city. But when they were driven out of the city, and the latter part, and a great many had already been forced to go to men of necessities, although the se- dition indeed supposed the destruction of the city and of themselves; yet they desired that none others might be preser- ved but such as were against a peace with the Romans, and were resolved to live in opposition to them, and they were pleased when the multi- tude that was in the city on the south was trans- mused, as being then freed from a heavy bur- den. And this was their disposition of mind with regard to those that were within the city, while they covered themselves with their ar- mament, and maintained their men trying to get into the city again, and made a wall of their own bodies over against that part of the wall that was cast down. Thus did they valiant- ly defend themselves for three days; and on the fourth the Romans made a descent. Accordingly, as for the actions 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 burned the fighting towers that were on the south parts of the city, he contrived how he might assault the third wall.

CHAPTER IX.
Titus, when the Jews were not all mollified by his leaving off the Siege for a while, set him- self again to prosecute the same; but soon set Josephus of Sardis in discourse with his own Commissary about Peace.
§ 1. A RESOLUTION was now taken by Titus to relax the siege for a little while, and to afford the seditious an interval for consideration, and to see whether the demolishing of their second wall would not make them a little more compas- sionate, or whether they were not somewhat afraid 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 his own designs. Accordingly, as the usual appointed time when he must distribute
substance money to the soldiers was now come, he gave orders that the commanders should put the army into battle array in the face of the enemy, and then give every one of the soldiers their pay. So the soldiers, according to custom, opened the cases wherein before their arms lay covered, and marched with their breastplates on, as did the horsemen lead their horses in their fine trappings. And so the earth was covered with the dust from the horses, and one might see the houses full of such as looked at them; nor was there any part of the city which was not covered over with their multitudes: may, a very great consternation seized upon the breast of the Jews themselves, when they saw all the army in the same place, together with the fineness of their arms, and the good order of their men. And I cannot but think that the seditions would have changed their minds at that sight, unless the crimes they had committed against the people had not been so horrid that they despaired of forgiveness from the Romans; but as they believed death with them was better, than punishment for their sins, 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 the guilty, and the city was to be destroyed with the sword, and fire, and famine. This was the truth that God had not suffered, had they not known that God was with them. As for themselves, what can they depend on in this their opposition, when the greatest part of their city was already taken; and when those that are within it are under greater miseries than if they were taken, although their walls be still standing? For that the Romans are not unacquainted with that famine which is in the city, when there were despairs in all, and much consumed, and the fighting men will in a little time be too; for although the Romans should leave off the siege, and not fall upon the city with their swords in their hands, yet was there in an insuperable war that besets them within and without, and augmented every hour, unless they were able to wage war with famine, and fight against it, or could alone conquer their natural appetites." He added this further: "How then, when before them, did they not exchange their conduct, before their calamities were become incalculable, and have to recourse to such advice as might preserve them, while opportunity was offered them for so doing: For that the Romans were not procedure in this case, and lead them to surrender the city, now in a manner already taken, and thereby to save themselves, and sent Josephus to speak to them in their own language; for he imagined they might yield to him, and for the profit of theirs lay not in leaving the city empty of inhabitants, nor the country desert; on which account Cæsar did now offer them his right hand for their security. Whereas, if he took the city by force, he might yet revenge himself upon them especially, if they rejected his offers in these their utmost distresses: for the walls that were already taken could not but assure them that the third wall could be quickly taken also; and although their fortitude of a constancy would presage things for the Romans to break through them, yet would the famine fight for the Romans against them." 4. While Josephus was making this exhortation to the Jews to abandon their cities, and to settle themselves, to spare their country, and their temple, and not to be more obstinate in these cases than foreigners themselves: for that the Romans, who had no relation to those things, had a reverence for their sacred rites and places, although they belonged to their enemies, and had till now kept their hands off from meddling with them; while such as were brought up under them, and, if they were preserved, will be the only people that will reap the benefit of them, hurry on to have the city destroyed of them. How, they have in their strongest walls demolished, and that the all still remaining was weaker than those that were already taken. That they must know the Roman power was invincible, and that they had been dealt with so rigorously, to that end they were, to give a right thing to fight for liberty, that ought to have been done at first; but for them that have once fallen under the power of the Romans, and have now submitted to them for so many long years, to procure to the city the least by their conduct, was the work of such as had a mind to die miserably, not of such as were lovers of liberty. Besides, men may well enough grudge at the dishonor of owning ignoble masters over them, but ought not to do so to those who lay all things under their command; for what part of the world is there that hath escaped the Romans unless it be such as are of no use through violent ends, and they do not know that all hands gone over to them; and that God, when he had gone round the nations with this dominion, is now settled in Italy. That, moreover, it is a strong and fixed law, even among brute beasts, in the war of men, to yield to those that are too strong for them; and to suffer those to have the dominion, who are too hard for the rest in war. For which reason it was, that their forefathers, who were far superior to them, both in their souls and bodies, and other things, did not submit to the Romans, which they would not have suffered, had they not known that God was with them. As for themselves, what can they depend on in this their opposition, when the greatest part of their city was already taken; and when those that are within it are under greater miseries than if they were taken, although their walls be still standing? For that the Romans are not unacquainted with that famine which is in the city, when there were despairs in all, and much consumed, and the fighting men will in a little time be too; for although the Romans should leave off the siege, and not fall upon the city with their swords in their hands, yet was there in an insuperable war that besets them within and without, and augmented every hour, unless they were able to wage war with famine, and fight against it, or could alone conquer their natural appetites." 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will fight by your weapons and by your hands against the Romans. When did we ever conquer any other nation by such means? and when was it that God, who is the Creator of the Jewish people, did not avenge them when they had been injured? Will not you turn again, and look back to the time when it was that you fought with such violence, and how great a Supporter you have profanely abused? Will not you recall to mind the prodigious things done for your forefathers and this holy place, and how great enemies you attacked by his assistance under you? I even tremble myself, in declaring the works of God before your ears that are unworthy to hear them: however, hearken to me, that you may be informed, how you fight not only against the Romans, but also against God himself. In old time there was one Neros, king of Egypt, who was also called Pharaoh; he came with a prodigious army of soldiers, and seized queen Sarah, the mother of our nation. What did Abraham our progenitor do then? Did he defile himself from this injurious person by war, although he had three hundred and eighteen captains under him, and an immense army under each of them? Indeed he thought it to be too much for him to enable him to meet them head on, without God's assistance, and only spread out his hands towards this holy place, a which you have polluted, and reckoned upon him as upon his invincible supporter, instead of his own army. Why have you turned back without any assistance to your husband, the very next evening? while the king of Egypt fled away, adoring this place which you have defiled by shedding thereon the blood of your own countrymen; and he also, the wise sages with whom he was seen in the night-season, and bestowed both silver and gold on the Hebrews, as on a people beloved by God. Shall I say nothing, or shall I mention the removal of our fathers into Egypt, who, when they were driven out, and our nation falls under the power of foreign kings for four hundred years together, and might have defended themselves by war and fighting, did yet do nothing but commit themselves to God? Who is there that doubts now that Egypt was overthrown with all sorts of wild beasts, and consumed by all sorts of distempers? how their land did not bring forth its fruit? how the Nile failed of water? how the ten plagues of Egypt followed one upon another? and how they were, under our fathers, sent away under a guard without any bloodshed, and without running any dangers, because God conducted them as his peculiar servants? Moreover, did not Palestine groan under the ravages the Assyrians made there? was it not called Dagon, and as also did that entire nation of those that carried it away; how they were smitten with a loathsome distemper in the secret parts of their bodies, when their very bowels came down together with what they had eaten, till those hands that stole it away were obliged to bring it back again, and that with the sound of cymbals and timbrels, and other instruments in order to appease the anger of God for the violation of his holy ark? It was God who then became our general, and accomplished these great things for our fathers, and this because they did not meddle with war and fighting, but submitted it to him, their judge about their affairs. When Sennacherib, king of Assyria, brought along with him all Asia, and encoun-

* Josephus supposes, in this his admirable speech to the Jews, that not Abraham only, but Pharaoh, king of Egypt, prayed toward a temple at Jerusalem, or toward a stone which was set up in Mount Sieor in Mount Moriah, on which the tabernacle and temple did afterward stand; and this long before either the Jewish tabernacle or temple was built. Nor is the famous command given by God to Abraham, to go two or three days' journey on purpose to offer up his son Isaac there, unfavorable to such a notion.  

[Note here, that Josephus, in this his admirable speech, calls the Syrians, may, even the Philistians, passed this city round with his army, did he fail by his help; his hands were not tied up to God in prayers, without meddling with their arms, when the angel of God destroyed that prodigious army in one night? when the Assyrian king, as he arose the next day, found a hundred thousand of his men slain; or when he, with the remainder of his army, fled away from the Hebrews, though they were unarmed, and did not pursue them? You are also acquainted with the slavery we were under at Babylon; on the people was laid the yoke of seventy years; yet were they not delivered into freedom again, before God made Cyrus his gracious instrument in bringing it about; accordingly they were set free by him, and did again rest in the possession of their own land and their own people. And to speak in general, we can produce no example wherein our fathers got any success by war, or failed of success when without war they committed themselves to God. When they were in the same temple, when Antiochus, the tyrant and Judge, but when they went out to fight, they were always disapponted; for example, when the king of Babylon besieged this very city, and, seeing Zedekiah fought against him, contrary to what his generals were made to do, he would not raise his hands against the prophet, he was at once taken prisoner and saw the city and the temple desolated. Yet how much greater was the moderation of God, when, for the first time, the king of Babylon got the victory, and that of the people then, the conqueror, is that of you at this time? for when Jeremiah cried out aloud, how very angry God was at them because of their transgression, and told them they should be taken prisoners unless they would surrender up the city, neither did the king see the people put him to death; but for you, (to pass over what you have done within the city, which I am not able to describe as your wickedness, and to speak only of your present proceedings,) not only am I sent here by God, but by those that have set my feet on this place, who only exhort you to save yourselves, as being provoked when you are put in mind of your sins, and cannot bear the very mention of those crimes which you every day perpetrate. And now, and now, if those rulers subjected to the Romans, who were unworthy of the liberty they had enjoyed? After a siege, therefore, of three months, they were forced to surrender themselves to their conquerors in order to appease the anger of God for the violation of his holy ark? as did their idol Dagon, and as also did that entire nation of those that carried it away; how they were smitten with a loathsome distemper in the secret parts of their bodies, when their very bowels came down together with what they had eaten, till those hands that stole it away were obliged to bring it back again, and that with the sound of cymbals and timbrels, and other instruments in order to appease the anger of God for the violation of his holy ark? It was God who then became our general, and accomplished these great things for our fathers, and this because they did not meddle with war and fighting, but submitted it to him, their judge about their affairs. When Sennacherib, king of Assyria, brought along with him all Asia, and encoun-

on the most south part of Syria, Assyria; which Redeard observes as was common among the ancient writers. Note also, that Josephus might well put the Jews in the same situation as Mount Bionton and Mount Moriah, on which the tabernacle and temple did afterward stand; and this long before either the Jewish tabernacle or temple was built. Nor is the famous command given by God to Abraham, to go two or three days' journey on purpose to offer up his son Isaac there, unfavorable to such a notion.  

[Note here, that Josephus, in this his admirable speech, calls the Syrians, may, even the Philistians,
the son of Antiochus, brought upon us Sidon, and Sidonius brought upon us the Roman army; they were then encompassed and besieged for six months. Then, when they were vanquished, and we took the city, 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 given up to be fought against, and to be taken and carried captive. Now, if he be but a good man, will fly from an impure house, and will hate those that are in it; and do you persuade yourselves that God will abide with you in your iniquities, who then seek these things, and hears what you keep secret? No, when crime is there, I pray you, that so much as kept a secret among you, or is concealed by you? Nay, what is there that is not open to your very enemies? for you show your transgressions after a pompous manner, and contend one with another which of you shall be more wicked than another; and you make a public demonstration of your injustice, as if it were virtue. However, there is a place left for your preservation: it is on you to be willing to accept of it; and God is easily reconciled to those that confess their faults, and repent of them. O hard-hearted wretches as you are cast away all your arms, and take pity of your country, already gone to ruin from your wicked ways, and have regard to the excellency of that city you are going to betray, to that excellent temple, with the dominions of so many countries in it. Who could bear to be the first that should be the instrument of such a thing? who could be willing that these things should be no more? and what is there that can better deserve to be preserved? O insensible creatures, and more than that, if you cannot look at these things with discerning eyes, yet, however, have pity upon your families, and set before every one of your eyes your children, and wives, and parents, who will be either widows or fatherless. I am sensible that this danger will extend to my mother, and wife, and to that family of mine which hath been by me so much distinguished, and indeed to one that hath been very eminent in old time; and perhaps you may imagine that it is on their account only that I give you this advice: if that be all, kill them; say, take my own blood as a reward, if it may but procure your preservation; for I am ready to die, in case you will but return to a sound mind after my death."

CHAPTER X.

How a great many of the People earnestly endeavored to desert to the Romans: as also, what intolerable Things those that stayed behind suffered by Famine, and the bad Consequences thereof.

§ 1. As Josephus was speaking thus with a loud voice, the seditious would neither yield to what he said, nor did they deem it safe for them to alter their conduct; but as for the people, they had a great inclination to desert to the Romans; accordingly, some of them sold what they had, and even the most precious things that had been separated to them, in order to purchase meat, and swallowed down pieces of gold that they might not be found out by the robbers; and when they escaped to the Romans, went to stool, and had wherewithal to provide plentifully for themselves, and let alone the rest, and go away into the country whither they pleased. And the main reasons why they were so ready to desert were these, that now they should be freed from the miseries which were scattered in that city, and yet should not be slaves to the Romans: however, John and Simon, with their factions, did more carefully watch these

Josephus here tells them openly to their faces, that they are very remarkable instances of a Divine providence for the punishment of the Jewish nation, when they were grown very wicked, at both those times of the destruction of Jerusalem.
men's going out than they did the coming in of the Romans; and if any one did but afford the least shadow of suspicion of such an intention, his threats of cut immediately.

2. But as for the richer sort, it proved all one to them whether they staid in the city or attempted to get out of it; for they were equally destroyed in both cases; for every such person was perfect in its own kind, and was not a robber, for which reason they were not going to desert, but in reality that the robbers might get what they had. The madness of the seditious did also increase together with their famine, and both those miseries were every day increasing; for there was no town which any where appeared publicly, but the robbers came running into, and searched men's private houses; and then if they found any, they tormented them, bereaved them, and what they denied 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 of all other wretches for which any food; if which they supposed they were no want at all of food, but if they were wasted away, they walked off without searching any farther: nor did they think it proper to search them, because they would very soon die of themselves for want of food. Many there were, indeed, who sold what they had for one measure; it was of wheat, if they were of the richer sort, but of barley, if of the poorer sort; for when they had so done, they shut themselves up in the innmost rooms of their houses, and ate the corn they had gotten; some did it without grudging it, by reason of the extremity of the want they were in, and others baked bread of it and ate it as commonly and as much as was dictated to them; a table was nowhere laid for a distinct meal, but they snatched the bread out of the fire half baked, and ate it very hastily.

3. It was now a miserable night; and a sight that I carried the 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 passions, and it is 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 morals that their fathers were eating out of their mouths; and 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 stood, and they did these; to stop while their children ate after this manner, yet were they not concealed in so doing; but the seditious everywhere came upon them immediately, and snatched away from them what they had gotten from others; for when they saw any house shut up, this was a signal to them that the people within had gotten some food; whereupon they broke the doors, and ran in, and took pieces of what they were eating almost up out of their very mouths, and the children, their throats and was still more to be pitied, so did the mothers, and they were these, to stop while their children ate after this manner, yet were they not concealed in so doing; but the seditious everywhere came upon them immediately, and snatched away from them what they had gotten from others; for when they saw any house shut up, this was a signal to them that the people within had gotten some food; whereupon they broke the doors, and ran in, and took pieces of what they were eating almost up out of their very mouths, and the children, their throats

4. These were the afflictions which the lower sort of people suffered from these tyrants' guards; but for the men that were in dignity, and withal were rich, they were carried before the tyrants, and there were fitted out for them, by laying trencher plots, and so were destroyed; others of them were charged with designs of betraying the city to the Romans; but the readiest way of all this, to suborn somebody to do it, was to see to it that those who had so done the men of God, to give them back some part of what they had brought; though these would not give them the least crumb, and they were to be well contented that they were only spoiled, and not destroyed, and were not the name of what was so communicated to him, grieved at the loss, as at the loss of what was a valuable thing, that he had no share in such barbarity.

5. It is therefore impossible to go distinctly over every instance in the case of the miseries. I shall therefore speak my mind here at once briefly, that neither did any other city ever suffer such miseries, nor did any age ever breed a generation more fruitful in wickedness than this was, from the beginning of the world. I cannot enumerate what they had so done, and did not communicate what he had got by the miseries of others to the other tyrant, seemed to be too little guilty, and in one respect only; and he that did not communicate what he had got by the miseries of others to the other tyrant, seemed to be too little guilty, and in one respect only: and he who did not communicate what he so communicatet to him, grieved at the loss, as at the loss of what was a valuable thing, that he had no share in such barbarity.

CHAP. XI.

How the Jews were crucified before the Walls of the City, and the Morning Antichus Epiphanes; and how the Jews overthrew the Banks that had been raised by the Romans.

§ 1. Now Titus' banks were advanced a great way, notwithstanding his soldiers had been
very much distressed from the wall. He then sent a party of horsemen, and ordered they should lay ambushes for those that went out into the valleys to gather food. Some of these were indeed seized on now and then, but they were often able to escape; and the rest, being cut off by the main body under their leaders, were killed. Thus came to pass what had been foretold by the oracles of the god Apollo. 

3. In the meantime Antiochus Epiphanes came to the city, having with him a considerable number of other armed men, and a band called the Macedonian who were of the greatest age, tall, and just past their childhood, armed, and instructed after the Macedonian manner, whereas it was that they took that name. Yet were many of them unworthy of so famous a nation; for it had happened, that the king of Commagene had disposed 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 should not be able to make any application for mercy: they were first whipped, and then tormented with all sorts of tortures, before they died, and were then cruelly put to death. This and other similar procedure made Titus greatly to pity them, while they caught every day five hundred Jews; nay, some days they caught more; yet it did not appear to be safe for him to let those that were taken go free. So Titus, after he had numbered the dead, and given orders over so many he saw would be to make such as were not judged useless to him. The main reason why he did not forbid that cruelly was this, that he hoped the Jews might perhaps yield at that sight, out of fear of what they saw had happened; and afterwards be liable to the same cruel treatment. The soldiers, out of the wrath and hatred they bore the Jews, nailed those they caught, one after another, and another after another, to the crosses, by way of jest; when their multitude was so great, that room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses wanting for the bodies. 

2. But so far were the seditions from repining. For the more they suffered, the more they resolved, the more they resisted; and the more they resisted the more they were despised. They perceived the multitude believed otherwise; for they brought the relations of those that had deserted upon the wall, with such of the populace as were eager to go over upon the authority of the man, and say, This was a misfortune to those who had fled to the Romans; and told them that those who were caught were suppliants to them, and not such as were taken prisoners. This sight kept many of those who were about to take sides. And what the truth was known; yet did some of them run away immediately as unto certain punishment, esteeming death from their enemies to be a quiet departure, if compared with that by famine. So that many of those that were supposed to be deserters were 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 Simon, without waiting for the checks of the general, as they were wont to do. 

4. Now as they were thus as eager to raise their banks on the twelfth day of the month Artemisius, [Jyar.] so had they much ado to finish them by the twentieth day of the same month, after they had labored hard for seventeen days continuously. For the money that was raised, one of which was at the tower Antonia; this was raised by the fifth legion, over against the middle of that pool which was called Sirutha; another was cast up by the twelfth legion, at the distance of twenty cubits from the other. But the labors of the tenth legion, which lay a great way off these, was on the north quarter, and at the pool called Amygdalo; as was that of the fifteenth legion about thirty cubits from it, and at the high priest's monument. And now when the engines 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 levelled a horizontal ground over the muses, with beams laid across one another, whereby the Roman works stood upon an uncertain foundation. Then did he order such materials to be brought in as were dashed over head with pitch and torches, and cast the fire upon them, and as the cross-beams that supported the banks were burning, the ditch yielded on the sudden, and the banks were shaken down and fell into the ditch with a prodigious noise. Now at the first there arose a very thick smoke and dust as the fire was choked with the fall of the bank; but as the suffocated materials were now gradually wanted room for the cressus, and cressa for the bodies of these Jews, since they had brought in judgment on themselves by the crucifixion of their Messiah.

*Reland very properly takes notice here, how justly his judgment came upon the Jews, when they were overthrown in such multitudes together, that the Romans strewed, they had no concern about it, and that the world itself was a better temple to God than this. That yet this temple would be preserved by him that inhabited therein, wouy they still lived and had for their seat in this war, and did theref-
which sudden appearance of the flame, a consterna-
tion fell upon the Romans, and the shriveling of the
contrivance discouraged them; and indeed this accident coming upon them at a time when they thought they had already gained their point,
cooled their hopes for the time being. They there-
fore thought it would be to no purpose to take
the pains to extinguish the fire, since if it were extinguished the banks were swallowed up al-
day [and become useless to them.]

3. To this alarm after 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 wall shake.
And here the ephebius of Garvia, a city of Ga-
liaes, and Manuelus, one who was the son of a
some of Queen Mariamne's servants, and with
them one from Adiabene, he was the son of Na-
pateus, and called by the name of Changiras,
from the batayna border, the negro faithful,
slave 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
bravery 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
their engines and destroyed them. And then they
had darts thrown at them on every side, and
were on every side assaulted with their engines'
words, yet did they not withdraw themselves out
doing the dangers they were in, till the fire had
consumed the instruments of the Romans, but when
the flame went up, the Romans came running
from their camp to save their engines. Then did the
Jews hinder their succors from the wall, and
fought with those that endeavored to quench the
fire, and in the terror they struck into their
bodies were in. So the Romans pulled the en-
gines out of the fire, while the hurdles that cov-
ered them were on fire; but the Jews caught
hold of the batayna border, the negro faithful,
slave man, 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 about the Romans were the engines round about
with a flame, and despairing of saving
their works from it, they retired to their
camp. Then did the Jews become still more
and more in number by the coming of those that
were with them in the city to the assistance of
and as they were very bold upon the good success they had,
their violent assaults were almost irresistible;
ay, they proceeded as far as the fortifications of
the enemies' camp, and fought with their guards.
Now there stood in the army a body of soldiers in an army be-
fore that camp, which succeeded one another by
turns in their armor; and as to those the law of the
Romans was terrible, that he who left his
post there, let the occasion be what it might be,
there was to die for it; that body of soldiers, preferring rather to die in fighting cou-
rageously, than as a punishment for their coward-
dice, stood firm; and at the necessity these men were
placed they did not go to the assistance of
the others that had run away, out of 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
same manner defend] by means of the his
visions for preserving or guarding their bodies
this time; for the Jews fought now hand to hand
with all that came in their way, and without any
cautions fell against the points of their enemies'
spars and attacked them bodies against bodies;
for they were now too hard for the Romans, not
so much 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 sense of the harm they
had received from them.

6. And now Titus was come from the tower of
Antonia, whether he was gone to look out for a
place for raising other banks, and apprehended
the soldiers greatly for permitting their own wall
to be in danger, when they had taken the walls of
their enemies, and sustained the fortune of men
besieged, while the Jews were allowed to sally
out against them, though they were already in a
state of alarm for the enemy with some chosen troops, and fell upon
their wall themselves; so the Jews who had been
before assaulted in their faces, wheeled about to
Titus and complained the fight. The armies there 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 sally, though
not so much from their real strength, as from
their despair of deliverance. The Romans who
would not yield, by reason of the regard they
had for the city, that was so well defended in
which because Cæsar 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
soldiers they were and double our own wall to
ed the upshot of the battle, and retired into the
city. However, seeing the banks of the Romans
were demolished, those Romans were very much
cast down upon the loss of what had cost them so
much and so long, and not by any means the hour's time.
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 Famine compassed
the People by whole Houses and Families to-
together.

§ 1. And now did Titus consult with his com-
manders what was to be done. Those that were
of the warmest temper though he should bring the
whole army against the city, and storm the
the hour before that, were not very much
by reason of its magnitude,

and the Jews had
the strength of, that was reserved for them. How-
ever, Titus did not think it fit so great an
army to lie entirely idle, and that yet it was in
many men with those that would be destroyed
one by another; he also showed them how im-
perious it was to them to be in the possession
of the city, and to guard the Jews coming out, still more impracticable; as also
that to encompass the whole city round with its
away, was not very easy, by reason of its magne-
titude, and the great number of the Jews in the
er accounts dangerous, upon the sallies the
Jews might make out of the city.
For although they might guard the known passages out of the
place, yet could they, when the Jews were under the greatest distress, contrive secret
passages out, as being well acquainted with all
such places; and if any provisions were carrie
in by stealth, the siege would thereby be longer
delayed. He also owned, that he was afraid that
the length of time thus 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 necessary to the gaining reputation. That, therefore, his opinion was, that if they aimed at quickness joined with security, they must be on the round about the walls of the city which was in thought, the only way to prevent the Jews from coming out any way, and then they would either entirely despair of saving the city, and so would surrender of themselves, or they would be captured; for that if any one should think such a work to be too great, and not to be finished without much difficulty, he ought to consider that it is not fit for Romans to undertake any small work; and that but God himself could with ease accomplish any great thing whatsoever.

2. These arguments prevailed with the commanders. So Titus gave orders that the army should be distributed to their several shares of this work, the most avant post being given to him that diers a certain divine fury, so that they did not only part the whole wall that was to be built among them, nor did only one legion strive with another, but the lesser division of the army did the lesser research that should do so; but it was no sooner to please his decurion, each decurion his centurion, each centurion his tribune, and the ambition of the tribunes was to please their superiors, that the works many times every day, and took a view of what was done. Titus began the wall from the camp, which he had received for his own from the friends; and drew it down to the lower parts of Cenopoli: thence it went along the valley of Car- dron, to the Mount of Olives; it then went to wards the south, and encompassed the mountain as far as the rock called Canaan, and that other hill which lies next it, and is over the valley which reaches to Siloam; whence it bend to the west, and went down to the valley of the Fountain, beyond which it went up again at the Temple, and encompassed that mountain, and encompassing that mountain where Foupey had formerly pitched his camp, it returned back to the north side of the city, and was carried on as far as a certain village called the House of Enos. From thence it was carried to the foot of Titus'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 abated. Now on this wall without were treated thirteen places to keep garrisons in, whose cir- cumferences, put together, amounted to ten furlongs; the whole was completed in three days; so that what would naturally have required some men, in two days and a half, was done in one and a half, is in credit. 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 disposed, and whether the round about the guard and to Alexander: the commanders of legions took the third watch. They also cast lots among them selves who should be upon the watch in the night time, and who should go all night long round the spaces that were interspersed 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 famines widens, the youngest wandered about the streets like shadows, all swelled with the famines, and fell down dead, wheresoever their misery seized them. As for burying them, those that were sick themselves were not able to do it, and those that were hearty and well were deterred from doing it by the great multitude of those dead bod i ees, and by the uncertainty there was how soon they should die themselves; for many died as they were itself about them, and others, seeing their collies before that fatal hour was come. Nor was there any lamentations made under these calamities, nor were heard any mournful complaints; but the famine conformed all natural passions; for those who were already looked upon those that were gave to their rest before them with dry eyes and open mouths. A deep silence also, and a kind of deadly night, did seize upon the city; while yet the robbers were still more a groan, and spreading out his hands selves; for they broke open those houses which were no other than graves of dead bodies, and plundered them of what they had, and carrying off the coverings of their bodies, went out laughing, and tried to extort their money out of them as dead bodies; and in order to prove what metal they were made of, they thrust some of those through that still lay alive upon the ground; but for those that extorted them to lend them their right hand and foot so to those to whom they did not, they were too proud to grant their requests, and left them to be consumed by the famine. Now every one of these died with their eyes fixed upon the tabernacle, and the altar, and the Divine seat above them. Now the seditious at first gave orders that the dead should be buried out of the public treasury, as not enduring the stench of their dead bodies. But afterward, when they could not do that, that they had been sent down from the walls into the valleys beneath.

4. However, when Titus, in going his round along these valleys, saw them full of dead bodies, and the thick putrefaction running about them, he gave a great groan, and spreading out his hands to heaven, called God to witness that this was not his doing; and such was the sad case of the city itself. But the Romans were very joyful, since none of the seditious could now make nullies out of the city, and the monuments were, they diconstant, and the famine already touched them also. These Romans besides had great plenty of corn and other necessaries out of Syria, and out of the neighboring provinces; many of whom would neither have grant them the honor of showing the people what great quantities of provisions they had, and so make the enemy more sensible of their famines, by the great plenty, ever to satisfy, which they had themselves. However, when the seditious still showed no inclinations of yielding, Titus, out of his commi- nation of the people that remained, and out of his earnest desire of rescuing what was still left out of the city, he raised the banks again, although materials for them were hard to be come at; for all the trees that were about the city had been already cut down for the making of the former banks. Yet did the soldiers bring what they could, and filled them on the distance of shabby furlongs, and thereby raised banks in four parts, much greater than the former, though this was done only at the tower of Antonia. So Caesar went his rounds through the legions, and hastened on the works, and allowed the robbers that they were now in his hands. But these men, and these only, were incapable of repeating the wickedness they had been guilty of, and, separating their souls from their bodies, they did nothing. If they killed themselves before to other folks, and not to themselves. For no gentle affection could touch their souls, nor could
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 Sacrifices that were in Jerusalem.

1. ACCORDINGLY Simon would not suffer Matthew, by whose means he got possession of the city, to go off without torment. This Matthew, with his brother Matthias, were some of the high priests, one that had been very faithful to the people, and in great esteem with them; he, when the multitude were distressed by the zealots, among whom Simon was numbered, persuaded 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 the best of the nation, and driven the other priests into one corner, and 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 his pains. The rest 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 away to Titus before. And when he begged for this, that he might be alone before his sons, so that as a favor, on account that he had procured the gates of the city to be opened to him, he gave order that he should be slain the last of them all: so he was not slain till he had seen his sons slain before him, and found that by his advice would be the worse without him. Simon made a charge had Simon given to Ananus, the son of Ansanus, who was the most barbarous of all his guards. He is also accused of him, and hindered him that he might now see whether those to whom he intended to go over, would send him any succours or not; but still he forbade their dead bodies should be buried. After the slaughter of these, a certain priest, Abner, the son of Measumass, a person of eminence, as also Aristus, the scribe of the sanhedrin, and born at Emasmus, and with them fifteen men of figure among the people, were slain. They also kept Josephus’s father in prison, and they made public proclamations, that no citizen whosoever should either speak to himself, or go into his company among others, for fear he should betray them. They also slew such as joined in lamenting these men, without any further information.

2. Now when Judas, the son of Judas, who was one of Simon’s under officers, and a person instigated by him to keep one of the towers, saw this procedure of Simon, he called together ten of those named, that were most faithful to him, (perhaps this was done partly out of pity to those that had so barbarously been put to death, but principally, in order to provide for his own safety,) to the following effect: How long shall we bear these miseries? or what hopes have we of deliverance by thus continuing faithful to such wicked wretches? Is not the famine already come against us? Are not the Romans in a manner got within the city? is not Simon become unsafe to his benefactors? and is there not reason to fear he will very soon bring us to the like punishment, while the security the Romans offer us is sure? Come on, let us surrender the city, and save ourselves and. So they sent a certain person who was caught gathering pieces of gold out of the excrements of the Jews’ bibles; for the deserters used to swallow such pieces of gold, as we told you before, when they were hungry, and so did not care for to part with them all; for there was a great quantity of gold in the city; insomuch that as much was now sold [in the Roman camp] for twelve Attic [drachmas]
as was sold before for twenty-five. But when this contrivance was discovered in one instance, the fame of it filled their several camps, that the deserters came to them for gold. So 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 misery befell the Jews, that was more terrible than this, since in one night's time about two thousand of these deserters were thus dissected.

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 down and killed them, had not their number been so very great, and those that were liable to this punishment would have been manifold more than whom they had slain. However, he called together the commissaries of the Roman legions, (for some of his own soldiers had been also guilty herein, as he had been informed,) and had great indignation against both sorts of them: * What! have any 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 free men? and are they not in a foreign war, and then, out of their barbarity in 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 those eight hundred. This was a greater offense, 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, and that all should be punished. And therefore, which was forbidden by Cæsar under such a threatening, was ventured upon privately against the deserters, and these barbarians would go out still, and meet those that ran away before any saw them, and looking about them to see if no Romans spied them, they dissected them, and pulled this polluted money out of their bowels; which money was still found in a few of them, while yet a great many were destroyed by the babe of his own, and so losing them, they then, which miserable treatment made many that were deserting to return back again into the city.

6. But as for John, when he could no longer plunder the people, he betook himself to sacri- fice, and melted down many of the sacred sites, which had been given to the temple, as also many of those vessels which were necessary for such as ministered about holy things, the caldrons, the dishes, and the tables; nay, he did so in such abundance, and to nullify what he sent them by Augustus and his wife; for the Ro- man emperors did ever both honor and adorn this temple; whereas this man, who was a Jew, seated upon what were the donations of foreigners, and said to those that were with him, that it was proper for them to use divining things while they were fighting for the Divinity, without fear, and that such whose warfare is for the temple should live of the temple; on which account he emptied the vessels of that sacred wine and oil, which the priests kept to be poured on the burnt offerings, and which lay in the inner court of the temple, and distributed it among the multitude, who, in their anointing themselves, and drinking, used [each of them] above a hin of them. And here I cannot but speak of what I am under dictates to me, and it is this: I suppose, that had the Romans made any longer delay in coming against these willians, that the city would either have been swallowed up by the ground opening upon them, or been overflowed by water, or else been de- stroyed by such thunder as the country of Sodom perished by,* for it had brought forth a genera- tion of men more numerous than the Jews, by 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 particu- lar calamities? while Mammee, the son of Laz- rus, 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 dead bodies. And the city was thereby -greatly desolated by the number of the dead, that were cast out, and that no fewer than six hundred thou- sand were thrown out at the gates; though still the number of the rest could not be discovered; and they told him farther, that when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the poor, they laid their corpses on heaps in very large houses, and shut them up therein; as also, that a middress of wheat was sold for a talent, and that when, a while afterward, it was not possible to give burial to the dead by reason of the dead, they were all walled about, some persons were driven to that terrible distress as to search the common sewers and old dunghills 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 heard all this, they commiserated their case; while the seditions, who saw it also, did not repent, but suffered the same distresses to come upon them- selves; for they were blinded by that fate which was already coming upon the city, and upon themselves also.

*Josephus, both here and before, B. iv. ch. viii. sect. 4, states the land of Sodom not as part of the late Asphaltites, or under its waters, but near it only, as Titus also took the same notion from him, Hist. v. vl. 7, which the great Roland take to be the very truth, both in his note on this place, and in his Palestine, tom. I. p. 325—326; though I rather suppose part of that region of Pentapolis 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.
not give way to any of those dangers that came upon them from above, and so they brought their engines to bear. But then, as they were beneath the other, and were sadly wounded by the stones thrown down upon them, some of them threw their shields over their heads, and others covered themselves with their hands, and partly with their bodies, and partly with crows, they undermined its foundations, and with great pains they removed four of its stones. Then night came upon both sides, and neither of those who were within knew how to come out to those who were without; however, that night the wall was so shaken by the battering rams in that place where John had used his stratagem before, and had undermined their banks, that the ground gave way, and they fell down into the sea.

4. Where this accident had unexpectedly happened, the minds of both parties were variously affected; for though one would expect that the Jews would be discouraged, because this fall of stones, wall then appeared, as they had made no provision in that case, yet did they not pull up their courage, because the tower of Antonia itself was still standing; as was the unexpected joy of the Romans at this fall of the wall some days before the time they were there through the power of the former wall that they were now thrown down. This new wall appeared also to be much weaker than the tower of Antonia, and accordingly the Romans imagined that it had been erected so much the more hastily, that they should soon overthrust it; yet did not any body venture now to go up to this wall; for such as first ventured so to do must certainly be killed. 5. And now Titus, upon consideration that the above account is true, and upon the support of his hopes and by good words, and that exhortations and promises do frequently make men to forget the hazards they run, nay, sometimes to despise death itself, got together the most courageous part of his army, and set upon work, and the men that were part of his men by these methods. "O fellow-soldiers, (said he) to make an exhortation to men to do what hath no peril in it, is on that very, account inglorious to such to whom that exhortation is made; for it is vain in that case to say that an exhortation as an argument of his own cowardice also. I therefore think, that such exhortations ought then only to be made use of, when affairs are in a dangerous condition, and yet are worthy of that; for not to exhort at all: accordingly, I am fully of the same opinion with you, that it is a difficult task to go up this wall; but that it is proper for those that desire reputation for their valor to struggle with difficulties in such cases. And therefore let me show, that it is a brave thing to die with glory, and that the courage here necessary shall not go unawarded in those that first begin the attempt. And last of all, first argument to move you, it be taken from what probably some would think reasonable to dissuade you, I mean the constancy and patience of these Jews, even under their ill successes; for it is unbecoming you, who are Romans and inhabitants of this city, which God has taught how to make wars, and who have also been used to conquer in those wars, to be inferior to Jews either in action of the hand, or in courage of the soul, and this especially when you are at the conclusion of your victory, and are assisted by God himself; for as to our misfortunes, they have been owing to the madness of the Jews, while their sufferings have been owing to your valor, and to the assistance God hath afforded you; for as to the seditions they have been in, and the famines they are under, and the siege they have endured, and the fall. Where we with out our engines, what can they all be but demonstrations of God's anger against them, and of his assistance afforded us! It will not therefore be proper for you either to show yourselves inferior to those to whom you are equal, or to betray that divine assistance, which is afforded you. And indeed, how can it be esteemed otherwise than as a base and unworthy thing, that while the Jews, who need not be much ashamed of they be deserted, we are deserted, in order to be slaves to others, do yet despise death, that they may be so no longer; and do make sallies into the very midst of us frequently, not in hopes of conquering us, but merely for a demonstration of their valor, or rather, we have gotten possession of almost all the world that belongs either to land or sea, to whom it will be a great shame if we do not conquer them, do not once undertake any attempt against our enemies, wherein there is much danger; but sit still and idle, with our arms as we have, and only wait till the famine and fortune do our business themselves, and this when we have it in our power, with some small hazard, to go to all that are at the mercy to go up to this tower of Antonia, we gain the city; for if there should be any more occasion for fighting against those within the city, which I do not suppose there will, since we shall then be upon the top of the wall and shall have a nearer approach to them before they can have taken breath; these advances promise as no less than a certain and sudden victory. As for myself, I shall at present waive any commendation of those who die in every way, and only wish to speak of our men, and those men who are slain in the midst of their martial bravery; yet cannot I forbear to imprecate upon those who are of a contrary disposition, that they may die in time of peace by some distempers or other; since, their souls are condemned to the grave, together with their bodies. For what man of virtue is there who does not know that those souls which are severed from their defensible bodies in battles by the sword, are receiving the most honorable thanks, and are joined to that company which are placed among the stars; that they become good demons and propitious heroes, and show themselves as such to their posterity afterward? While upon those souls that are so injured in and with their defensible bodies, comes a subterranean night to dissolve them to nothing, and a deep oblivion to take away all the remembrance of them, and this, notwithstanding they be clean from all petitions and entreaties of this world; so that in this case, the soul at the same time comes to the utmost bounds of life, and of its body, and of its memoir also. But since fate hath determined that death is to come to necessity upon all men, a sword is a better instrument for that purpose than any disease whatsoever. Why is it not then a very mean thing for us not to yield up that to the public benefit, which we must yield up to fate? And this discourse being made upon the supposition that those who at first attempt to go upon this wall must needs be killed in the attempt, though still men of true courage have a chance to escape even in the most hazardous undertakings. For, in the first place that part of theasser wall that is thrown down is easy to be as-

*Balund notes here, very pertinently, that the tower of Antonia stood higher than the floor of the temple, or court adjacent to it, and that the center of Antimaim was consecrated to a temple, as Josephus elsewhere speaks also. See B. vi. ch. ii. sect. 5.

71 In this speech of Titus we may clearly see the notions which the Romans then had of death, and of the happy state of those who died bravely in war, and the contrary estate of those who died ignobly in their beds by sickness. Balund here also produces two parallel passages, the one of which is from the account of Amos October, and the other from the 31, that "they judged that man happy who laid down his life in battle." The other of Valerius Maximus, lib. a. c. 6, who says, the Civini and Colibri excelled for joy in the army, as being to go out of the world glorious and happily."
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, by fear of the like treatment.

3. However, when Titus had recalled these men from Gophna, he gave orders that they should go round the wall, together with Josephus, and show themselves to the people; upon which they agreed to do this: and so they made themselves known, and also got in a great number together, and stood 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 put an end to all slavery, as in such a case cannot be, and if they again; but that, if they would not agree to such a proposal, they would at least depart out of the temple, and save the holy house for their own; for that the Romans would not rest to let this acrry be on fire, but wished that the pressing necessity. Yet did the seditionists still more and more contradict them; and while they cast loud and bitter reproaches upon these deserters, they also took pleasure in throwing of darts and javelins, and stones, upon the sacred gates of the temple, at due distances from one another, insomuch, that all the space round about within the temple, might be compared to a bury ground. It pleased God to spare the bodies therein; as might the holy house itself be compared to a citadel. Accordingly, these men rushed upon these holy places in their armor that were otherwise unsupportable, and that gave no money to the Romans, the heat of their own people which they had sved: nay, they proceeded to such great transgressions, that the very same indignation which Jews would naturally have against Romans, had they been natives of these parts, might again have been directed against them, the Romans had now against Jews, for their impertinency in regard to their own religious customs. Nay, indeed, there were none of the Roman soldiers, who did not look with a sacred horror upon the temple, and cried out against its violation; and wished that the robbers would repeat before their miseries became incurable.

4. Now Titus was deeply affected with the sight of things, and reproaches John and his party, and reproaches them, "Have you no wits, you wretches that you are, by our permission put up this partition wall before your sanctuary? Have not you been allowed to put up the pillars thereunto, and of the same distances from one another? Do you write in Greek, and in your own letters, the prohibition, That no foreigner should go beyond that wall? Have we not given you leave to k[h] such as go beyond it, though he were a Roman? Just what do you do, you pusillanimous men? Why do you trample upon dead bodies in the 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 the god that ever had any regard to this place, (for I do not suppose it to be now regard ed by any of them;) I also appeal to my own army, and to those Jews that are now with me, and even to you yourselves, that I do not force the Jews to depart out of the city, so that they cheerfully retired to that small city which was allotted them, without fear of any danger. But as they did not appear, the seditionists appeared again, that those deserters were slain by the Romans, which was done in order to deter the rest from running away, by

22. Of this oracle, see the note on B. iv. ch. vi. sect. 3.

23. And I shall always say, that wherever he speaks so, that it is most evident he was fully satisfied that God was on the Romans' side, and made use of them for the destruction of that wicked nation of the Jews; which was, for certain, the true state of this matter, as the prophet Daniel first, and our Saviour himself afterwards declared and foretold, see Luke x. 17, &c. See also Jer. xxxi. 33-36. And here I shall add, that the symbol of the cow, as was already said, is here used by Josephus, and in the place before us.

24. Of this partition-wall, separating Jews and Greeks, see the notes on ch. xvi. 40-44.
contended with each other who should fight the most strenuously, both single men and entire regiments, as being under the eye of Titus; and every one concluded that this day would bring on his promotion, if he fought bravely. What were the great encouragements of the Jews to act vigorously, were their fear for themselves and for the temple, and the presence of their tyrant, who exhorted them to do their utmost, and to the others, to act courageously. Now, it so happened that this fight was for the most part a stationary one, whereas the soldiers went on and can a bank in a short time, and only; for there was no large space of ground for horse or pursuits. But still there was a tumultuous noise among the Romans from the tower of Antonia, who loudly cried out upon all occasions to their own men, as well as to others, when they were too hard for the Jews, and then stay, when they were retiring backward; so that here was a kind of theatre of war; for what was done in this fight could not be concealed either from Titus or from the Jews; and so it appeared that which began at the ninth hour of the night, was not over till past the fifth hour of the day, and that in the same place where the battle began neither party could say they had the other in their power, for the armies left the victory almost in uncertainty between them; wherein those that signalled themselves on the Roman side were a great many, but on the Jewish side, and of those that were with Simon and Judas Maccabaeus, and Simon the son of Josias; of the Idumeans, James and Simon, the latter of whom was the son of Cathias, and James was the son of Sossas; of those that were with John, Gypheus and Alexas, and of the sepoys of the half-pay; and of the other two, one was at the western cloister of the outer court of the temple, the other against its northern cloister. However, these works were thus advanced by the Romans, and without great pains and did it not, particularly by being obliged to bring their materials from the distance of a hundred furlongs. They had further difficulties also upon them, sometimes by their over-great security they were in that they not only let the Jewish soldiers lay for them, and by that boldness of the Jews which their despair of escaping had inspired them within; for some of their horsemen, when they went out to gather wood or hay, let their horses feed, without having their bridles on, during the time of foraging; upon which horses the Jews sailed out in whole bodies, and seized them. And when this was continually done, and Caesar believed what the truth was, that the horses were stolen more easily from the men of his own men than by the valor of the Jews, he determined to use greater severity to oblige the rest to take care of their horses; so he came one day and made the order, that every horse should be capital punished; whereby he so terrified the rest, that they preserved their horses for the time to come; for they did not any longer let them go from them to feed by themselves; but, as if they had grown to them, they went always along with them when they wanted necessities. Thus did the Romans still continue to make war against the temple, and to raise their banks against it.

2. Now, after one day had been interposed...

* Court of the Gentiles 1 Court of Israel.

† Court of the Gentiles.
Some of them also reasoned thus, and that justly enough, that it was not fit to fight with a man that they knew to be in the manner of a one given up to despair of deliverance had, besides other passions, a violence in attacking men that could not be opposed, and had no regard to God himself, and that to hazard one’s self with a person, who, being left with no one to assist, besides the great number of reproaches as cowards, (for he was a very haughty man in himself, and a great desiper of the Romans,) one whose name was Pudens, of the body of horsemen, out of his abomination to the other’s words, and of his impudence withal, and perhaps out of an incon siderable arrogance, on account of the other’s lowness of stature, ran out to him, and was too hard for him in other respects, but was betrayed by his fortune; for he fell down, and as he was down, Jonathan came running to him, and cut his throat, and then standing upon his dead body, he brandished his sword, bloody as it was, and shook it at the multitude of men who stood by, on the right hand, and made many acclamations to the Romans, and insulted over the dead man, and jezted upon the Romans; till at length one Priscus, a centurion, shot a dart at him, as he was leaping and playing the victor, and so killed him. This way naturally vengeance may come upon men that have success in war, without any just deserving the same.

CHAPTER III.
Concerning a Stratagem that was devised by the Jews, by which they hurst many of the Romans with another Description of the terrible Flames that was in the City.

§ 1. But now the seditions that were in the temple did every day openly endeavor to best off the soldiers that were upon the banks, and on the twenty-seventh day of the forenamed month [Tammuz] they discovered this stratagem as this; they filled that part of the western cloister which was between the beams, and the roof under them, with dry materials, as also with bitumens and pitch, and then retired from that place. But when the soldiers that had taken; at which procedure of theirs, many of the most inconsiderable among the 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 them, when they understood this unaccountable retreat of the Jews, stood still where they were before. However, the cloister was full of soldiers, and they had climbed up the ladders at which time the Jews set it all on fire; and as the flames burst out every where on the sudden, the Romans that were out of the danger were seized with a great consternation, as were those that were in the midst of the danger in the utmost distress. So when they perceived themselves surrounded with the flames, some of them threw themselves down backwards into the city, and some up into their temple, as did many leap down to their own men, and broke their limbs to pieces; but a great number of those that were going to take these violent methods, were prevented by the fire; though some prevented the fire by their own accord. However, the fire was on the sudden carried so far as to surround those who would have otherwise *

Of the court of the Gentiles.
parished. As for Caesars 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 were destroyed, that every building of those houses like the walls of Jerusalem, and as the slaves came to their ends; for he cried out openly to them, and leaped up, and exhorted those that were about him to do their utmost to relieve them. So every one of them died cheerfully, as courageously also they met death and this intention of Caesars as a sepulchral monument. Some there were indeed who retired into the wall of the cloister, which was broad, and were preserved out of the fire, but were themselves strangled in the jam. And there were some that made resistance against the Jews for a long time, yet were they wounded by them, and at length they all fell down dead.

3. At the last, a young man among them, whose name was Lasos, was at first while 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 as it were because of his dignity, so they persuaded him to come down to them, upon security given him for his life. But Cornelius his brother persuaded him, on the contrary, not to tarnish their own glory, nor that of their master. He therefore came with advice and, lifting up his sword before both armies, he slew himself. Yet there was one Artorius among those surrounded with the fire, who escaped by his subtility; for when he had with a loud voice called out 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 come and receive me." Upon this he came running to receive his master. and there thrusting 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 was the only one that escaped, and the Romans sit 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 were greatly damaged through their numbers, and because of the nature of the inhabitants. Now this cloister was burnt down as far as John's tower, which was built in the war he made against Simon, over the gates that led to the Xystus. The Jews also cut off the rest of the outer wall, and that it was not only the temple, but also that had destroyed those that got up to it. But the next day the Romans burst down the northern cloister entirely as far as the east cloister, whose common angle joined to the valley that was called Cædon, and was built over it; and hence it accounted the depth was frightful. And this was the state of the temple at that time.

4. Now, of those that perished by famine in the city, the number was prodigious; and the miseries among the Jews in this war, is such that for so much as the shadow of any kind of food did any where appear, a war was commenced presently, and the dearest friends fell in fighting one wit's 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, and realizing against the doors of the houses like sheep, and in the street, as if 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 it obliged them to chew every thing, while they would not touch such of the dogs that most sordid animals would not touch, and endured to eat them; nor did they at length abstain from girdles and shoes, and the very leather belonging to their shields they pulled and answered: the very rags and old things became a delicacy to some, and some gathered up fibres, and sold a very small weight of them for four Attic drahmes. But why do I describe the shameless invidence that the famine brought on men in their eating inanimate things while unable to relate a matter of the fact, the like to which no history relates, either among the Greeks or Barbarians. It is horrible to speak of it, and incredible when heard. I had indeed willingly omitted this calamity of our own, that I might not be the first to deliver what is so portentous to posterity, but that I have innumerable witnesses to it in my own age; and besides, my country would have had little reason to thank me for suppressing the miseries that she suffered at this last siege.

4. There was a certain woman that dwelt beyond Jordan; her name was Mary, her father was Eleazar, of the village of Bethzeboath, which signifies, the house of Hysam. 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. The other effects of this woman had been already seized upon, except her jewel brought with her out of Persia, and removed to the city. What she had treasured up besides, as also what food she had contrived to save, had been also carried off by the rapacious guards. But she came away from the city and her houses to that purpose. This set the poor woman into a very great passion, and by the frequent reproaches and imprecations she cast at these rapacious villains, she had provoked them to anger against her, but not taking her part; for the nation she had raised against herself, or out of comminution of her case, would take away her life: and if she found any food, she perceived her labors were for others, and not for herself, and that it was more becoming the temple in a 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 consult with any thing 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 miserable infant! for whom shall I preserve thee from the Romans, so that they are at war with the Romans, if they preserve our lives, we must be slaves. This famine also will destroy us even before that slavery comes upon us. Yet are these seditions rogue more terrible than both the other. Come let thy mouth, and be thou a fury to these seditical varlets, and way 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 desirous of the Jews. I mean of their lives and their liberties, and to save both their city and their temple. But the usurers, the robbers, and the seditions, would beheard to no terms of submission. They would not voluntarily change their circumstances, but by force of their numbers actually seized the city and temple, as to force mothers to this unnatural barbarity, which in all its circumstances has not, I still suppose, been hitherto paralleled among the rest of mankind."
BOOK VI.—CHAP. IV.

was the six principal persons, Tiberius Alexander, the commander [under the general] of the western army, Scevola, the commander of the fifth legion, and Marcus Fulvius, the commander of the tenth legion, and Titus Flavius, the commander of the fifteenth legion, and Marcus Antonius Julianus, procurator of Judaea; after these came together also the rest of the procurators and tribunes. Titus proposed to these, that, as the Maccabees first had done, what should be done about the holy house. Now some of these thought, "it would be the best way to act according to the rules of war, and demolish it," because the Jews would never leave off rebelling while they stood on a high wall, which was the house that they used to get all together." Others of them were of opinion, that "in case the Jews would leave it, and none of them would lay up their arms in it, he might save it; but that in a. Now it upon it, and fought any more, he might burn it; because it must then be looked upon not as a holy house, but as a citadel, and that the impetue of burning it would then belong to those that forced this to be done, and not to us. And, in truth, it is said, that Titus should get upon that holy house, and fight us there, yet ought we not to revenge ourselves on things that are inanimate, instead of the men themselves;"—a, and that he was not in any case for laying out so many of his soldiers, for which this would be a mischief to the Romans themselves, as it would be an ornament to their government while it continued." So Scevola, and Alexander, and Cerealis, now bold upon that day to declare, and agreed to the opinion of Titus. Then was this assembly dissolved, when Titus had given orders to the commanders that the rest of their forces should lie still, but that they should act as fast as the situation was accus in this attack. So he commanded that the chosen men that were taken out of the cohorts should make their way through the ruins and quench the fire.

But it is true, that on this day the Jews were so weary, and under such consternation, that they refrained from any attacks. But on the next day they gathered their whole force together, and ran upon those that guarded the entrance of the temple, and then ran towards the east gate, and this about the second hour of the day. These guards received that their attack with great bravery, and by covering themselves with their shields before, as it were with a wall, they smote these with the utmost rage, yet it was evident that they could not abide there very long, but would be overborne by the multitude of those that salled out upon them, and by the heat of their passion. However, Casar seeing from the tower of Antonia, it was likely to give way, he sent some chosen horsemen to support them. Hereupon the Jews found themselves no longer able to sustain their onset, and the heat of the sun and the force from many of the rest were put to flight. But as the Romans were going off, the Jews turned back upon them, and fought them; and as those Romans came back upon them, they retreated again, but the heat of the sun and the force of the multitude, 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 the temple. It was a sight to behold a view of the dead bodies that were slain above [the altar] fell down.

5. So Titus retired into the tower of Antonia, and resolved to storm the temple the next day, eager to get the opportunity to attack it. But as he took upon him to encamp round about the holy house. But as for that house, God had, for certain, long ago doomed it to the fire; and now that fatal day was
a byword to the world, which is all that is now wanting to complete the calamities of us Jews." As soon as she had said this, she slew her son, and then roasted him, and ate the one half of him, and kept the other half concealed. Upon this the seditions came in 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 prepared. She replied, that "she had saved a very fine portion of it for them;" and withal uncovered what was left of her son. Hereupon they wrested with a horror and trembling of minds, and stood astonished at the sight, when she said to them, "This is mine own son, and what hath done been mine own doing. Come, eat of this food; for I have eaten of it myself. Do not you pretend to be either and others than I am woman, or more compassionate than a mother; but if you be so scrupulous, and do contaminate 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, not so much afraid of any thing as they were at this, and with some difficulty they left the rest of that meat to the mother. Upon which the whole city was full of this horrid action immediately; and while every body laid this against the Jews before they were shut up and subdued, as if this unheard of action had been done by themselves. So those that were thus distressed by the famine were very desirous to die, and those already dead were esteemed happy, and had lived long enough either to hear or to see such miseries.

5. This sad instance was quickly told to the Romans, some of whom could not believe it, and others pitied the distress which the Jews were under. There were many who were hereby induced to a more bitter hatred than ordinary against our nation. But for Caesar, 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 oblation of all their former insolent practices; but that they, instead of concord, had chosen sedition; instead of peace, war; and before satiety and abundance, a famine." That they had begun with their own hands to destroy that which was their preservation hitherto; and that therefore they deserved to eat such food as this was. That, however, this horrid action of eating an own child ought to be charged with the overthrow of their very country itself, and that it was only such a city upon the habitable earth, to be seen by the sun, wherein mothers are thus fed, although such food be fitter for the fathers than for the children; that the dread of this misery might continue still in a state of war against us, after they had undergone such miseries as these." And at the same time that he said this, he reflected on the desperate condition these men must be in, and told he expected, that such men could be recovered to sobriety of mind, after they had endured those very sufferings, for the avoiding whereof it only was probable they might have recourse.

CHAP. VII. When the Banks were completed, and the Batterings-Rams brought and could do nothing, Titus gave order 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 siege, and Titus gave order that the battering-rams should be brought, and set over against the western edifice of the inner temple; for, before these were brought, the threat of all the other engines had battered it as well 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 Jews, indeed, indeed, indeed, audaces, the fountains of the northern gate, and, after a work of pains, removed the outermost stones; yet was the gate still upheld by the inner stones, and stood still unshaken; but the battering-rams and burning of such engines by engines and men, brought their ladders to the cloisters. Now the Jews did not interrupt them in so doing; but when they were gotten up they fell upon them, and fought with them; somers were thrown down, and threw them backwards headlong; others of them they met and slew: they also best many of those that went down the ladders again, and slew them with their swords before they could bring their shields to protect them; and some of the legions brotherly 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 describing it a terrible thing, and what would tend to their great shame if they permitted them to be stolen away. Yet did the Jews at length get possession of these engines, and destroyed those that had gone up the ladder, while the rest were thrown down, and those who were left being slain that they retired, although some of the Romans died without having done good service before his death. Of the seditions those that had fought bravely in the former battles did the like now; and many of them did Eleasar's son of Simon the tyrant. But when Titus perceived that his endeavors to spare a foreign temple turned to the damage of his soldiers, and made them be killed, he gave order to set the great gate on fire.

2. In the mean time there assembled to him Ananus, who came from Emmaus, the most bloody of all Simon's guards, and Archelaus, the son of Maccabæus, they hoping to be still forgiven, because, as he said, the Jews were the conquerors. Titus objected this to these men, as a cunning trick of theirs; and as he had been informed of their other barbarities towards the Jews, he was going in all haste to have them both punished with death. This金银 drove to this desperation, because of the utmost distress they were in, and did not come away of their own good disposition; and that those did not deserve to be preserved, by whom their own city was burnt down, and they now hurried themselves away." However, the security he had promised deserters overcame his resentments, and he dismissed them accordingly, though he did not give them the same privileges they had afforded to others. And now the soldiers had already put fire to the gates, and the silver that was over them quickly carried the flames to the wood that was within it, whence it spread itself all on the sudden, and caught hold of the temple. Upon the Jews, and all about them, their spirits sunk together with their bodies, and they were under such astonishment, 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 wiser thereby for the time to come; but as though the holy house itself were not on fire, they produced their passions against the Romans. This fire prevailed during that day and the next also; for the soldiers were not able to burn all the cloisters that were round about together at one time. But then, on the next day, Titus commanded part of his army to quench the fire, and to make a road for the more easy marching up of the legions, while he himself gathered the commanders together. Of those there were seen.
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 were about the holy house, and Titus supposed, therefore, that the whole house itself might not be saved, he came in haste, and endeavored to persuade the soldiers to quench the fire, and gave order to Libaurus the centurion, and one of those speersmen that were about him, to lead the soldiers that were nearest with them to their states, and to restrain them; yet were their passions too hard for the regards they had for Caesar, and the dread they had of him who forbade them, as was their hatred of the Jews, and a certain wish to take vengeance on the people that had thrown the fire of Jerusalem. When they saw the fire of the house, they exerted their utmost strength, and brake out into groans and outcries again; Perea did also return the echo, as well as the mountains round about the city, and augmented the force of the entire noise. Yet was it as if 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 on one side as the other, and many a hundred times the larger quantity than the fire, and those that were slain more in number than those that slew them, for the ground did nowhere appear visible for the dead bodies that lay on it, but the soldiers went over a place where the bodies, as they were cast from them, so as fled from them. And now it was the multitude of the robbers were thrust out; of the inner court of the temple by the Romans, and had much ado to get into the outward court, and from there into the city; for the noblest part 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 spicier that were upon it, with their bases, which were made of lead, and shot themselves, as they were said to have done, as they gained nothing by so doing, and as the fire burst out upon them, they retired to the wall that was eight cubits broad, and there they tarried; yet did two of those of eminence among them, who might have saved themselves by going over to the Romans, or have borne up with courage, and taken their fortune with others, throw themselves into the fire, and were burnt, together with the holy house; their names were Mairius the son of Belges, and Joseph the son of Dalea.

2. And now the Romans judging that it was in vain to spare what was round about the holy house, burnt it likewise, as also the remains of the cloisters and the gates, two exceptions being 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 an immense quantity of money, and a great number of garments, and other precious goods there reposed; and to speak all in a few words, there it was that the entire riches of the Jews were heaped up together, while the rich people that were there built themselves houses that 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 went, who were about six thousand in number, and nolens volens 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 it came to pass, that some slaves there were saved by throwing themselves down headlong, and that it is a wonder our commentators here take no notice of.

*This Perea, if the word be not mistaken in the copies, cannot be the Perea that was beyond Podarion, whose mountains were at a considerable distance from Jerusalem, and much too remote from Jerusalem to join this echo at the conflagration of the temple; but Perea was beyond Jordan, as was the mount of Olives, or some others, about such a distance from Jerusalem: which observation is so obvious, 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 this noise; for there was at once a shout of the Roman legions, and of all those that were marching all together, and a sad clatter of the soldiers, who were now surrounded with fire and sword. The people also that were left above, were beaten back upon the enemy, and under a great consternation, and unable to make their escape, cast themselves down headlong; and 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 worn away by the famine, and their mouths almost consumed by hunger, when they saw the fire of the temple, they exerted their utmost strength, and brake out into groans and outcries again; Perea did also return the echo, as well as the mountains round about the city, and augmented the force of the entire noise. Yet was it as if 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 on one side as the other, and many a hundred times the larger quantity than the fire, and those that were slain more in number than those that slew them, for the ground did nowhere appear visible for the dead bodies that lay on it, but the soldiers went over a place where the bodies, as they were cast from them, so as fled from them. And now it was the multitude of the robbers were thrust out; of the inner court of the temple by the Romans, and had much ado to get into the outward court, and from there into the city; for the noblest part 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 spicier that were upon it, with their bases, which were made of lead, and shot themselves, as they were said to have done, as they gained nothing by so doing, and as the fire burst out upon them, they retired to the wall that was eight cubits broad, and there they tarried; yet did two of those of eminence among them, who might have saved themselves by going over to the Romans, or have borne up with courage, and taken their fortune with others, throw themselves into the fire, and were burnt, together with the holy house; their names were Mairius the son of Belges, and Joseph the son of Dalea.

2. And now the Romans judging that it was in vain to spare what was round about the holy house, burnt it likewise, as also the remains of the cloisters and the gates, two exceptions being 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 an immense quantity of money, and a great number of garments, and other precious goods there reposed; and to speak all in a few words, there it was that the entire riches of the Jews were heaped up together, while the rich people that were there built themselves houses that 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 went, who were about six thousand in number, and nolens volens 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 it came to pass, that some slaves there were saved by throwing themselves down headlong, and
BOOK VI—CHAP. V

3. Thus were the miserable people persuaded by these deceivers, and such as beled God himself; while they did not attend nor give credit to the signs that were so evident, and did not plainly discover all their future destiny, but lived in an intexated, without either eyes to see or minds to consider, did not regard the desuncations that God made to them. Thus there was a start resembling a sword, which stood over the city, and as a sign by day, and also before the Jews' rebellions, and before those commotions which preceded the war, when the people were come in great crowds to the feast of Passover, being on the eighth day of the month Nisan (Nisca) [Nisbis] for the 30th of the night, 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 was also a good sign to the unskillful, but was so interpreted by the un instructed scribes as to portend those events that followed immediately upon it. At the festival also a heifer, as she was led by the high priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple. Moreover, the eastern gate of the inner [court of the temple] which was of brass, and vastly heavy, and had been with difficulty shut by twenty men, and rested upon a basis set up under it, but was now very easily deep into the first floor, which was there made of one entire stone, was seen to be opened of its own accord about the sixth hour of the night. Now those that kept watch in the temple came hither, and perceived the light, and told him of it, who then came up thither, and not without great difficulty was able to shut 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 of its own accord, and that the gate was opened for the advantage of their enemies. So those publicly declared, that the most feared thing that was coming upon them. Besides these, a few days after that feast, on the one and twentieth day of the month Arriatim [Yair], a certain prodigious and incredible phenomenon appeareed: 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 signs; for, before unsetting, chariots and troops of soldiers in their armor were seen rousing about among the clouds, and surrounding 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, there was a noise as of water running upon an earth that is 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, this noise was heard in a plateian and a husbandman, who, four years before the war began, and at a time when the city was in very great peace and prosperity, came to that feast whereas it is our custom for every one to make that which was done, the temple, 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 princes of Judah, and a voice against the whole people." This was his cry, as 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 woe, and it was not with that Wrath, which gave him a great number of severe stripes; yet did not he either say anything for himself, or any thing peculiar to those that chastised him, but still went on with the same words which he cried before. And as it proved in the case as the case proved to be, that this was a sort of divine fury in the man, brought him to the Roman procurator, where he was whipped till his back was bloody, and his bones were ground upon the stones by supplication for himself, nor shed any tears; but turning his voice to the most lamentable tone possible, at every stroke of the whip his answer was, "Wo, wo to Jerusalem. And when Albinus (for he was the our prince God asked him, "Who he was? and whence he came? and why be 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 up, and said, I have heard you say, during all the time that passed before the war began, this man did not go near any of the citizens, nor was seen by them while he said so; but he every day uttered these lamentable words, as if it were a premonition to Jerusalem. Nor did he give ill words to any of those that best him every day, nor good words to those that gave him food; but this was his reply to all men, and, indeed, no other than a melancholy, and as if in his own way a wailing of his heart, saying, that his cry of his was the loudest at the festivals; and he continued this ditty for seven years and five months, without growing hoarse, or being tired therewith, until the time that the king was in presence in our city, when it ceased; for as he was going round upon the wall, he cried out with his utmost force, "Wo wo to the city again, and to the people, and to the holy house. And just as he added at the last, "Wo, wo to my soul also," were cause u.

* Related here justly takes notice, that these Jews, who had despised the first Prophecy, were deservedly abused and disgraced by the enemies of God.

† Whether Josephus means, that this star was different from that comet which lasted a whole year, I cannot certain; that these men of words most favor their being different man from another.

‡ Since Josephus still uses the Syro-Macedonian month Xeniarnis for the Jewish month Nisan, this 9th, or as Nicopeus reads it, this 9th of Xeniarnis or Nisan was almost a week before the Passover on the 14th: about which time the latter rabbits will not a little to the ancient prac-

l i i s e c t. 1. And it might well be, that in the night of these extraordinary light might appear.

| This belief is the best of the rest.

| Both Related and Ravenciamp in this place alter the natural pronunciation and sense of Josephus, and this con-

| tinues to the end of the 13th verse, and of the 14th verse. Josephus should say, that the Jews built booths or tents

| within the temple, at the feast of Tabernacles; which the latter rabbits will not a little to the ancient prac-

| tice: but then, since it is expressly told us in Nehemiah, viii. 16, that in still elder times, the Jews made booths

| in the courts of the temple, at the feast of Tabernacles, it may well be permitted to say the same. And, indeed,

| the modern rabbits are of very small authority in such matters of remote antiquity.
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 were about the holy house, and Titus supposing what the fact was, that the house itself might not be saved, he came in haste and encircled with force to persuade the soldiers to quench the fire, and gave order to Liberialus the centurion, and one of those spearmen that were about him, to beat the soldiers that were refractory with their respective lances, and to restrain them; yet were their passions too hard for the regards they had for Cæsar, and the dread they had of him who forbade them, as was their hatred of the Jews, and a certain vice in them to fight them, too hard for them also. Moreover, the hope of plunder induced many to go on, as having this opinion, that all the places within were full of money, and as seeing that all round about it was made of gold. And besides, one of those that went into the place prevented Cæsar, when he ran hastily out to restrain the soldiers, and threw the fire upon the hinges of the gate, in the dark; whereby the flame burst out from within the holy house itself into the city streets; and the common people did follow Cæsar with them, and when nobody any longer forbade those that were without to set fire to it. And thus was the holy house burnt down, without Cæsar’s approbation.

2. Now, by some it 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 its curious structure and its magnitude, and also for the vast wealth bestowed upon it, as well as for the great cost of its maintenance. Yet might such a one comfort himself with this thought, that it was fate that decreed it so to be, which is inevitable, both in the living creatures, and in the works of man and place also. However, one cannot but wonder at the accuracy of this period thereto relating; for the same month and day were now observed as I said before, wherein the holy house was burnt formerly by the Babylonians. Now the number of years that passed from its first foundation, which was laid by king Solomon, till this its destruction, which happened in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, are collected to be one thousand seven hundred and thirty, besides one hundred 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 Vespasian, there were six hundred thirty-nine years, and forty-five days.

CHA. V.

The great Distress the Jews were in upon the confusion 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; yet was there a commiseration of any age, or any reverence of gravity: but children, and old men, and profane persons, and priests, were all slain in a manner, so that there 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 the houses, together with those that were slain; and because this hill was

"This Peræa, if the word be not mistaken in the copies, seems to be Peræa, which is beyond Jordan, whose mountains were at a considerable distance from Jordan, and much too remote from Jerusalem to join this echo to the configuration of the temple; but Peræa must be either some mountain beyond the brook Cedron, as was the mount of Olives, or some others, about such a distance from Jerusalem; which observation is so obvious, that it is a wonder our commentators here take no notice of it.

Roland, I think, here judges well, when he interprets those spikes (of those that stood upon the top of the holy house, with sharp points that were fired into head to prevent the birds from sitting there, and defiling the holy house; for such spikes there were now upon) as Jesus himself hath already promised, Luke vii. v. and 8.
some were burnt in the cloisters themselves. Nor did any one of them escape with his life. A false prophet was the occasion of these people's destruction, who had made a public proclamation in the city that day, that God commanded them to get up upon the temple, and that there they should receive miraculous signs for their deliverance. Now, there was then a great number of false prophets subdued by the tyrants, to prevent their people from turning this to them, that they should wait for deliverance from God; and this was in order to keep them from deserting, and that they might be ensnared above fear and cares by such hopes. Nor, indeed, was it worse in the case of those that applied with such promises; for when such a 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 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 destruction. They were, moreover, very much satiated, without either eyes to see or minds to consider, did not regard the denunciations that God made to them. Thus there was a star seen rising, that rose and stood above the city, as if it were a comet; this continued all the night. Thus also before the Jews' rebellion, and before those commotions 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 Xanthicus, [Nisan] and at the ninth hour of the night, 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. That light, however, was but unskilful, but was so interpreted by the sacred scribes as to portend those events that followed immediately upon it. At the same festival also a heifer, as she was led by the high priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple. Moreover, the eastern gate of the inner [court of the temple], which was of brass, and vastly heavy, and had been with difficulty shut by twenty men, and rested upon a basis as great as that of a millstone, was to be a man, through the power of the jaw, very deep into the first floor, which was there made of one entire stone, was seen to be opened of its own accord about the sixth hour of the night. Now those that kept watch in the temple came down in great haste from the holy places, and told him of it, who then came up therewith, and not without great difficulty was able to shut 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 of its own accord, and that the gate was opened for the admission of their enemies. So they publicly declared that the signal foreboded the desolation that was coming upon them. Besides these, a few days after that feast, on the one and twentieth day of the month Artemiun [Jyar], a certain prodigious and inhuman 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 armor were seen running about among the clouds, and surrounding 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 reform the sacred vessels, those, they said, that 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, they found, when they were come to a plebeian and a husbandman, who, four years before the war began, 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, 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 bridgekeepers, and against those that dwell in the whole people." This was his cry, as 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 the people took up and gave him a great number of severe stripes; yet did not he either say any thing for himself, or any thing peculiar to those that chastised him, but still went on with the same cry. He was crucified before Hecuron our rulers, supposing, as the case proved to be, that this was a sort of divine fury in the man, brought him to the Roman procurator, where he was whipped till his flesh was laid open; and yet, not for his supplication for himself, nor shed any tears; but turning his voice to the most lamentable tone possible, at every stroke of the whip his answer was, "Wo, wo to Jerusalem. And when Albinus [for he was that our procurator asked him, "Who he was? and whence he came? and why he uttered such words?" he made no answer of reply to what he said, but still did not leave off his melancholy ditty, till Albinus took him by the mouth and put his hand in it, during all the time that passed before the war began, this man did not go near any of the citizens, nor was seen by them while he said so; but he every day uttered these same words, as if it were a prophetic oracular, saying, "Wo, wo to Jerusalem." Nor did he give ill words to any of those that best him every day, nor good words to those that gave him food; but this was his reply to all men, and, indeed, no other than this. His last, "Wo to myself also," there came a

6 Rehace here justly takes notice, that these Jews, who had thus taken their departure, were deservedly abused and deted with those false men.

† Whether Josephus means, that this star was different from that comet which lasted a whole year, I cannot certainly determine. But words most favor their being different one from another.

‡ Since Josephus still uses the Syro-Macedonian month Xanthicus for the Jewish month Nisan, this 4th, or as Nechothius reads it, this 4th of Xanthicus or Nisan was almost a week before the Passover on the 14th: about which time the Persian army was expected to arrive that might attempt the country to Jerusalem to purify themselves, d. n. 15 with ch. 1, in agreement with Josephus also, B. v. ch. 1, 2.
WAR OF THE JEWS.

stone out of one of the engines, and smote him, and killed him immediately, and, as he was uttering the very same sentences, he gave up the ghost.

4. Now, if any one consider these things, he will find that God takes care of mankind, and by all ways possible provides means and devices to save them for their preservation, but that men perish by those miseries which they madly and voluntarily bring upon themselves; for the Jews, by demolishing the tower of Antonia, had made their fate certain, while at the same time they had it written in their sacred oracles, that "then should their city be taken, as well as their holy house, when once their temple should become four-square." But now, what did the «ost elevate» in life, and what is certain by this indubious oracle that was found also in their sacred writings, how, "about that time one from their country should become governor of the habitable world." The Jews took this prediction to be against them, in order to make its meaning suit the wise men were thereby deceived in their determination. Now, this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor in Judea. However, it is not possible that they had foretold this, although they wrote it beforehand. But these men interpreted some of these signals 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.

CHAP. VI.

How the Romans carried their Ensigns to the Temple, and made joyful Acclamations to Titus.

The Speech that Titus made to the Jews when they Made Supplication for Mercy. What Reply they made thereunto; and how that Reply moved Titus's Indignation against them.

1. And now the Romans, upon the sight of the sedition into the city, and upon the burning of the holy house itself, and of all the buildings round about it, brought their ensigns to the temple, and pitched them there; and there did they offer sacrifices to them, and there did they make Titus impetrate; with the greatest acclamations of joy. And now all the soldiers had such vast quantities of the spoils which they had gained, and gained by plunder, that in 6 of 7 a pound weight of gold was sold for half its former value. But as for those priests that kept themselves still upon the wall of the holy house, there was a boy that, out of the thirst he was in, drank the water of the temple grainery to give his thirst and hunger a brief respite; and as such was he, he was thirsty. These guards considered his age, and the distress he was in, and gave him their right hands accordingly. So he came of his bones, and was filled with water, and filled the vessel he had with him when he came to them with water, and then went off, and fled away to his own friends; nor could any of those guards overtake him; but still they require prophetic success for their people, in this case, and he made this answer: I have not broken the agreement; for the security I had given me was not in order to my staying with you, but only in order to my coming down safely, and taking up some water; both which things I have performed, and thereupon: think myself to have been faithful to my engagement." Hereupon those

who the child had imposed upon admired at his cunning; and that on account of his age. Upon the 15th of the month, the priests that were ordained with the famine came down, and when they were brought to Titus by the guards, they begged for their lives: but he replied, that "the time of this judgment had been appointed by God for holy houses, on whose account only they could justly hope to be preserved, was destroyed, and that it was agreeable to the house itself to which they had now come: afterward, they offered it up in another form. Henceforth, as for the tyrants themselves, and those that were with them, when they found that they were encompassed on every side and, as it were, walled round, without any method of escape, and that Titus's message was full of such threats as did deserve to be regarded with the utmost awe. Accordingly, such was the kindliness of his nature, and his desire of preserving the city from destruction, joined to the advice of his friends, who now thought the robbers were come to a temper, and made peace with the Romans. How he showed the outer court of the temple; for there were gates on that side above the Astartes, and a bridge that connected the upper city to the temple. The bridge it was that lay between the tyrants and those of the people who stood on this side, those of the Jewish nation about Simon and John, with great hopes of pardon, and the Romans about Ceasar, in great expectation; how Titus would receive this suppliants, and what signal service he performed for them. So Titus changed his soldiers to pacify their rage, and let their darts alone, and appointed an interpreter between them, which was a sign that he was the conqueror, and first began the discoveries, and said: I hope you, Sirs, are now satisfied with the miseries of your country, who have not had any just notions, either of our great power, or of your own great weakness, but have like madmen, after a violent and inconsiderate manner, made such attempts as have brought your people, your city, and your holy house, to destruction. You have been the men that have never left off rebelling since Ptolemy first conquered you; and have, since that time, made peace with the Romans. How you depended on your multitude, while a very small part of the Roman soldiery have been strong enough for you. Have you relied on the fidelity of your considerates? And what nations are like this? But if you would not choose to accept the Romans? Are your bodies stronger than ours? Nay you know that the [strong] Germans themselves are our servants. Have you stronger walls than those of Athens, or of the temple? Or the bridge of the sea than the wall of the ocean, with which the Britons are encompassed, and yet do adore the arms of the Romans? Do you exceed us in courage of soul, and the sagacity of your counsels, and considerate advice? But the fact is, that the very Carthaginians have been conquered by us. It can therefore be nothing better but the kindness of us Romans which hath excited you against us; who, in the first place, have got the possession of our city; and, in the second place, have set over you kings of your own nation and, in the third place, have preserved the laws of your forefathers to you, and have withal permitted you to live, either by yourselves or by the Romans' aid, in the same manner as your ancestors; as it should please you; and, what is our chief favor of all, we have given you leave to gather up that tribute which is paid to God; the Romans in like case, as Reland assures us of his presence.

2. 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, he thinks his compatriots and took refuge in others. How does he describe these hiding places? Spanheim notices here, that the Romans used to permit the Jews to collect their sacred tribute, and send it in person, which of which we have and understand ordain it necessary, already on other occasions.
BOOK VI.—CHAP. VII.

Yes, do you stand still at this very time in your armor; nor can you be persuading so much as to pretend to be suppliants even in this year utmost extremity. O miserable creatures! What is it you depend on? Are not your people dead? Is not your holy house gone? Is not your city in very power? Have not your very limbs in my hands? And do you still deem it a part of your valor 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 set free; 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 offer of Titus they made this reply, that, so far as they were concerned, they had sworn never to do so, but that 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 them.” At this Titus had great indignation, that, when they were in the case of men already taking captives, they should pretend to make their own terms with him, as if they had been conquerors. So he ordered that they should be made to understand, 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 they might save themselves, if they would come out, and be received 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 indeed that day, but on the next day, lay set fire to the council-house, and to the place called Oplias; at which time the fire proceeded as far as the palace of queen Helens, which was in the middle of Acra; the lanes were also burnt, those houses that were full of the dead bodies of such as were destroyed by flame.

4. On the same day it was, that the sons and brothers of Ismael the king, together with many maidens, came to the senate, and asked for the murder of the inhabitants; and were got together there, and besought Cesar 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 he granted them. And indeed, he kept them all in custody, but still bent 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 afterwards befell the Seditions, when they had done a great deal of Mischief, and suffered many Misfortunes; and also how Cesar became Master of the Upper City.

I. AND now the seditions rushed into the royal palace, into which many had put their effects, because it was so strong, and drove the Roman soldiers out of their place. Yet have you all desired some of my proposals, and have set fire to your holy houses with your own hands. And now, vile wretches, do you pretend to treasure me by what you have done? To whom is the place, that you would save such a holy church as this, which is now destroyed? What preservation can you now desire, after the destruction of your temple?
Romans, and this while the Jewish executioner was drawing out his sword. Now when he was gotten away from the enemy, Titus could not think of putting him to death; but because he deemed him unworthy of being a Roman soldier any more for the account that he had been taken alive by the enemy, he took away his arms, and ejected him out of the legion whereunto he had belonged, which, to one that had a sense of shame, was a penalty severer than death itself. In the day, the Romans drove the robbers out of the lower city, and set all on fire as far as Siloam. These soldiers were indeed glad to see the city destroyed. But they missed the plunder, because the auditors had carried off all their goods; for they were the unresented of the upper city; for they did not yet at all repent of the mischiefs they had done, but were insolent as if they had done well; for as they saw the city on fire, they appeared cheerful, and put on joyful countenances, in expectation, as they said, of death to end their miseries. Accordingly, as the people were now slain, the holy house was burnt down, and the city was on fire, there was nothing farther left for the enemy to do. Yet did not Josephus leave his soldiers any in this extremity, to beg of them to spare what was left of the city; he spoke largely to them about their barbarity and impiety, and gave them his advice in order to their escape, though he gained nothing therein. For he thought it rather to be laughed at by these, and as they could not think of surrendering themselves up, because of the oath they had taken, nor were strong enough to fight with the Romans any longer-configured, as being surrounded after upon all sides, and a kind of prisoners already, yet were they so accustomed to kill people, that they could not restrain their right hands from acting accordingly. So they dispersed themselves among the city, and laid the inhabitants in smoky bushes among their ruins, to catch those that attempted to desert to the Romans; accordingly many such deserters were caught by them, and were all slain; for these were too weak by reason of their want of food to fly away from them; so the dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Now every other sort of death was thought more tolerable than famine, insomuch, that though the Jews deserved of mercy, yet would they fly to the Romans to save themselves, even if their lives should fall among the murdigious rebels also. Now there was any place in the city that had no dead bodies in it, but what was entirely covered with those that were killed either by the famine or the sword, and all the rest of the dead bodies of such as had perished either by such sedition or by that 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 caverns underground; whither, if they could once fly, they did not expect to be searched out, but endeavored, that after the whole city should be destroyed, and the Romans gone away, they might come out again, and escape from them. This was no better than a dream of theirs, for they were not able to lie hid either from God or from the Romans. However, they depended on these underground subterranea, and set more places on fire than did the Romans themselves; and those that fled out of their houses thus set on fire, unto the ditches, they killed them without mercy and pillaged them also; and if they discovered food belonging to them, they set it upon it and swallowed it down, together with their blood also; nay, they

* t. c. Mount Florus.

† This innumerable multitude of Jews that were sold by the Romans, were an eminent completion of God's anathema upon them; if God had not restrained them with their obedience to his laws, they should be sold unto their enemies for bondage and bondage, Deut. xxvii. 8. So more especially the note on ch. xx. sect. 9. But one thing here is peculiarly remarkable, that Moses adds, "were now come to fight one with another about their plunder; and I cannot but think, that had not their destruction prevented it, their barbarity would have made them taste even of the dead bodies themselves."

CHAP. VIII.

Her Cæsar raised Banks round about the upper City, and when they were completed, gatonders that the Machines should be brought. He then possessed himself of the whole City.

1. Now when Cæsar perceived that the upper city was so steep that it could not possibly be taken without raising banks against it, he distributed the several parts of that work among the leading companies, and made it a matter of monthly Loom. [Ab.] Now the carriage of the materials was a difficult task, since all the trees, as I have already told you, that were about the city with the distance of a hundred furlongs, but their branches cut off already, in order than the former banks. The works that belonged to the four legions were executed on the west side of the city, over against the royal palaces; but the camp of the auxiliary troops, to the rest of the multitude that were with them, erected their banks at the Xystus, whence they reached to the bridge, and that tower of Simon which he had built as a citadel for himself against John, which they were at length to possess.

2. It was at this time that the commander of the Idumeans got together privately, and took counsel about surrendering up themselves to the Romans. Accordingly, they sent five men to the middle of the auxiliary troops, as being, accordingly, acquainted on all sides, and a kind of prisoners already, yet were they so accustomed to kill people, that they could not restrain their right hands from acting accordingly. So they dispersed themselves among the city, and laid the inhabitants in smoky bushes among their ruins, to catch those that attempted to desert to the Romans; accordingly many such deserters were caught by them, and were all slain; for these were too weak by reason of their want of food to fly away from them; so the dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Now every other sort of death was thought more tolerable than famine, insomuch, that though the Jews deserved of mercy, yet would they fly to the Romans to save themselves, even if their lives should fall among the murdigious rebels also. Now there was any place in the city that had no dead bodies in it, but what was entirely covered with those that were killed either by the famine or the sword, and all the rest of the dead bodies of such as had perished either by such sedition or by that 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 caverns underground; whither, if they could once fly, they did not expect to be searched out, but endeavored, that after the whole city should be destroyed, and the Romans gone away, they might come out again, and escape from them. This was no better than a dream of theirs, for they were not able to lie hid either from God or from the Romans. However, they depended on these underground subterranea, and set more places on fire than did the Romans themselves; and those that fled out of their houses thus set on fire, unto the ditches, they killed them without mercy and pillaged them also; and if they discovered food belonging to them, they set it upon it and swallowed it down, together with their blood also; nay, they

* t. c. Mount Florus.

† This innumerable multitude of Jews that were sold by the Romans, were an eminent completion of God's anathema upon them; if God had not restrained them with their obedience to his laws, they should be sold unto their enemies for bondage and bondage, Deut. xxvii. 8. So more especially the note on ch. xx. sect. 9. But one thing here is peculiarly remarkable, that Moses adds, "were now come to fight one with another about their plunder; and I cannot but think, that had not their destruction prevented it, their barbarity would have made them taste even of the dead bodies themselves."

CHAP. VIII.

Her Cæsar raised Banks round about the upper City, and when they were completed, gatonders that the Machines should be brought. He then possessed himself of the whole City.

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priests, the son of Thebatha, whose name was Jesus, upon his bearing security 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 reposited in the temple, came out of it, and delivered 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 more precious stones, and a great number of other precious vessels that belonged to their sacred worship. The treasurer of the temple also, whose name was Phasael, delivered to him for the same, the crowns and girdles of the priests, with a great quantity of purple and scarlet, which were there reposited for the use of the veil, as also a great deal of cinnamon and cassia, with a large quantity of other sweet spices, which used to be 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 grace and praise, as being such that 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 Gorpheus [Elul.] in eighty days, and the walls were so high that they could not shoot their machines against the wall. But for the seditious, some of them, as despairing of saving the city, retired from the wall to the citadel; others went into their vaults, though still a great many of them 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 cast down the gates, and made a breach in all, by going cheerfully about their work, while 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 pressure of the battering engines, almost at once, and without their own consent thrown down, and such a terror fell upon the tyrants, as was much greater than the occasion required; for before the enemy got over the breach, they were quite stunned, and at the same time thoroughly convinced that one might see these men, who had hitherto been so insolent and arrogant in their wicked practices, to be cast down, and to tremble, insomuch that it would pity one's heart to observe the change that was then in the face of those that a few days ago were so proud and arrogant, and indulgingly, they ran with great violence upon the Roman 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 formerly been faithful to them, had gone away, (as indeed they were fled hither and thither) the great distress they were in persuaded them to flee,) as also when those that came running before the rest told them that the western wall was entirely overthrown, while 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, and that upon their own face, and greatly lamented their own mad conduct; and their nerves were so terribly loosed, that they could not flee away. And here one may chiefly reflect on the power of God exercised upon the Jews, and the good fortune of the Romans; for these tyrants did now wholly deprive themselves of the security they had in their own power, and came down from those very towers of their own accord, wherein they could have never been taken by force, nor, indeed, by any other way than by famine. And thus did the Romans, when they had taken such great pains about weaker walls, get by good fortune what they could never have gotten by their engines: for of these three towers were too strong for all mechanical engines what soever, concerning which we have treated of before.

5. So they now left these towers of themselves, or rather they were ejected out of them by God himself, and followed the wall which was under Siloam, where they again recovered themselves out of the dread they were in for a while, and ran violently against that part of the Roman wall which lay on that side of the city, but their courage was too much depressed to make their attacks with sufficient force, and their power was now broken with fear and affliction, they were repulsed by the guards, and dispersing themselves at some distance, from them not the same for 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; and the soldiers found that the place was lighter than its beginning: for when they had gotten upon the last wall without any bloodshed, they could hardly believe what they found to be true; but seeing nobody to oppose them, they stood in doubt that any resistance could be made to what could mean. But when they went in numbers into the lanes of the city, with their swords drawn, they slew those whom they took by surprise without mercy, and set fire to the houses whither the Jews were fled, as they were, and laid waste a great many of the rest; and when they were come to the houses to plunder them, they found them in their entire families of dead men, and all the upper rooms full of dead bodies. Such was the fire as they were set by them, that is, of such as died by the famine; they then stood in a horror at this sight, and went out without touching any thing. But although they had this commiseration for such as were destroyed in that manner, yet they did give the fire of many of the houses to those that were still alive, but they ran every one 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 degree that the fire of many of the houses was quenched with these men's blood. And truly so it happened, that though the flames left off at the evening, yet did the fire greatly prevail in the night; and as all was burning, came that eighth day, with such gory [Elul.] upon Jerusalem, a city that had been liable to so many miseries during this siege, that, had it always enjoyed as much happiness from its first foundation, it would certainly have been the envy of the world. Nor did it from 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 Capitiva, and of those that perished, and concerning those that had escaped into the subterranean caverns, among whom were the tyrants Simon and John themselves.

§ 1. Now when Titus was come into this [upper] city, he admired not only other places of strength, but also the towers which the tyrants in their mad conduct had relinquished: for when he saw their solid altitude, and the largeness of their several stones, and the exactness of all the joins, as also how great was their breadth, and how extensive used in the public worship under Herod's temple, particularly the 圖s and candelabra, and also the golden and precious vessels that had been there. As also the remarkable notice of, as agreeing with the latter testimony of the Talmudists.

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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 expelled the Jews out of these fortifications; for what could the hands of men, 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 were accused by the tyrants and were left in the prisons. 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 he expected that some of them to take what could not otherwise have been taken by him.

3. And now, since his soldiers were already quite tired with killing men, and yet there appeared to be a multitude still remaining alive, Cæsar gave orders that they should kill none but those that were in arms, and opposed them, but should take the rest alive. But, together with those whom they had orders to slay, they slew those who had terrible wounds and those that were in their flourishing age, and who might be useful to them, they drove them together into the temple, and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women; over which Cæsar set one of his own friends, as he also knew, one of his own friends, which last was to determine every one's fate, according to his merits. So this Fronton slew all those that had been seditionists, and robbers, who had been impeached one by another; but later, when the door of the temple was open, those that were tallest and most beautiful, and reserved them for the triumphs; and as for the rest of the multitude that were above seventeen years old, he put them into bins, and sent them to the Egyptian mines. Thus a great number of them, as a present to them, that they might be destroyed upon the theatres, by the sword, and by the wild beasts; but those that were under seventeen years of age were sold for slaves. Now during the siege all things were distin-

[Annex: See the several predictions, that the Jews, if they be- come obstinate in their idolatry and wickedness, should be sent again, or said, into Egypt, for their punishment, Deut. xxxviii. 22; Jer. xxxvii. 7; Hos. viii. 18; Isa. 23; 25, 5; Ezek. xiv. 13.]

4. Now this vast multitude is indeed collected out of remote places, but the entire nation was now shut up by fate, as in a prison, and the Roman army encompassed the city when it was almost compassed with the multitude of those that therein perished, exceeded all the destructions that either men or God ever brought upon the world; for, to speak only of what was publicly known, the Romans slew some persons in the provinces, and others who were of the least even 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 good share of treasure was found in these cemeteries, and the heathen made usage thereof to get 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 themselves, and was even just and reasonable to justice. As for John, he wanted food together with his brethren, in those cemeteries, and begged that the Romans would now give him his right hand for security, which he had often desired, but belonged to the city itself; for they were come up from all the coun-

[Annex: The number of those who were carried captive by the Romans was collected to be of ninety seven thousand; as was the number of those that perished during the whole siege eleven hundred thousand, the greater part of whom were indeed of the same nation, with the citi-

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[Annex: To the number of the Jews that used to come up to the Passover, and eat of it at Jerusalem, see the note on B. c. xiv. sect. 3.]

[Annex: And be to men also, as was John condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And now the Romans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and burnt them down, and entirely demolished its walls.

[Annex: This number of a company for one parochial hush, betwixt ten and twenty, agree exactly with the number thirteen, at our Savour's last passover. As to the whole number of the Jews that used to come up to the Passover, and eat of it at Jerusalem, see the note on B. c. xiv. sect. 3.]

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BOOK VI.—CHAP. X.

That Solomon the City of Jerusalem had been four times taken formerly, and was at the time and time of its Desolation. A brief Account of its History.

§ 1. And thus was Jerusalem taken, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month Gorpæus, [Elo.] it had been taken five times before, though this was the eighth. The first time was under Titus, and he took it and destroyed it, and shak the king of Egypt, and after him Antiochus, and after him Pompey, and after him Sosias and Herod, took the city, but still preserved it; but before all these, the king of Babylon conquered it, and made it desolate, the thousands four hundred and sixty-eight years and six months after it was built. But he who first built it was a potent man among the Canaanites, and is in our tongue called [Malchisedek.] The Righteous King, for such he really was; on which account he was a splendid synagogue of the Jews at Antioch only, B. vii. ch. iii. sect. 2.

N. B. This is the proper place for such as have closely attended to the latter Books of the War, to pursue, and that with even greater attention, those distinct and plain predictions of Jesus of Nazareth, in the gospels thereupon relating, as compared with their exact compliances in Josephus's books on the history; upon which the whole observer, Annotis. in Matth. xxiv. 3, so small part of the evidence for the truth of the Christian religion does depend; and as I have already compared them together in my Literal Accomplishments of Scripture Prophecies. The reader is to observe further, that the true reason why I have so seldom taken notice of these predictions in the course of these notes, notwithstanding their being so very remarkable, and frequently so very obvious, is this, that I had entirely prevented myself in that treatise beforehand; to which therefore, I must here, once for all, seriously refer every inquisitive reader.

BOOK VII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT THREE YEARS.—FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS, TO THE SEDITION OF THE JEWS AT CYRUS.

CHAP. I.

How the entire City of Jerusalem was demolished, excepting three Tovers: and how Titus commended his Soldiers in a Speech made to them, and distributed Rewards to them, and it was distributed among many of them.

§ 1. Now as soon as the army had no more people to slay or to plunder, because there remained none to be the objects of their fury, (for they would not have spared any, had there remained any other such work to be done,) Caesar gave orders that they should now demolish the entire city and temple, but should leave as many of the towers standing as were of the greatest eminency, that is, Phasæus, 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, as were the towers also spared, in order to demonstrate to posterity what kind of city it was, and how well fortified, which the Roman valor had subdued; but for all the rest of the wall, it was so thoroughly laid even with the ground by those that dag it up to the 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 city otherwise of great magnificence, and of mighty fame among all mankind. 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 commission 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 principal commanders about him, and spoke so as to be heard by the whole army in the manner following. He had set between them and abundance of thanks for their good will which they had showed to him: he commended them for that ready obedience they had exhibited 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 their country's power, and had made it evident to all men, that neither the multitude of their enemies, nor the strength of their places, nor the largeness of their cities, nor the rash boldness and brutish rage of their antagonists, were sufficient at any time to get clear of the Roman valor, although some of them may have fortune in many respects on the 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 than when they entered it, when they entered in it; 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 advise,
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; for what could the hands of men, 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 prisons. 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 those, that were in arms, and opposed them, but should take the rest alive. But, together with those whom they had orders to slay, they slew the aged and infirm; but for those that were in their flourishing age, and who might be useful to them, they drove them together into the temple, and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women; over which Caesar set one of his freedmen, as also Fronto, one of his own friends, which last was to determine every one and all, as to his fate. So this Fronto slew all those that had been seditious, 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 triumvirs to be their messengers. Thus was the multitude that were above 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 destroyed upon the theatres, by the sword, and 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, in 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 any when it was given to them. The multitude also was so very great, that they were in want even of corn for their sustenance.

3. Now the number of those that were carried captive during this whole war was collected to be ninety seven thousand; as was the number of those who perished during the whole siege eleven hundred thousand, the greater part of whom were indeed of the same nation, with the citizens of Jerusalem, but not belonging to the city itself, for they were come up from all the country round about, and were sent upon a sudden shut up by an army, which had first occasioned so great a straining upon them, that they gave a presumpitious destruction upon them, and soon afterward destroyed them up on the city, that the city could not contain the number of them which was taken under Cestius who being dreading of informing Nero of the power of the city, who otherwise was disposed to condemn that nation, entrusted the high priests, if the thing were possible, to take the number of their whole multitude. So these high priests, upon the coming of that feast which is called the Passover, when they saw their sacrifices, from the ninth hour till the eleventh, but so that a company not less than ten belonged to every sacrifice (for it is not lawful for them to feast singly by themselves), and many of us are twenty in a company, found the number of sacrifices two hundred fifty-six thousand and five hundred, which, upon the allowance of no more than ten that feast together, amounts to two millions seven hundred thousand and two hundred persons that were pure and holy for as those to whom the leprosy, or the gout, or other human diseases belong, are not considered in sacrifices, (for it is not lawful for them to be partaker of this sacrifice; nor indeed for any unclean person, who come hither to worship.

4. Now this vast multitude is indeed collected out of remote places, but the entire number could now shut up by fate, as in a prison, and the Roman army encompassed the city when was crowded with inhabitants. Accordingly the multitude of those that therein perished, was all the world; for it was brought upon the world; for to what was publicly known, the Romans, and some of them, some they carried away others they made a search for under their mouthed courses, or such as are otherwise polluted, is not lawful for them to be partaker of this sacrifice; nor indeed for any unclean person, who come hither to worship.
CHAP. IV.

How Vespasian was received at Rome, as also how the Germans recollected from the Romans, but were subdued. That the Sarmatians over ran Syria, but were compelled to return to their own Country again.

§ 1. And now Titus Cæsar, upon the news that was brought him concerning his father, that his coming was much desired by the Italians and citizens, that Rome especially received him with great acclamations and splendor, betook himself to rejoicing and pleasures to a great degree, as now Macedonians, and afterward by the Romans, a governor of their own, who was exempt from the jurisdiction of the other civil governors. He was called sometimes a bare governor, sometimes a watchman, and [at Alexandria] a liberator, as Dr. Hudson takes notice on this place out of Fuller's Miscellanies. They had the like governor or governors allowed them at Babylon under their captivity there, as the history of Persians implies.
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 give them leave; yet he said, that he would immediately bestow rewards and dignities on those that had fought the most bravely, and with greater force, and had signified their conduct in the most glorious manner, and had made him the most famous by their able exploits; and that no one who had been willing to take more pains 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 he had had much rather reward the virtues of his fellow-soldiers than punish such as had offended.'

3. Hereupon Titus ordered those whose business it was to read the list of all that had performed great exploits in this war, upon which he called to him by their names, and commended them before the company, and rejoiced in them in the same manner as a man would have rejoiced in his own exploits. He also put on their heads crowns of laurel and garlands, and placed upon them the spoils of war, 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, began to plentifully distribute among them out of the spoils, and the other prey they had taken, silver, gold, and garments. So when they had all these honors bestowed on them, according to his own appointment made to them, he had wished of sorts of hay, and corn 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 towns; he then continued to be very reticent, but permitted the tenth legion to stay as a guard at Jerusalem, and did not send them away beyond Euphrates, where they had been before. And as he remembered that the two years were the proper time to leave the Jews, he sent to Vespasian, their general, he expelled them out of all Syria, for they had lain formerly at Raphana, and sent them away to a place called Mele- tino, near Ephraim; which is in the limits of Arabia Caesarea; he also thought fit that two of the legions should stay with him, till he should go to Egypt. He then went down with his army to that Cæsarea which lay by the seaside, and there laid up the rest of his spoils in great quantities, and gave order that the captives should be kept there; for the winter season hindered them from sailing into Italy.

CHAP. II.

How Titus exhibited all sorts of shows at Cæsa- rea Philippi. Concerning Simon the Tyrant, how he was taken, and reserved for the Tri-umph.

1. Now, at the same time that Titus Cæsar lay at the siege of Jerusalem, did Vespasian go on board a merchant ship, and sailed from Alexandria to Rhodes; whence he sailed away with ships with three rows of sails, as he touched at Cythera, and Ladas, that lay in his road, he was joyfully received by them all, and so passed over from Ionia into Greece; whence he set sail from Corcyra to the promontory of Iapyx, whence he tooled away, and by some signals from Titus, he marched from that Cæsarea which lay by the seaside, and came to that which is named Cæsare- rea Philippi, and said there a considerable time,

*This Tenentius Rufus, as Roland in part observes here, is the same person whom the Talmudists call Ter- manis, as being the author of the tractate Ter- manis, in the book of Ezech., xxvi. 4. Titus went not as a field, and made Jerusalem become as hopes, and the 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 mithritas forced to kill one another, as if they were their enemies. And here it was informed of the seizure of Simon, the son of Gioras, which was made after the manner fol- lowing: This Simon during the siege of Jerusalem, was found in the string of wild beasts, which was gotten within the walls, and being left 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 had been made to them, and he had much rather reward 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 not visible above ground. Now, so far as had been digged of old, they went to that cavern disturbance; but where they met with solid earth, they dug a mine under ground, and this, in hopes that they should be able to proceed so far as to rise from under ground in a safe place, and so by that means escape. But when they in order to make the experiment, they were disappointed of their hope; for the miners could make but small progress, and that with difficulty also; in- stead of which they better employed the time they had been consumed, by giving the measure, began to fail them. And now Simon, thinking he might be able to astonish and elude the Romans, put on a white frock, and buttoned upon him a purple cloak, and was in the upper part of the cavern, the temple had formerly been. At the first in- deed, those that saw him were greatly astonish- ed, and they stood still where they were; but afterward they came nearer to him, and asked him who he was? But when they could not tell them, but bade them call for their captain; and when they ran to call him, Tenenti-us Rufus, who was sent to command the army there, came to Simon, and learned of him the whole truth, and that he was the man that was taken, when he was. Thus did God bring this man to be punished for what bitter and savage tyranny he had exercised against his countrymen, by those that were his worst enemies; and this was the man that Cæsar sympathized with, when he sent a woman to him. But wilder actions do not escape the divine anger, nor in justice too weak to punish offenders, but in time over- takes those that transgress its laws, and inflicts its punishments upon the wicked in a more serious manner so much more severe, as they expected to escape it on account of their not being punished imme- diately. Simon was made sensible of this by falling under the indignation of the Romans. This of his out of the ground did also occasion the discovery of a great number of others of the sedition, at that time, who had hidden themselves under ground. But for Simon, he was brought to Cæsar in bonds, when he was come before him to the city, which was on account of the lady; who gave orders that he should be kept against that triumph which he was to celebrate at Rome upon this occasion.

CHAP. III.

How Titus, upon the Celebration of his Brother's and Father's Birthdays, had many of the Jews slain, and warning the danger of our war were in at Antioch, by means of the Transcation and imperty of one Antiochus, a Jew.

1. While Titus was at Cæsarea, he solemn- ized the birthday of his brother [Domitian] after mountains of the house as the high places of a forest, which was long before forested by the prophet Nebiach. This was quoted from him in the post-world of Cæsar, xxi. 18. The Jews, viii. 11.

freen from the solicitude 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 already come, as esteeming the very expectation they had of him to be his real presence, on account of the great desires they had to see him, and because the good with whom he was entirely free and unconstrained: for it was a desirable thing to the senate, who well remembered the calamities they had undergone in the late civil wars, to have a governor or who was adored with the gravity of old age, and with the highest skill in the actions of war, whose advancement would be, as they knew, for nothing else but for the preservation of those that are the city of Rome. And now it 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 relate persons whose securities were tranquility and prosperity; and for the soldiery, 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 a man of courage in our commanders, and they were very desirous to be freed from that great shame they had undergone by their means, and heartily to receive such a prince as might be a security and an ornament to them. And now it was to Vespassian, those that enjoyed any remarkable dignities could not have patience enough to stay in Rome, but made haste to meet him at a very great distance from it: say, indeed, none of the rest could endure the delays of seeing him, but did all present of the city in such crowds, and were so universally 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 met the emperors of its citizens; for those that stood within were fewer than those that went out. But as soon as the news was come that he was hard by, and those that had so much to do, their good humor he received every one that came to him, then it was that the whole multitude that had remained in the city, with their wives and children, came into the road and waited for him there; and it was pleased by those who made a great many sorts of acclamations on account of the joy they had to see him, and the pleasantness of his countenance, and styled him their benefactor and savior, and the only person who was worthy to be ruler of the city. And now the city was like a temple, full of garlands and sweet odors; nor was it easy for him to come to the royal palace, for the multitude of the 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 betake themselves to feasting, which feasts and drink offerings they celebrated by their tribes, and their families, and then their nation, till pleased by what they had seen that Vespassian, his sons, and all their posterity, might continue in the Roman government for a very long time; and that his dominion might be preserved from all opposition. And this was the most joyous and blissful of the days of Vespassian, and thence grew immediately into a state of great prosperity.

2. But before this time, and while Vespassian

was about Alexandria, and Titus was lying at the siege of Jerusalem, a great multitude of the Germans were in connection, and tended to rebellion; and as the Gauls in their neighborhood joined with them, they conspired together, and had thereby great hopes of success, and that they should free themselves from the dominion of the Romans. The news that induced them to this attempt for a revolt, and for beginning the war, were these: In the first place, the nature [of the people, which was desistate of just submission, and ready to the sentence

of their enemies; many of them, seeing upon small hopes, in the next place, the hatred they bore to those that were their governors, while their nation had never been conscious of subjection to any but to the Romans, by the people, being certain. Besides these motives, it was the opportunity that now offered itself, which above all the rest prevailed with them so to do; for when they saw the Roman government in a great internal disorder, as the news continued of its rulers, and understood that every part of the habitable earth under them was in an unsettled and tottering condition, they thought this was the best opportunity that could afford itself for themselves to make a beginning of their commerce that they desired, as was so ill. Classicus and also Vitellius, two of their commanders, puffed them up with such hopes. These had for a long time been openly desirous of such an innovation, and were induced to proceed by the librarii, or the reading of the declaration of their sentiments: the multitude was also ready, and when these men 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, Vespassian, as guided by divine Providence, sent letters to Petullius Cerealis, who had formerly had the command of Germany, whereby he declared him to have the dignity of consul, and commanded him to take the government of Britain; so he went whither he was ordered to go, and when he was informed of the revolt of the Germans, he fell upon the town, and destroyed it where he was gotten together, and put his army into battle array, and flew a great multitude of them in the fight, and forced them to leave off their madness, and to grow wiser; say, had he not fallen thus suddenly upon the rebels, he knew the event would however have been brought to punishment; for as soon as ever the news of their revolt was come to Rome, and Caesar Domitian was made acquainted with it, he made no delay even to the hour, but returned back; and indeed he was not yet over it, but undertook this weighty affair. He had a courageous mind from his father, and had made greater improvements than belonged to such an age: accordingly, he marched against the barbarians immediately; and upon their arrival, he sent all the affairs of Gaul in such good order, that it would not be easily put into disorder say more, he returned to Rome with honor and glory, as having performed such exploits as were almost equal to the fame of Vespasian, the victor of the Batavians.

3. At the very same time with the formentioned revolt of the Germans, did the bold attempt of the Scythians against the Romans occur; reasons unobvious that might occasion this great diversity; Domitian was one of Josephus's patrons, and when he was at Qaemar, it was his custom to forewarn the Romans, and had hardly begun those wicked practices which rendered him so infamous afterward; while Sestiones seems to have been a very considerable man in the eyes of the Romans, and marked them from them; as Domitian was certainly very lawd and cruel, and generally hated, when Sestiones wrote about him.  

1Civilis. Thesi.
for those Sicytians, who are called Sarmatians, being a very numerous people, transported themselves over the frozen river without any peril or being perceived: after which, by their violence and entirely unexpected assault, they slew a great many of the Romans that guarded the frontiers; and as the consul legate Fonteius Agrippa came to meet them, and fought courageously against them, he was slain by them. They then overran all the region that had been subject to him, tearing and rending everything that fell in their way. But when Vespasian was informed of what was done, he, because of his laziness, sent away Rubrius Gallus to punish these Sarmatians: by whose means many of them perished in the battles he fought against them, and that part which escaped fled with fear to their country. And after he had put an end to the war, he provided for the future security of the country also; for he placed more and more numerous garrisons in the place, till he made it altogether impossible for any enemy to pass over the river any more. And thus had he this war in Myria a sudden conclusion.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Sabotic River, which Titus saw as he was journeying through Syria; and how Vespasian composed such a celerity of Titus to Titus against the Jews, but were rejected by him; as also concerning Titus and Vespasian's Triumph.

1. Now Titus Caesar tarried some time at Berysta, as we told you before. He thence removed, and exhibited to such abundant show 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 deserved all the admiration of Antiochus, because of its celerity: it was of the middle between Arcea, belonging to Agrippa's kingdom, and Raphanae. It hath somewhat very peculiar in it; for when it runs, its current is strong and has plenty of water; after which its springs fail 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 undergone no change at all; it hath also been observed to keep this order perpetually and exactly: whence it is, that they call it the Sabotic River, that name being taken from the sacred seventh day among the Jews.

2. But when the people of Antioch were informed of the victory, they were so glad at it, that they could not keep within their walls, but hasted away to give him the meeting; nay, they proceeded as far as thirty furlongs, and more, with that intention. These were not the men only, but a multitude of women also with their children, did the same; and when they saw him coming up to them, they stood on both sides of the way, and stretched out their right hands saluting him, and making all sorts of acclamations to him. As soon as God had brought them in, they set up a great cry; and at length the Jews were in a great deal of terrible fear under the uncertainty they were in what his opinion was, and what he would do to them. For Titus, besides all the case of this war, but the more so, gave a great progress immediately to Zeugma, which lies upon the Euphrates, whither came to him messengers from Vologeses, king of Parthia, and brought him a crown of gold upon the victory he gained over the Jews, and sent the gold for the king's messengers, and then came back to Antioch. And when the senate and people of Antioch earnestly entreated him to come upon their theatre, where the whole multitude were assembled, and expected him, he complied with great humanity; but when they pressed him with much earnestness, and continually begged of him that he would eject the Jews out of their city, he gave them this very pertinent answer: How can this be, since that country of theirs whither the Jews must be obliged then to retire, is destroyed, and no place will receive them besides." Whereupon the people of Antioch, when they had failed of success in this their first request, made him a second; for they desired that he would order those tables of brass to be removed, on which the Jews' privileges were engraved. However, Titus would not grant that neither, but permitted the Jews of Antioch to continue to enjoy the very same privileges in that city which they had before, and then departed for Egypt; and as he came to Jerusalem in his progress, and compared the melancholy condition he saw it then in, with the ancient glory of it, he called to mind the greatness of its present ruins, as well as its ancient splendor, he could not but pity the destruction of the city, so far was he from boasting that so great and goodly a city that was once so illustrious should now be in this case: say, he frequently cursed those that had been the authors of their revolt, and had brought such a punishment upon the city; insomuch, that it appeared as if he publicly appeared that he did not grieve that such a calamity as this punishment of theirs amounted to, should be a demonstration of his courage. Yet was there no small quantity of the riches that had been in that city, still found among its ruins. A great part of them, however, but the greatest part was discovered by those who were captives, and so they carried it away; I mean the gold and silver and the rest of that most precious furniture which the Jews had, and which the owners had perished up under ground against the uncertain fortunes of war.

3. So Titus took the journey he intended into Egypt, and passed over the desert very suddenly, and came to Alexandria, and took up a resolution to go to Rome by sea. And here Titus was accompanied by two legions, he sent each of them again to the places whence they had before come, the fifth he sent to Myria, and the fifteenth to the land of Panonia: as for the captives, he delivered them to the hands of his sons, 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 be soon carried to 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 it did in the case of his father. But what made the most splendor of all was, when his father met him, and received him, but still the multitude of the citizens conceived the greatest joy when they saw them all three together; as they did at this time: nor were there many of them that did not wish to have but one triumph that should be common to both of them, on account of the glorious exploits they had performed, although the senate had decreed each of them a separate triumph by himself. So when news had been given beforehand of the day appointed for this more about it; only see D. Hudson's note. In Varras' Geography, I. 14, the reader will find a description of such periodical fountains and rivers, though none of their periods were that of just a week, as of old this appears to have been.
freed from the solicitude 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 already come, as esteeming the very expectation they had of him to be his real presence, on account of the great desires they had to see him, and the sage man's wish, that they may be before him was at that time, as if he were there, and more tireless and unconstrained: for it was a desir- able thing to the senate, who well remembered the calamities they had undergone in the late changes, and to have their governors, to receive a govern- or who was acquainted with them at an early age, and with the highest skill in the actions of war, whose advancement would be, as they knew, for nothing else but for the preservation of those had been suffered. Moreover, the people had been so harassed by their civil miseries, that they were still more earnest for his coming im- mediately, as supposing they should then be firmly delivered from their calamities, and be- lieving they should then recover their secure tranquility and prosperity; and for the soldiery, they had the principal regard to him, for they were chiefly apprised of his great exploits in war; and since they had experienced the want of such gods of courage in other commanders, they were very desirous to be freed from that great shame they had undergone by their means, and heartily to receive such a prince as might be a security and an ornament to them. And it is no wonder, that by Vesuvius and Vesalanus, those that enjoyed any remarkable dignities could not have patience enough to stay in Rome, but made haste to meet him at a very great distance from it: any, indeed, none of the rest could en- dure the delay of seeing him, and he passed over part of the city in such crowds, and were so universally 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 joy- fully saw the emperor, and the majesty of one of its chief consuls; for those that stood within were fewer than those that went out. But as soon as the news was come that he was hard by, and those that had met him at first related with what good humor he received every one that came to him, then it was that the whole multitude that had re- mained in the city, with their wives and children, came into the road and waited for him there; and all those that passed by him made all sorts of exclamations on account of the joy they had to see him, and the pleasantness of his coun- tenance, and styled him their benefactor and sa- vior, and the only person who was worthy to be ruler of the state. And now, when the city was as a temple, full of garlands and sweet odors; nor was it easy for him to come to the royal palace, for the multitude of the 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 multil- tude did also betake themselves to feasting; which feasts and drink offerings they celebrated by their tribes, and their families, and then their men met in great numbers. For it appeared to that Vesuvian, his sons, and all their posterity, might continue in the Roman government for a very long time, and that his dominion might be preserved from all opposition. And this was the manner of his sacrifice to the gods of the city, for the gods; and thence grew immediately into a state of great prosperity.

2. But before this time, and while Vespasian

was about Alexandria, and Titus was lying at the siege of Jerusalem, a great multitude of the Germans, in coalition, and tended to the destruction of the city, and raised great expectation of it, and made great preparations in advance of it. The Romans, for this attempt, designed to revolt, and to beginning- the war, were these: In the first place, the nature [of the people, which was destitute of just repre- sentatives, and ready to throw themselves rashly into an action.] They were well disposed to any kind of revolt, and next, the hatred they bore to those that were their governors, while their nation had never been conscious of subjection to any but to the Romans, and that, by compulsion only. To besides these motives, it was the opportunity that now offered itself, which above all the rest pre- vailed with them to do; for when they saw the Roman government in a great internal dis- order, by the continual changes of its rulers, and understood that every part of the habitable earth under them was in an unsettled and tottering condition, they thought this was the best oppor- tunity that could afford itself for themselves to be masters, and that the government of Germany was so ill. Classicus and also Vitellius, two of their commandors, paused them up with such hopes. These had for a long time been openly desirous of such an innovation, and were induced to act; they were aroused to a spirit of rebellion by the declaration of their sentiments: the multitude was also ready, and when these men 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 guided by divine Providence, sent letters to Petellius Cerealis, who had formerly had the command of Ger- many, whereby he declared him to have the digni- ty of the Germanic, and to give him the government of the whole Germanic people, and to give him the government of Britain; so he went whither he was ordered to go, and when 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 slew a great multitude of them in the fight, and forced them to leave off their madness, and to grow wiser; Nay, had he not fallen thus soon upon them, nor left them to proceed in their designs, they would however have been brought to punish- ment; for as soon as ever the news of their re- volt was come to Rome, and Caesar Domitian was made acquainted with it, he made no delay even of that, and, as soon as he had dealt with him, but undertook this weighty affair. He had a courageous mind from his father, and had made greater improvements than belonged to such an age: accordingly, he marched against the bar- barians immediately; whereupon their hearts fail- ed them at the very rumor of his approach, and they submitted themselves to him with fear, and thought it a happy thing that they were brought under their old yoke again without suffering any, but had to give up their freedom, and settled all the affairs of Gaul in such good order, that it would not be easily put into disorder any more, he returned to Rome with honor and glo- ry, as having performed such exploits as were almost incredible. But that things should not be better ordered and governed in his other provinces.

3. At the very same time with the foresque- tioned revolt of the Germans, did the bold at- tempt of the Scythians against the Romans occur; reasons unobvious that might occasion this great diversity; Domitian was one of Josephus's patrons, and when he was made king, he was expected to repay them for his kindness to him, and had hardly begun those wicked practices which mer- rited him so infamous afterward; while Sestineus seems to have been only a king and a little prince, and may remark his favor from him; as Domitian was certainly very low and cursed, and generally hated, when Sestineus wrote about him.

1. C. Civ. 42.
BOOK VII—CHAP. V.

For those Scythians, who are called Sarmatians, being a very numerous people, transported abroad, and expelled by the effects of the situation above being perceived: after which, by their violence and entirely unexpected assault, they slew a great many of the Romans that guarded the frontiers; and as the consul legate Fonteius Agrrippa came to meet them, and fought courageously against them, he was slain by them. They then overran all the region that had been subject to him, tearing and rending everything that fell in their way. But when Vespasian was informed of what had befallen, he moved with haste, and found the event as he had been pleased to forebode. He sent away Rubrius Gallus to punish these Sarmatians; by whose means many of them perished in the battles he fought against them, and that part which escaped flight with few left their country. So when this new event had put an end to the war, he provided for the future security of the country also; for he placed more and more numerous garrisons in the place, till he made it all other impossible for them to pass over the river any more. And thus had this war in Mysia a sudden conclusion.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Sabattic River, which Titus saw as he was journeying through Syria; and how he made use of the Gallican capture of Antioch as an occasion to Titus against the Jews, but were rejected by him; as 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 made his way to Antioch in Cappadocia. Where, by the inhabitants, he was received with the fairest salutations and honours; and after he had taken possession of the city, he made use of the captive Jews as public instances of the destruction of that nation. Then he sent away a river, as he went along, of such a nature as des- troyed all the towns and cities in the middle between Araeum, belonging to Agrrippa's kingdom, and Raphanae. It had somewhat very peculiar in it; for when it runs, its current is strong and has plenty of water, after which its stream falls 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 undergone no change at all; it had also been observed to keep this order perpetually and exactly: whence it is that they call it the Sabattic River, that name being taken from the sacred seventh day among the Jews.

2. But when the people of Antioch were in- formed of what was happening in this town, they were glad at it, that they could not keep within their walls, but hasted away to give him the meeting; nay, they proceeded as far as thirty furlongs, and more, with that intention. These were not the men only, but a multitude of women also with their children, did the same; and when they saw him coming up to them, they stood on both sides of the way, and stretched out their right hands saluting him, and making all sorts of acclamation to him, and saying, Bless thou with him. They also, among all the acclama- tions they made to him, besought him all the way they went, to eject the Jews out of their city; yet did not Titus at all yield to this petition, but proceeded on his journey. But now, when the news of these things had been heard, the Jews were in a great deal of terrible fear under the uncertainty they were in what his opinion was, and what he would do to them. For Titus Caesar, as he advanced, did not appear to have but one triumph that should be common to both of them, on account of the glorious exploits they had performed, although the senate had decreed but one, but Titus, as triumph by himself. So when notice had been given beforehand of the day appointed for this more about it; only see Dr. Heyden's note. In Varsa- ni's Geography, I. 17, the reader will find several in- stances of such periodical fountains and rivers, though none of their periods were that of just a week, as of old this appears to have been.

Vespasian, and his two sons, Titus and Domitian.
pompous solemnity to be made on account of their victories, not one of the immense multitude was left in the city, but every body went out so far as to gain only a station where they might stand, and left only such a passage as was necessary for them to get near the theatre. At that time, it was the emperor had rested the foregoing night. And as soon as ever it was day, Vespasian and Titus came out crowned with laurel, and clothed in the crimson and purple habiliments, which were proper to their family, and then went as far as Octavian's walks; for there it was that the senate, and the principal rulers, and those that had been recorded as of the equestrian order, met Titus just put up a speech, in which he declared his prayers Vespasian made a short speech to all the people, and then sent away the soldiers to a dinner prepared for them by the emperors. Then did he retire to that gate which was called the gate of victory because pomposity shows to all ways 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 set 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 above story, they deserve, and the magnificences of the all; such as a man could not easily think of, as performed, either by the labor of workmen, or the variety of riches, or the rarities of nature; for almost all such curiosities that ever get by piecemeal, were here heaped one upon 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, here to be seen had mighty quantities of silver, and gold, and ivory, contrived into all sorts of things, and did not appear as carried along pompous show only, but, as a man may say, running along like a river. Some parts were in stem, some in petals, some in little cup-like hangings, and so carried along; and others accurately represented to the life what was embroidered by the arts of the Babylonians. There were also precious stones that were transparent, some set in gold, and some in silver; and so on other officers; as the workmen pleased; and of these such a vast number were brought, that we could not but then learn how vainly we imagined any of them to be rarities. The images of the gods were also carried, being as well wonderful for their largeness, as made very artificially, and with great

6. See the representations of these Jewish vessels, as the two splendid brass ones, now at Rome, in Romani very curious book, de Spolia Triumphi, throughout. But what things are chiefly to be noted are these: ... (1) That the candlesticks here carried in this triumph was not thoroughly like that which was used in the temple, which appears in the number of the sixtus lamps and flowers in that on the triumphal arch not 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 ornaments. And the men also, who brought every one of these above, were greatly affected; and all the people viewed, all over interwoven with gold; those that were chosen for carrying these pompous shows having also about them such magnificent ornaments as those, with extraordinary and curious. Besides these, one might see that even the greatest number of the captives was not undressed, while the variety that was in their garments, and their fine texture, concealed from the sight the large number of them. 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 magnitude: 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 one both pleasure and surprise; for upon many of them were laid carpet of gold. What was wrought gold and ivory fastened about them all; and many resemblances of the war, and those in several ways, and variety of contrivances affording a most lively portraiture of itself—Fire also went on, and the rest of the multitude and the walls of most populous cities upon the tops of hills seized on, and an army pouring itself within the walls; as also every place full of slaughter, and supplications of the enemies, when they were taken; and on the very side of their way of opposition. Fire also sent on us temples was here represented, and houses overthrown, and falling upon their owners; rivers also, after they came out of a large and melancholy desert, ran down, not into a land cultivated, nor as drink for men, or for cattle, but through a land still on fire upon every side; for the Jews related that such a thing they had undergone during this war. Now the representation of these things was so magnificently and lively in the construction of the things, that it exhibited what had been done so much as not to see it, as if they had been there really present. On the top of every one of the pageants was a figure representing the city that was taken, and the manner wherein it was taken. Moreover, there followed those pageants a great number of ships; and for the other spoils also, 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 wondrously contrived. 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 position, and had every one a socket made of brass; and the seven lamps in each other one; and the 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 the law of the Jews. After these spoils passed by a great many more carrying the images of victory, whose structure was entirely either of

well agreeing with Moses's description, Exod. xxv. 31. (2.) The smallness of the branches in Josephus, com- pared with the thickness of those on that arch. (3.) That the Law or Pentateuch does not appear on that arch at all, though Josephus, an eyewitness, assures as it was carried in this procession. All which things deserve the consideration of the inquisitive reader.
BOOK VII—CHAP. VI.

6. Now the last part of this pompous show was at the baths of Juba the Aethiopian, which when they were come, they stood still; for it was the Romans' ancient custom to stay till someone brought the news, that the general of the enemy was slain. This general was Simon, the son of Cotys, who perished in a narrow and triumphant among the captives: a rope 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 hue of the Halberts and other implements, that led the captors, condemned to die, should be slain there. Accordingly, when it was related that there was an end of him, and all the people had set out a shout for joy, they then began to offer those sacrifices which in Herod's time, together with the garrison, which is in such solemnities; which when they had 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 feasts given to them; and certain feasts were kept at home; for this was a festival day to the city 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 people to express their hopes of future prosperity and happiness.

7. After these triumphs were over, and after the affairs of the Romans were settled on the severest foundations, Vespasian resolved to build a temple of the god, which he had maintained all that time and in so glorious a manner, as was beyond all human expectation and opinion: for he having now by Providence a vast quantity of wealth, besides the many spoils he had gained by his exploits, he had this temple adorned with pictures and statues; for in this temple was collected and deposited all such rarities as men aforetime used to wander all over the habitable world to see, when they had leisure to see them after one another: he also laid up therein those golden 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 Robe of the holy place, in the royal palace itself, and keep them there.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Machærus, and how Lucilius Basus took the Citâidel, and other Places.

1. Now Lucilius Basus was sent as legate into Judæa, and there he received the army from Cæsarea Vitalianus, and took that citadel which was called Machærus, and laid siege to 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 Machærus. For this citadel should be demolished, lest it might be a means 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, as well as delay 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 is as it were ditched about with such valleys, on all sides, and to such a depth, that the eye cannot reach its bottom; and such as are not easily to be passed over, and even such as it is impossible to fill up with earth. For that valley which cuts it on the west, extends as much as three leagues, and did not end till it came to the lake Asphaltites; on the same side it was also that Machærus had the tallest top of its hill elevated above the rest. But then for the valleys that lay on the north and south sides, although they were not so deep, yet it is in like manner an impracticable thing 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 man can walk, that lies over against Machærus, with which it is bounded.

2. Now when Alexander Jannæus, the king of the Jews, observed the nature of this place, he was the first who built a citadel here, which afterward he fortified, that it might be a convenient place on that account, and had a prospect towards that country; he therefore surrounded a large space of ground with walls and towers, and built a city there, out of which city there rose up a tower on a mountain, as it were on the top of the mountain; say 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 such a magnificent manner, wherein were large and beautiful edifices. He also made a great many reservoirs for the reception of water, that there might be plenty of it for all uses: he also found the most properest places that were afforded him there. 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 were made by the hands of men. Moreover, he put a large quantity of darts and other machines of war into it, and contrived to get every thing 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 nowyward inferior to any tree whatsoever, neither in height nor fullness: and the report is, that it had lasted ever since 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. This rue still in that valley which encompasseth the city on the north side, there is a certain place called Barasa, which produces a root of the same name with itself; its color is like that of fritters, and towards the evening it emits a certain scent like lightning; it is not easily taken by such as would do it, but recedes from their hands, nor will yield itself to be taken quietly, until either the urine of a woman, or the meagre parts of a butcher, be poured upon it. But then it is certain death to those that touch it, unless any one take and hang the root itself down from his hand, and so carry it away. It may also be taken another way, without danger, which is this: They dig a round hole in the hidden part of the root be very small; they

8 Sponsheim observes here, that in Græcia Major and Sicily they had rue prodigiously great and durable, like this rue at Machærus.

9 This strange account of the place and root Barasa seems to have been taken from the magicians, and the root to have been made use of in the days of Josephus in that superstitious way of casting out demons supposed by him to have been derived from king Solomon, of which we have already heard a great deal; see B. vili. ch. ii. sect. 5. We also may hence learn the true notion Josephus had of demons and demoniacs, exactly like that of the Jews and Christians in the New Testament and the first four centuries. See Ambr. B. vi. ch. vii. sect. 3; B. xxii. ch. ii. sect. 3.
WARS OF THE JEWS.

Then tie a dog to it, and when the dog tries hard to follow him that fed him, this sport is easily played off; but the dog dies immediately, as if it were instead of the man that would take the plant away; nor after this need any one be afraid of taking it into their hands. Yet after all this pain in getting the keys, it is only removing the account of one man by another, that if it be only brought to sick persons, it quickly drives away those called demons, which are no other than the spirits of the wicked, that enter into men that are alive, and possess them, unless they can obtain some help against them. Here are also fountains of hot water, that flow out of this place, which have a very different taste from the other; for some of them are bitter, and others of them are plainly sweet water, others are the effusions of cold waters, and this not only in the places that lie lower, and have their fountains near one another, but what is still more wonderful, here is to be seen a certain cave hard by, whose cavity is not deep, nor broad for its own sake that is prominent: above this rock there stand up two [hills or] cisterns, 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 hot; which waters, when they are mingled together, compose a most pleasant bath: they are medicinal, indeed, for other maladies, but especially good for strengthening the nerves. This place has in it also mines of sulphur.

4. Now when Bassus had taken a full view of this place, he 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 caught in this place, they separated themselves from the strangers that were with them, and those strangers, 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 as a provision for their safety. They also supposed they might obtain their pardon, in case they should [at last] surrender the citadel. However, they were willing to make trial in the first place, whether the hopes they had of avoiding a siege, and taking any thing with intention they made sallies every day, and fought with those that met them, in which conflicts there were many of them slain, as they therein slew many of the Romans. But still it was the opinion of the severer party, or those who chiefly gained both sides their victories; these were gained by the Jews, when they fell upon the Romans as they were off their guard; but by the Romans, when upon the others' sallies against the banks they forewore their coats, and were upon their guard when they received them. But the conclusion of this siege did not depend upon these bickerings; but a certain surprising accident, relating to what was done in this siege, forced to be the tender of the city. There was a certain young man among the besieged, of great boldness, and very active of his hand; his name was Eleazar. He greatly signified himself in these sallies, and encouraged the Jews to go out in great numbers, in order to hinder the raising of the banks, and did the Romans a vast deal of mischief when they came to fighting; he so managed matters, that those who sallied out met with him valiantly, and returned by without danger, and this by still bringing up the rear himself. Now it happened that on a certain time, when the fight was over, and both sides were parted, and retired home, he, in way of conducting the enemy and this being that none of them would begin the fight again at that time, stood without the gates, and talked with those that were upon the wall, and his mind was wholly intent upon what they said. Now a certain person, before the Roman camp, whose name was Rufus, by birth a man of a weak constitution, was attacked one day suddenly, when nobody expected such a thing, and carried him off, with his armor itself; while in the mean time those that saw it from the camp did not believe such an ammunition, that Rufus prevented their assistance, and carrieată Lazzezor to the Roman camp. So the general of the Romans ordered that he should be taken naked, set before the city to be seen, and that none should henceforth give him any help. Upon this sad accident that befell the younger man, the Jews were terribly confounded, and the city with one voice sorely lamented him, and the mourning proved greater than could well be supposed among so many virtuous persons. But as Bessus perceived that, he began to think of using some stratagem against the enemy, and was desirous to aggravate their grief, in order to prevail with them to surrender the city for the preservation of that man. Now did he fail of his former artifice, and commanded them to set up a cross, as if he were just going to hang Eleazar upon it immediately; the sight of this occasioned a sore grief among those that were there in the city, and they groaned and cried piteously, and cried out, the other bear to see him thus destroyed. Whereas Eleazar besought them not to disregard him, now he was going to suffer a most miserable death, but desired them to save themselves by yielding to the Roman power, and Roman power was so humane, since all other people were now conquered by them. These men were greatly moved with what he said, there being also many within the city that desired for him, because he was of an eminent and very numerous family; so they now yielded to their passion of commiseration, contrary to their usual custom. Accordingly they sent out immediately certain messengers, and those that were of the command of the citadel to them, and desired that they might be permitted to go away and take Eleazar along with them. Then did the Romans send their general accept of these terms, while the multitude of strangers that were in the lowest part of the city, hearing of the agreement that was made by the Jews for themselves alone, were resolved to fly away privately in the night-time; but as soon as they had opened their gates, those within shut them up, and did not suffer any of them to go out of fear, lest an occasion should be taken against them upon their escape, is uncertain. The most of them were therefore killed, or they were cut off prevented the enemy, and got away, and fled for it; but for those men that were caught within they were slain, to the number of one thousand seven hundred, as were the women and children mingled with them, as Bessus thought, but this perform the covenant he had made with those that had surrendered the citadel, he let them go and restored Eleazar to them.

5. When Bessus had settled these affairs, he moved against the city of Jarden, as it is called: for he had heard that a great many of those that had fled from Jerusalem and Macherus formerly, were there gotten together. When 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, that such of the Jews as had boldness enough to try to break through, might have so many horsemen on both sides of them, that they never could break through, 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 service for themselves, and greatly exposing themselves in a battle, since they might perhaps thereby escape. So they made a general attack and with a great shout fell upon those that sur-
rundered them, who received them with great courage; and while the one side fought des- perately, the other expected it would be over before that was prolonged on that account. But the event of the battle did not answer the expectation of the assailants; for so it happened that no more than twelve fell on the Roman side, with a few that were wounded; but not one of the Jews was either killed or captured out of this battle, but they were all killed, being in the whole not fewer in number than three thousand, together with Judas the son of Jairus, their general, concerning whom we have before mentioned that he had got a certain band at the siege of Jerusalem, and by going down into a certain vault under ground, had privately made his escape.

Josephus says that was Caesar sent a letter to Bases, and to Liberius Maximus, who was the procurator [of Juden], and gave orders that all Judea should be exposed to sale: for he did act not any city there, but reserved the country, or himself. Nor hear, 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 threescore furlongs. He also ordered that the guards of the day should always remain over them, and enjoined every one of them to bring two drachmes every year into the capital, as they used to pay the same to 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 Mischiefs 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: Cesennius Petus, who was president of Syria at this time, whether it were done out of regard to this king, or himself. Nor hear, 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 threescore furlongs. He also ordered that the guards of the day should always remain over them, and enjoined every one of them to bring two drachmes every year into the capital, as they used to pay the same to the temple at Jerusalem. And this was the state of the Jewish affairs at this time.

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3. Now when Antiochus was come to Tarresus in Cilicia, Petus ordered a centurion to go by night to Tarus, and send him a message to Rhus. But 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 between them, than to preserve an inexpressible honour of himself, and his centurion. 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 Ephiphanes, who before was in great fear for his father, was informed of this, their minds were freed from all that great and almost incurable concern they had been vexed with. Therefore, when this would be reconciled to them, upon the intercessions of Vologes, for although he lived in plenty, he knew not how to bear living out of the Roman empire. So Caesar gave him leave, after an obliing may, and he came to Rome; and as his father came quickly to him from Lacedemon, he had all sorts of respect paid him there, and there he remained.
4. Now there was a nation of the Alans, which we have formerly mentioned somewhere, as being Scythians, and inhabiting at the lake Moctis. This nation about this time laid a design of falling upon Media and the parts beyond it, in order to plunder them; with which intention they entered into alliance with the king of Hircania; for he was a son of the master of that passage which king Alexander [the Great] shut up with iron gates. The king gave them leave to come through them: so they came in great multitudes, and fell upon the Medes, and plundered, and took the cattle; which they found full of people, and replenished with abundance of cattle, while nobody durst make any resistance against them; for Pocorus, the king of the country, had fled away for fear, into places where they could not easily come at him, and had yielded up every thing he had to them, and had only saved his wife and his concubines 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 Armenia, laying all waste before them. But the latter was king of the 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 him, unless he had immediately accorded 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 other prey they had gotten 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 Silva betook himself to form the Siege of that Citadel. Eleanor's Speeches to the besieged.

1. When Bassus was dead in Judea, Flavius Silva succeeded him as procurator there: when he saw that all the rest of the country was subdued in this war, and that there was but only one strong bold that was still in rebellion, he got all his army together that lay in different places, and marched towards the opposition against it. 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 descendent from the Hebrews, and had persuaded abundance of the Jews, as we have formerly related, not to submit to the taxation when Cyrenius was sent into Judea to make one; for then it was that the Sicarii got together against those that were willing to submit to the Romans, and treated them in all respects as if they had been their enemies, both by plundering them of what they had, by driving away their cattle, and by setting fire to their houses; for they said, that they differed not at all from the Romans, the barbarians, so covetous in manner, that freedom which the Jews thought worthy to be contend for to the utmost, and by owning that they preferred slavery under the Romans before such a contention. Now, this was in reality no better than a pretence, and a cloak for the barbarity which was made use of by them; and to color over their own avarice, which they afterward made evident by their own actions; for those that were partners with them in their contention, joined also with them in the war against the Romans, and went farther lengths with them in their impudent undertakings against them; and when they were again convicted of dissembling in such their pretense, they still more abused those that justly reproached them for their wickedness. And, indeed, that was a time most fertile in all manner of wicked practices, insomuch that no kind of evil deeds were then left undone; nor could one so much as devise any bad thing that was new, so deeply were they all infected, and strove with one another in their single capacity, and in their communities, who should run the greatest danger, and undertake the greatest actions towards their neighbors, the men of power oppressing the multitude, and the multitude earnestly laboring to destroy the men of power. The one part were destros of tyrannising, and the other wished to be at the head of all the rest, and others, and of plundering such as were richer than themselves. They were the Sicarii who first began these transgressions, and first became barbarous towards those allied to them, and left no words of repentence, and no sentence of expiation untired, in order to destroy those whom their contrivances affected. Yet did John demonstrate by his actions that these Sicarii were more moderate than he was himself, for he not only slew all such as gave him good counsel to do what was right, but treated them worst of all, as the most bitter enemies that he had among all the citizens; nay, he filled his entire country with fear; and to save his life, he had not only fled to Syria, as a man who was already hardened sufficiently in his impiety towards God would naturally do; for the food was unlawful that was set upon his table, and he rejected those purifications that the law commanded. He has been no longer a wonder if he, who was so mad in his impiety towards God, did not observe any rules of gentleness and common affection towards men. Again, therefore, what mischief he did, among them, Simon the son of Judas did not do? or what kind of abuses did he abstain from as to those very freemen who had set him up for a tyrant? What friendship or kindred were there that did not make him more bold in his sin, or that did not make men for the doing of mischief to strangers only as a work beneath their courage, but thought their barbarity towards their nearest relations would be a glorious demonstration thereof. The Idumeans also strove with these men, who should be guilty of the greatest madness; for they [all] vext violece they were, cut the throats of the high priests, that so no part of a religious regard to God might be had a place; they proceeded to destroy utterly the least remains of a profession, and introduced the most complete scene of iniquity in all instances that were practicable, under which scene, that sort of people that were intrusted with the most sacred places, were impudently applied to the meanest; 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 although 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 mischief that they could do to the innocent was no more than they could do to the subjects 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. For 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
joining, he presently gained it, and put garrison
inside 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
name in cany on the several parts of it: he also
pitched his camp in such an agreeable place 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,
whereby there was no danger of the besiegers
having plenty of provisions: for it was not only food
that was to be brought from a great distance [to
the arry,] and this with a great deal of pains to those
Jews who were appointed for that purpose, but
water was a-care of, and very difficult to get, as
cause the place afforded no fountain that was
near it. When therefore Silvà 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
wood and bushes up to the very top, so 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
served for a passage for ascent, though not
without difficulty. Not only there was a
passage that lead to it, one is that from the lake Asphal-
titis, towards the sunrising, and another on the
west, where the ascent is easier: the one of these
was covered with the leaves of the tree that
animal in its narrowness and its perpetual
windings; for it is broken off at the prominent precipes of the rock, and returns frequently
into itself, and lengthening again by little and
little, hath made it so narrow that for a very small
pace he that would walk along it must first go on one
and then on the other: there is also nothing
but destruction, in case your feet slip; for on
each side there is a vastly deep chasm and pre-
cipice. There is not upon the entire rock any
other 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-
thing than a vast tongue of rock, called Mount
Masada. Upon this top of the hill Jonathan
the high priest first of all built a fortress, and
called it Masada; after which the rebuilding of this
place was taken up, and did conceal itself from
the eyes of the enemy, and was of great degree:
he also built a wall round about the entire top of the
hill, seven furlongs long: it was composed of white stone; its height was
twelve, and its breadth eight cubits; there were about it, placed upon the wall, eight gates:
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 fat
soil, and better suited than any valley for agri-
culture, that such as committed themselves to
this fortress for their preservation, might not
even there be quite destitute of food, in case they
should ever be in want of it from abroad. More-
evertheless, he also put corners towers; sixty cubits high.
The furniture also of the edifices of the
cloisters, and of the baths, was of great variety,
and very costly; and these buildings were sup-
sported by pillars of single stones on every side; it
was also so that the doors of the edifices was
paved with stones of several colors. He also
had cut many and great pits, as reservoirs for
water, out of the rocks, at every one of the
places that were inhabited, both above and round
about the place, and before the place; and
by this confidence he endeavored to have water
for several uses, as if there had been no foun-
tajas there. Here was also a road dug from the
palace, and leading to the very top of the moun-
tain, which yet could not be seen by such as
were without [the walls:] nor, indeed, could ene-
emies easily make their way to the road on the east side, as we have already
noticed, could not be walked upon by reason of its
nature: and for the western road, he built a
market place of large tower, that had no
distance from the top of the hill than a thousand
cubits; which tower could not possibly be pass-
ed by, nor could it be easily taken; nor, indeed,
could those that walked along it, without any
tear, such was the lightness of their bodies, get to
the end of it; and after such a manner was this cita-
del 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 for-
tress, it was still more wonderful, on account
its splendor and long continuance; for here was
laid up corn in great quantities, and such as
would subsist men for a long time; here was
wine and oil in abundance, with all kinds of pulse
and dates baked up together: Persia had supplied
for it, and the king had given an order for the
帅 found where, and he and his Sicaarii got
possession of the fortress by treachery. These
fruits were also fresh and full ripe, and no way inferior to any that was lain in, ally, in which
there were little short of a hundred viæ* found
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 lying under the earth, they were very
all that while; nor should we be mistaken, 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 terrane and mad-
ders. Thus also was there a large amount of all sorts of weapons of
war, which had been treasured up by that king,
and were sufficient for ten thousand men; there
was cast iron, and brass, and tin, which show that
he had taken much pains to have his forces here
ready for the greatest occasions; for the report
goes how Herod thus prepared this fortress on
his own account, as a refuge against two kinds of
danger, the one for fear of the multitude of the
Jews, lest they should depose him and restore
their former kings to the government; the other
danger was greater and more terrible, which
arose from Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, who did
have the intention, but which, as we have said,
tony, and desired him to cut off Herod, and en-
treated him to bestow the kingdom of Judea
upon her. And certainly it is a great wonder
that Antony did never comply with her com-
mands in this point, as he was so miserably en-
slaved to his passion for her; nor should any
one have been surprised if she had been gratified
in such her request. So the fear of these dan-
gers made Herod rebuild Masada, and thereby
leave it for a finishing stroke of the Romans in
this Jewish war.

5. Since therefore the Roman commander Sla-
va had now built a wall on the outside, round
about this whole place, as we have said,
and had thereby made a most accurate provision to prevent any one of the besieged running away,
bekind future the siege himself, though he found
but one single place that would admit of the
men to run off; and he also found cured the road that led to the palace, and to
the top of the hill, from the west, there was a certain
eyuency of the rock, very broad and very pro-
minent, but three hundred cubits beneath the
highest parts of Masada; it was all the White
Monitory. Accordingly he got upon that part of
the rock, and ordered the army to bring earth;
and when they fell to that work with alacrity,
and abundance of them together, the bank was raised, and became solid for two hundred cubits in height. Yet was not this bank thought sufficiently high for the use of the engines that were to be set upon it; but still another elevated work of great stones compacted together was raised upon that bank; this was fifty cubits, both in breadth and height. The other machines that were now got ready, were like to those that had been taken from the Jews by Titus, and afterward by Titus, for sieges. There was also a tower made of the height of sixty cubits, and over piled with iron, out of which the Romans threw their shot and engines from. 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 Silva ordered that great battering-ram which he had made to be brought thither, and to be driven against the wall, and to make frequent batteries against it, which, with some difficulty, broke down a part of the wall and quite overthrew it. However, the Sicarii made haste, and presently built a wall of the same manner and as sound as the other, and made it as strong and impenetrable as the wall of the tower. Now, that the earth might not fall away upon the elevation of this bank to a greater height, they fastened other beams upon those beams, and thereby bound those beams together that lay lengthways. This work of theirs was like a real edifice; and when the machines were applied, the blows were weakened by its yielding, and as the beams, which the foresaw were shaken closer together, the pile by that means became firmer than before. When Silva saw this, he thought it best to endeavor the taking of this wall by setting fire to it: so he gave order that the soldiers should wage a fire upon it, and so 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 to a mighty flame. Now at the very beginning of the new wind, which proved terrible to the Romans; for, by bringing the flame downward, it drove it upon them, and they were almost in despair of success, as fearing the things that would be burnt: but after this, on a sudden, the wise men sent that sea of fire into the south, as if it were done by Divine Providence, and blew strongly the contrary way, and carried the flame, and drove it against the wall, which was now on fire through its entire thickness. So the Romans, having now assistance from God, returned to their camp with joy, and resolved to attack their enemies the very next day; on which occasion they set their watch more carefully; but any of the others should let us away from them without being discovered.

6. However, neither did Eleazar once think of flying away, nor would be permit any one else to do so; but when he saw their wall burned down, and the fire spread on every side, and could drive away no farther way of escaping, or room for their farther courage, and setting before their eyes what the Romans would do to them, their children, and their wives, if they got them into their power, he counselled them to and all. Now, as he judged this to be the best thing they could do in their present circumstances, he gathered the most courageous of his companions together, and encouraged them to take that course by a speech which he made to them in a manner following: "Since we, long ago, my generous friends, resolved never to be servants to the Romans, nor to any other than to God himself, who alone is the true and just Lord of mankind, the time is now come that we have the power to fight against them, and after- ward by Titus, for sieges. There was also a tower made of the height of sixty cubits, and over piled with iron, out of which the Romans threw their shot and engines from. 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 Silva ordered that great battering-ram which he had made to be brought thither, and to be driven against the wall, and to make frequent batteries against it, which, with some difficulty, broke down a part of the wall and quite overthrew it. However, the Sicarii made haste, and presently built a wall of the same manner and as sound as the other, and made it as strong and impenetrable as the wall of the tower. Now, that the earth might not fall away upon the elevation of this bank to a greater height, they fastened other beams upon those beams, and thereby bound those beams together that lay lengthways. This work of theirs was like a real edifice; and when the machines were applied, the blows were weakened by its yielding, and as the beams, which the foresaw were shaken closer together, the pile by that means became firmer than before. When Silva saw this, he thought it best to endeavor the taking of this wall by setting fire to it: so he gave order that the soldiers should wage a fire upon it, and so 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 to a mighty flame. Now at the very beginning of the new wind, which proved terrible to the Romans; for, by bringing the flame downward, it drove it upon them, and they were almost in despair of success, as fearing the things that would be burnt: but after this, on a sudden, the wise men sent that sea of fire into the south, as if it were done by Divine Providence, and blew strongly the contrary way, and carried the flame, and drove it against the wall, which was now on fire through its entire thickness. So the Romans, having now assistance from God, returned to their camp with joy, and resolved to attack their enemies the very next day; on which occasion they set their watch more carefully; but any of the others should let us away from them without being discovered.

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would be a great grief to the Romans, that they shall not be able to seize upon our bodiés, and shall fail of our wealth also: and let us spare nothing but our provision for them; for they tell us testimonial when we are dead, that we were not subdued for want of necessaries, but that, according to our original resolution, we have preference to death before slavery.

7. This Eleazar besought them. Yet did not the opinions of all the auditors acquiesce therein: but although some of them were very zealous to put his advice in practice, and were anxious to provide for their security, they thought death to be a good thing, yet had those that were most effeminate a commiseration for their wives and families; and when these men were especially moved by the prospect of their own death, and of the taking away of another, and by the tears that were in their eyes, declared their dissent from his opinion. When Eleazar saw these people in such fear, and that their souls were deceived at so prodigious a proposal, he was afraid lest perhaps these effeminate persons should by their lamentations and tears enfeeble those that heard what he had said courageously; so he did not leave off exhorting them, but stirred himself up, and recollecting proper rules of doctrine for their case, determined to speak more briskly and fully to them, and that concerning the immortality of the soul. So he made a lamentable groan, and fixing his eyes intently on those that wept, he spoke thus:

"My countrymen and fellow-citizens, why do you put any trust in death, and supinely undergo the time of life and look upon it as a necessary servitude, and make haste to let their souls loose from their bodies? nay, when no misfortune presses them to it, nor drives them out of themselves, and cause such as these, men and women, mortality, that they tell other men beforehand that they are about to depart; and nobody hinderers them, but every one thinks them happy men, and gives them letters to be carried to their familiar friends [that are dead]; so firmly and certainly do they believe that souls converse with one another in the [other world.] So when these men have heard all such commands that were to be given them, they deliver their body to the fire, and make separation from the body in the greatest purity, they die in the midst of hymns of commendation made to them; for their dearest friends conduct them to their death more readily than do any of the rest of mankind conduct their friends when they are going a very long journey, who at the same time weep on their own account, but look upon the others as happy persons, as so soon to be made partners of the immortal order of beings. Are we wise, or not? Are we in lower notions than the Indians? and by our own cowardice to lay a base reproach upon the laws of our country, which are so much desired and imitated by all mankind? But put the case that once a God had made war on us, and that war we had been already made upon, and you say, and taught that life is the greatest good which men are capable of, and that death is a calamity; however, the circumstances we are now in ought to be as inducement to us to bear such calamity courageously, since it is by the will of God, and by necessity, that we are to die; for it now appears that God hath made such a decree against the whole Jewish nation, that we are to be deprived of this life which he knew we would not make a due use of. For do we not use the occasion of our present condition to yourselves, nor think the Romans are the true occasion that this war we have had with them is become so destructive to us all; the things that have come to pass by the power, but the powerful cause hath intervened, and made us afford them an occasion of their appearing to be conquerors over us. What Roman weapons, I pray you, were those, by which you Jews of Jerusalem were slain? On the contrary, when they were no way disposed to rebel, but were all the while keeping their seventh day festival, and did not suffer so much as to lift up their hands against the citizens, of Jerusalem, yet did they make war upon them in great crowds, and cut their throats, and the throats of their wives and children, and this without any regard to the Romans themselves; who never took us for their enemies till then. Wherefore, you see how little our good-will and fidelity to them profited us, while they were also by their alliance to him; they then go everywhere, and foretell many 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 alive, and yet to envy it to ourselves where it will be eternal? We, therefore, who have been brought up in a discipline of our own, ought to become fearful of nothing, but ready to die. Yet, if we do stand in need of foreigners to support us in this matter, let us regard those Indians who profess the exercise of the sacred Pilots; by their godly advice, and looking upon the time of life and look upon it as a necessary servitude, and make haste to let their souls loose from their bodies: nay, when no misfortune presses them to it, nor drives them out of themselves, and cause such as these, men and women, mortality, that they tell other men beforehand that they are about to depart; and nobody hinderers them, but every one thinks them happy men, and gives them letters to be carried to their familiar friends [that are dead]; so firmly and certainly do they believe that souls converse with one another in the [other world.] So when these men have heard all such commands that were to be given them, they deliver their body to the fire, and make separation from the body in the greatest purity, they die in the midst of hymns of commendation made to them; for their dearest friends conduct them to their death more readily than do any of the rest of mankind conduct their friends when they are going a very long journey, who at the same time weep on their own account, but look upon the others as happy persons, as so soon to be made partners of the immortal order of beings. Are we wise, or not? Are we in lower notions than the Indians? and by our own cowardice to lay a base reproach upon the laws of our country, which are so much desired and imitated by all mankind? But put the case that once a God had made war on us, and that war we had been already made upon, and you say, and taught that life is the greatest good which men are capable of, and that death is a calamity; however, the circumstances we are now in ought to be as inducement to us to bear such calamity courageously, since it is by the will of God, and by necessity, that we are to die; for it now appears that God hath made such a decree against the whole Jewish nation, that we are to be deprived of this life which he knew we would not make a due use of. For do we not use the occasion of our present condition to yourselves, nor think the Romans are the true occasion that this war we have had with them is become so destructive to us all; the things that have come to pass by the power, but the powerful cause hath intervened, and made us afford them an occasion of their appearing to be conquerors over us. What Roman weapons, I pray you, were those, by which you Jews of Jerusalem were slain? On the contrary, when they were no way disposed to rebel, but were all the while keeping their seventh day festival, and did not suffer so much as to lift up their hands against the citizens, of Jerusalem, yet did they make war upon them in great crowds, and cut their throats, and the throats of their wives and children, and this without any regard to the Romans themselves; who never took us for their enemies till then. Wherefore, you see how little our good-will and fidelity to them profited us, while they were also
ple dug up after so profane a manner. But since we had a generous hope that defiled us, as if we might, perhaps, have been able to avenge ourselves upon our enemies on that account, though it be now become security, and have left us all 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 pity to them; for we were born to die, as well as they were who have been written; nor is it in 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. Although such as do not prefer death before those miseries, when it is in their power so to do, must undergo even them on account of their own cows and children, as 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? Miserable will then be the young men who will be strong enough in their bodies to sustain many torments; miserable also will be those elder years, who will not be able to bear those calamities. Therefore, if you Romans with great haste, and, instead of affording them so much 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.

CHAP. IX.
How the People that were in the Fortress were prevailed on by the Words of Eleeasar, two Women and five Children only excused, and all submitted to be killed by one another.

1. Now, as Eleeasar was proceeding in this exhortation, they all cut him off short, and made haste to do the work, as full of an unconquered ardor of mind, and moved with a demoniacal fury. So they went their ways, as one still desiring to be before another, and as thinking that this eagerness would be a demonstration of their quickness and good conduct if they could avoid appearing in the last class; so great was the zeal they were in to slay their wives, and children, and themselves also. Nor indeed, when they came to the work itself did their courage fail them, as one might imagine it was done; but they then held fast the same resolution without wavering, which they had upon the hearing of Eleeasar's speech, while yet every one of them reflected that what resolved them now was to themselves and their families, because the reasoning they went upon appeared to them to be very just, even with regard to those that were dearest to them; for the husbands tenderly embraced their wives, and took their children into their arms, and gave the longest parting kisses to them, with tears in their eyes. Yet at the same time did they completely what they had read to the Jewish rabbins: "We are born that we may die, and die that we may live."
thougt it were done to their enemies. Nor could they do other than under the courage of their resolution, and the immovable contemt 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 Caesarea; for there were now no enemies in the country, but the Romans were overthrown by so long a war. Yet did this war afford disturbances and dangerous disorders even in places very far remote from Judæa; for still it came to pass, that many Jews were slain at Alexandria in Egypt; for many of the Sicarii were able to fly thither, out of the sedicious wars in Judæa, were not content to have saved themselves, but must needs be undertaking to make new disturbances and persecution. They that entertained them to assert their liberty, to esteem the Romans to be not better than themselves, and to look upon God as their only Lord and Master. But when part of the Jews of repute, that took them to the enemy, and they and the others they were very pressing in their exhortations to revolt from the Romans; but when the principal men of the senate saw what madness they were come to, they thought nothing but for themselves; and they sent to Caesarea to Masada, and he who was the last of all took a view of all the other bodies, lest perchance some or other 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 to the house, the palace, and with the great force of his hand ran his sword entirely through himself, and fell down dead near to his own relations. So these people died with this intention, that they would leave also, that they might show alive to the Romans. Yet was there an ancient woman, and another who was of kin to Eleazar, and superior to most women in prudence and learning, with five children, who had concealed themselves in caverns under ground, and had carried water thither for their drink, and were hidden there when the rest were lastest upon the slaughter of one another. Those others were nine hundred and sixty in number, those being the number included in that computation. This calamitous slaughter was made on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthisus [Nisan].

3. For the Romans, they expected that they should be fought in the morning, when according they put on their armor, 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 on every side, with a fire within the place, as well as a perfect silence. So they were at a loss to guess at what had happened. At length they made a shout, as if it had never been. Then did they find one could not get at the house, nor enter it, nor whether they could bring any one out that was within: the women heard this noise, and came out of their underground caverns, and informed the Romans what had been done, as it was done: and nine of them of the women, all both what was said and what was done, and the manner of it: yet did they not easily give their attention to such a desperate undertaking, and did not believe it could be as they said; they also attended to the force of the territorial army, and saw themselves a way through it, they came within the palace, and so met with the multitude of the slain, but could take no pleasure in the fact.

4. Since Josephus here informs us, that some of these Sicarii or ruffians went from Alexandria (which was itself in Egypt, in a large sense) into Egypt and Thebes, there situated, Roland well observes from Josuia, that Egypt sometime doth Proper or Upper Egypt, as distinct from Delta and the lower parts near Palestine. Accordingly, as he adds, those that say it never raises in Egypt, must mean the Proper or Upper Egypt, because it doth sometimes rain in the other parts. See the notes on Antiq. B. II. ch. vii. sect. 7; and B. iii. ch. i. sect. 3.
presently sent Caesar word of this commotion, who having in suspicion the restless temper of the Jews for innovation, and being afraid lest they should get together again, and persuade some others to join with them, gave orders to Lupus to demolish that Jewish temple which was in the region called Onia, and the garments which were there, and the image of Jupiter which was in Egypt; which was built, and had its denomination from the occasion following: Onias, the son of 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 his hatred to Antiochus, he assured him, that if he would comply with his proposal, he would bring him to his service, and when the king agreed to do it so far as he was able, he desired him to give him leave to build a temple somewhere in Egypt, and to worship God according to the customs of his own country; for than he was given leave to his own country, for than he was given leave to his own country. And when he was brought to Catullus, he devised a way whereby he both escaped punishment himself, and afforded an occasion to Catullus of doing much mischief, for he falsely accused the religious Jews, and said that they had put him upon what he did.

3. So Ptolemy complied with his proposals, and gave him a place one hundred and eighty furlongs distant from Memphis. That Nomos was called the Nomos of Heliopolis, where Onias built a temple dedicated to the god of Jerusalem, but such as resembled a tower. He built it of large stones, to the height of sixty cubits; he made the structure of the altar in imitation of that in our own country, and in like manner, adapted a large oil lamp, and a candlestick, for he did not make a candlestick, but had a [single] lamp hammered out of a piece of gold, which illuminated the place with its rays, and which he hung by a chain of gold; but the edifice was not so well compounded as a wall of burnt brick, though it had gates of stone. The king also gave him a large country for a revenue in money, that both the priests might have a plentiful provision to be kept, and that God might have great abundance of what things were necessary for his worship. Yet did not Onias do this out of a sober disposition, but he had a mind to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem, and to make them for the indignation they had for their banished thence. Accordingly he thought that by building this temple he should draw away a great number from them to himself. There had been also a certain ancient prediction made by [a prophet] of the Jews, and it was twenty-six hundred and forty years before that, this temple should be built by a man that was a Jew, is Egypt. And this is the history of the building of that temple.

4. And now Lupus, the governor of Alexandria, upon the receipt of these be good news, came to the temple, and carried out of it some of the donations dedicated thereto, and shut up the temple itself. And as Lupus died a little afterward, Paulinus succeeded him. This man left none of those destructions, and the priests were not suffered so severely if they did not bring them all out; nor did he permit any who were devoted of worshipping God there, so much as to come near the walls of that 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 that place. Now the duration of the time from the building of that temple that was shut up again, was three hundred and forty-four years.

5. Of this temple of Onias's building in Egypt, see the notes on Ant. B. xii. ch. iii. sect. 1. But whereas it is elsewhere, both Of the War, ii. i. ch. i. sect. 1, and in the Antiquities, who new quoted, as is, that this temple was like to that at Jerusalem, and hence that it was not like it, but like a tower, sect. 3, there is a use reason to respect the reading here, and that either it a negative particle is here to be struck out, or the word entirely added.

6. We must observe, that Joseph goes more of Antiochus, who professed the temple, as now alive, when Onias had leave given him by Philometer to build his temple; whereas it seems not to have been actually built till about fifteen years afterward. Yet bestrade, it is said in the Antiquities, that Onias went to Philometer, B. xii. ch. iii. sect. 7, during the lifetime of that Antiochus, it is probable he petitioned, and, perhaps obtained his leave thence, though it were not actually built till fifteen years afterward.
ANTIQUITY OF THE JEWS.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS AGAINST APION.*

BOOK I.

1. I suppose that my books of the Antiquities of the Jews, most excellent Eppaphroditus, have made it evident to those that pursue the same subject that they shall also arrive at that antiquity, and have 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 bear ill-will to us, it will not believe while 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 historians among the Grecians; 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, the most learned, acute, and useful books of all antiquity; and upon Jerome’s personal and the following books, he declares, that “it seems to him a marvellous thing, how one that was a Hebræo, who had been from his infancy instructed in sacred learning, should be able to produce such a number of facts.”

As for the witnesses upon whom I shall produce for the proof of these things, there will be such as are deemed 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 have already spoken many 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.

2. And now, in the first place, I cannot but greatly wonder at those men, who suppose that we must attend to none but Grecians, when we are inquiring about the most ancient facts, and must inform ourselves of their truth from them only, while we must not believe ourselves nor other men; for I am convinced, that the very reverse is the truth of the case: I mean this, if we will not be led by 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; nay, some, say, is of yesterday. For it is nothing less than a bulwark of their cities, the inventions of their arts, and the description of their laws; and as for their care about the writing down of their histories, it is very near the least thing they set upon. However, they acknowledge themselves so far, that they were the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the Phœnicians, (for I will not now reckon antiquity of the Jewish nation. As to the place, they all imagine that those two books were written where the former were, I mean at Rome; and I confess, that I myself believed both these communications till I came to find my notes upon these books, when I met with plain indications that they were written not at Rome, but in Judea, and this after the days of Tiberius, or indeed in A.D. 190.

† These first book has a wrong title. It is not written against Apion, as is the first part of the second book, but against those Jews in general who would not believe Josephus’s former accounts of the very ancient state of the Jewish nation, in his XX Books of Antiquities; and in particular against Agatharchides, Marentho, Chremes, and the ignorance, and others, the most learned, acute, and useful books of all antiquity; and upon Jerome’s personal and the following books, he declares, that “it seems to him a marvellous thing, how one that was a Hebræo, who had been from his infancy instructed in sacred learning, should be able to produce such a number of facts.”

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ourselves among them,) that have preserved the memorials of the most ancient and most lasting traditions of mankind; for almost all these nations inhabit such countries as are 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 esteemed sacred, and put into public tables, as well as their greatest actions. Which the Greeks they had among them. But as for the place where the Grecians inhabit, ten thousand destructions have overthrown it, and blotted out the memory of former actions; so that they were ever beginning to be in want of the greatest actions they had among them. And as for the Grecians, it was also late, and with difficulty, that they came to know the letters they now use; for those that should advance their use of these letters to the greatest antiquity, pretend that they learned them from the Phoecians and from Cadmus; yet is nobody able to demonstrate that they have any writing preserved from that time, neither in any among them, 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 inquiry is made, whether the Greeks used their letters long before; and the 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 agree to be genuine among that period. Homer is the first writer who must be plainly 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 in song among them, and they were put together afterward, and that this is the only manner 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 Autolycus of Argos; and others that may be mentioned as succeeding Acusilas, they lived but a little while before the Persian expedition into Greece. But then for those that first introduced philosophy, and the consideration of things divine and human, Thales, Pherecydes the Syrian, and Pythagoras and Thales, all with one consent agree, that they learned what they knew of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, and wrote but little. And these are the times at which the war was supposed to have been fought all among the Greeks; and they have much ado to believe that the writings ascribed to those men are genuine.

3. How can it then be other than an absurd thing for the Greeks to be so proud, and to vaunt themselves to be the only people that are acquainted with antiquity, and that have delivered the true accounts of those early times after an accurate manner! Nay, who is there that cannot easily gather from the Greek writers themselves, that they knew but little on any good foundation when they set to write, but rather wrote their histories from their own conjectures?

Accordingly they confute one another in their own books to purpose, and are not ashamed to give us the most contradictory accounts of the same things: and I should spend my time to little purpose, if I should pretend to go so far as the Greeks that which they know better than I already, what a great disagreement there is between Hellanicus and Acusilas about their genealogies: in how many cases Acusilas corrects the great stories they told to be false: and Nature demonstrates Hellanicus to have told lie in the greatest part of his history; as does Timaeus in like manner as to Ephorus, and the succeeding writers do to Timaeus, and all the latter writers, to Thucydides, and Thucydides to Antiochus and Philistius, or with Callius about the Sicilian history, no more than do the several writers of the Atticidde follow one another about the Athenians, nor does the historian the like that wrote the Argive history; and now what need I say more about particular cities and smaller places, while in the most approved writers of the Grecian states, scarcely one of the nation's history, which were therein performed, there are so great differences? Nay, Thucydides himself is accused by some as writing what is false, although he seems to have given us the exact history of it.

4. As for the occasion of so great a disagreement of theirs, there may be assigned many that are very probable, if any have a mind to make an inquiry about them; but I scribe those concerning their traditions that I shall now mention, and still think what I shall mention in the first place to be the principal of all. For we will remember, that in the beginning the Greeks had taken no care to have public records of their several states, and to contradict those who would tell of an event have afforded those that would afterward write about those ancient transactions, the opportunity of making mistakes, and the power of changing the records of such ancient transactions hath not only been neglected by the other states of Greece, but even among the Athenians themselves also, who pretend to be Aborigines, and to have applied themselves to the discovery and divine documents; and yet the same, as Heraclides the Syracusan, and Pythogoras and Thales, all with one consent agree, that they learned what they knew of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, and wrote but little. And these are the times at which the war was supposed to have been fought all among the Greeks; and they have much ado to believe that the writings ascribed to those men are genuine.

5. How can it then be other than an absurd thing for the Greeks to be so proud, and to vaunt themselves to be the only people that are acquainted with antiquity, and that have delivered the true accounts of those early times after an accurate manner! Nay, who is there that cannot easily gather from the Greek writers themselves, that they knew but little on any good foundation when they set to write, but rather wrote their histories from their own conjectures?

6. This preservation of Homer's poems by memory, and not by his own writing them down, and that these they were styled ἀναρεσκές, as sung by him, like balleis, by parts, and not composed and connected together to complete works, are opinions well known from the ancient commentators; and the same is supposed by myself, as well as to Fabriaciu, Biblioth. Gr. i. p. 260, and to others, highly improbable. Nor does Josephus any where write that he obtained the greater parts of his works from Homer's poems, but that they did not fully own any ancient writers pretending to such antiquity, which is true.

7. Let us consider the following: how all the following Greek historians looked on Herodotus as a fabulous author, and presentently, sect. 14, he must be accounted a historian, great in his history, greatly complains of his mistakes in the Egyptian affairs; as also that Strabo, B. ii. p. 307, the most accurate geographer and historian, esteemed him such; that

† About the days of Cyrus and Darius.
ments to write history were not solicitous for the discovery of truth, although it was very easy for them always to make such a profession; but their business was to demonstrate that they could write well, and make an impression upon mankind thereby; and in what manner of writing they thought they were able to write. They were very fond of that to that did apply themselves. Some of them betook themselves to the writing of fabulous narrations; some of them endeavored to please the cities or the kings, by writing in their commendation; some for the correction of faults with transactions, or with the writers of such transactions, and thought to make a great figure by so doing. And indeed these do what is of all that is done in the world, and it is the great character of true history, that all concerned therein both speak and write the same things; while these men by writing differently about the same things, think they shall be believed. We write all along down to our time.

We, therefore, [who are Jews] must yield to the Greek writers as to language and eloquence of composition; but then we shall give them no such preference as to the verity of ancient history, and as to the past part of it, which concerns the affairs of our several countries.

6. As to the care of writing down the records from the earliest antiquity among the Egyptians and Babylonians; that the priests were intrusted therein was an accident of such a nature, that the providing the delivering down the history of common transactions, I think I may omit any proof, because all men allow it to be. But so as to our forefathers, the men of the nation were the keepers of such records, (for I will not say they took greater care than the others I spoke of,) and that they committed that matter to their high priests and to their prophets, and that these records have been written all along down to our time with the utmost accuracy; nay, if it be not too bold for me to say it, our history will be so written hereafter, I shall endeavor briefly to inform you.

Our forefathers did not only appoint the best of these priests, and those that attended upon the divine worship, for that design from the beginning, but made provision that the stock of the priests should continue unmixed and pure; for no Jew, the servant of the nation, is to propagate of a wife of the same nation, without having any regard to money, or any other dignities; but he is to make a scrutiny, and take his wife's genealogy from the ancient tables, and procure her to be a woman of the same stock, and whosoever our priests are scattered; for they

* It is here well worth our observation, what the reasons are that such ancient authors as Herodotus, Josephus, and others, have been read to so little purpose by many learned critics, viz. that their main aim has not been chronology or history, but philology, to know words and not things, they not much entering oftentimes into the substance of those things, and yet making the most accurate discoverers of truth, and most to be depended upon in their several histories, but rather inquiring who wrote the finest style and had the greatest elegance in their expressions, which are things of small consequence in comparison of the other. Thus, you will sometimes find them so conjecturing, that Herodotus or Thucydides were the finest historians in the Ionic and Attic ways of writing, which signify little as to the real values of each of their histories, while it would be of much more moment to let the reader know that, as the consequences of Herodotus's history, which begins so much

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, when Antiochus Epiphanes made an invasion upon our country, or as also when Pompeius, the Great and Quintillus Varus did so also, and principally in the wars that have happened in our own times; those priests that survive them compose near new tables of genealogy out of the records, and examine the births 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 most strange is, that the management in this matter is what I am now 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 the priests of Israel have habitually done in 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 permitted of to be a priest in our own nation; and there any disagreement in what is written; they being only prophets that have written the original and earliest accounts of things, as they learned them of God himself by inspiration; and these others have written what was the letter of their own time, and that in a very distinct manner also.

8. For we have not an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from and contradicting one another, [as the Greeks have.] but only twenty-two books of 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 original creation, and his death; the interval of time was little short of 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 when 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 by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of prophets since that time: and how firmly we have given credit to these books of our own nation, is best known by what our present, or our many ages have as already passed, no one hath been so bold as either to add any thing to them, to take any thing from them, or to make any change in them; and it is become natural to all Jews, immediately and from their very birth, to esteem those books to contain divine doctrines, and to persist in them, and, if occasion be, willingly to die for them. For it is no new thing for our captives, many of us in number, and frequently in times, to seem to endure the utmost torture of all kinds upon the theatres, that they may earlier, and reaches so much wider than that of Thucydides, is, therefore, vastly greater; so is the most part of Thucydides, which belongs to his own time, and fell under his own observation, much the most certain.

† Of this accuracy of the Jews, before and in our behaviour's time, in carefully preserving their genealogies all along, as well as all those temporal, and political, and the most accurate discoverers of truth, and most to be depended upon in their several histories, but rather inquiring who wrote the finest style and had the greatest elegance in their expressions, which are things of small consequence in comparison of the other. Thus, you will sometimes find them so conjecturing, that Herodotus or Thucydides were the finest historians in the Ionic and Attic ways of writing, which signify little as to the real values of each of their histories, while it would be of much more moment to let the reader know that, as the consequences of Herodotus's history, which begins so much

• Which were these two sacred books of the Old Testament, see the Supplement to the Essay on the Old Testament, p. 23—30. viz. those we call canonicall, all excepting the Apocrypha, written within the time of the above sect. 1. This accuracy seems to have ended at the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, or, however, at that by Adrian.

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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 would undertake the least harm on that account, no, nor in case all the writings that are among them were to be destroyed; for they take them to be such discourses as are framed agreeably to the inclinations of those who write them; and there are no persons among them to estimate the ancients; since, they see some of the present generation bold enough to write about such affairs, whereas they were not present, nor had concern enough to inform themselves about them from those who were present, which may be bad 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 present at the transactions; 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 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 Galileans, as long as it was possible for us to make any opposition to the masses, consisting of men called Romans, and became a captive; Vespasian also and Titus had me kept under a guard, and forced me to attend them continually. At the first I was put in bonds, but was set at liberty afterward, and sent to accompany two to be carried to the siege of Jerusalem; during which time there was nothing done which escaped my knowledge; for what happened in the Roman camp, I saw, and wrote down carefully; and what happened in my own city, I wrote down; in A.D. 70, when Alexan. the last of the Jews revolted, and was put to death, I was the only man that understood them. Afterward I got leisure at Rome; and when all my materials were prepared for that work, I made use of some persons to assist me in learning the Greek tongue, and by these means I composed the history of these transactions. And I was so well assured of the truth of what I related, that I first of all appealed to those that had the supreme command in that war, Vespasian and Titus, as witnesses for me, for to them I presented those books first of all, and after them to many of the Romans who had been in the war. I also sold them to many of my own men who understood the language, and was not ashamed when those were Julius Archelaus, Herod (king of Chalcis) a person of great gravity, and king Agrippa himself, a person that deserved the greatest admiration. Now all these men bore their testimony to me, and the rest, and was not unacquainted, with any that would not have disseminated the matter, nor been silent, if I, out of ignorance, or out of favor to any side, either had given false colors to actions, or omitted any of them.

10. This have been indeed some bad men, who have attempted to calumniate my history, and took it to be a kind of scholastic performance, for the exercise of young men. A strange sort of accusation and calumny! since every effort is made to deliver the history of actions truly, ought to know them accurately himself in the first place, as either having been concerned in them himself, or been informed of them by such as knew them. Now both these methods of knowing things, are very proper to form the composition of both my works; for, as I said, I have translated the Antiquities out of our sacred books; which I easily could do, since I was a priest by my birth, and was much studied in philosophy, which is contained in the writings; and for the History of the War, I wrote it as having been an actor myself in many of its transactions, an eyewitness in the greatest part of them, and I put out with anything whatsoever, that was either said or done in it. How impudent then must those deserve to be esteemed, who undertake to contradict me about the true state of those affairs! who, although they pretend to have made use of both the emperor's own messengers, yet could they not be acquainted with our own affairs which he fought against them.

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 history; for it is not the opinion of the ancients, or the writers, since they see some of the present generation bold enough to write about such affairs, whereas they were not present, nor had concern enough to inform themselves about them from those who were present, which may be bad 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 present at the transactions; but these men put a few things together by hearsay, and insolently abuse the world, and call these writings by the name of Histories. For I shall also demonstrate that such as cast reproaches upon our nation do it very unjustly.

12. As for ourselves, therefore, we neither inhabit a country superior to that of the Romans, nor is there in any part of the world, either here or abroad, an instance for our antiquity out of the writings of foreigners, as I have already shewn. I shall also demonstrate that such as cast reproaches upon our nation do it very unjustly.
the truth of their affairs, was this, that they had not any commerce together; but the reason why they wrote such salutations 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 nation was so more known to many of the Greeks, nor had given them any occasion to mention them in their writings, while they were as yet in their infancy, had a conduct of life so peculiar to themselves?

13. Let us now put the case, therefore, that we made use of this argument concerning the Greeks, in order to prove that our nation was not so more known to them, and of the things in their own records: would not they laugh at us all, and probably give the same reasons for our silence that I have now alleged, and would produce their records, which are the most ancient in the world, and from their own antiquity? Now the same thing will I endeavored to do: for I will arouse the Egyptians and the Phoenicians 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 in general all of them, while of the Phoenicians it is known the Tyrians have been most of all in the same ill disposition towards us; I mean, the race of the Chaldaeans, since our first leaders and ancestors were derived from them, and they do make mention of us Jews in their records, on account of the kindred there is between us. No, I do not think it is necessary to go so far as concerns the others, I will demonstrate that some of the Greek writers have mentioned of us Jews also, that those who envy us may not have even this pretense for contradicting us; and they shall be witnesses.

14. I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians: not, indeed, of those that have written in the Egyptian language, which it is impossible for me to do. But Manetho was a man who was born an Egyptian; yet he learned the sacred language, and was made 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 notice the names of several persons, and of their intermarriages, and false relations of Egyptian affairs. Now this Manetho, in the second book of his Egyptian history, writes concerning us in the following manner: he set down his very words, as if I were to bring them before the court of a witness. — "There was a king of ours whose name was Timaus. Under him it came to pass, I know not how, that God was averse to us, and the king gave orders that they should not nourish their power, they afterward burnt down our cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and used all the inhabitants after a most barbarous manner; say, some they slew, and led their children captive, and to contain of the number of them they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatin; he also lived at Memphis, and made both the upper and lower regions pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were the most proper to them; lay siege to many parts, as foreseeing that the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, would be desirous of that kingdom, and invade them; and as he found in the Saitic Nomos. [Seth-noite.] a city very proper for his purpose, and which lay upon the Bubastic channel, but with regard to a certain theologick notion was called Avaris: this was 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 in it to keep it. Then Salatin came in the summer time, partly to gather his corn and pay his soldiers their wages, and partly to exercise his armed men, and thereby to terrify foreigners. When this man had reigned thirteen years, after he had reigned another, called Apophis, thirty-six years and seven months; after him Apophis reigned sixty-one years, and then Janias fifty-five years, and one month; after him, all the rest of Egypt and that land two years and two months. And these six were the first rulers among them, who were all along making war with the Egyptians, and were very desirous of it, to sow the roots of that whole nation was styled Hymen, that is, Shepherd-kings; for the first syllable, Hyp, according to the sacred dialect, denotes a king, as is Sos, a shepherd; but this according to the ordinary dialect; and of these is compounded Hymen, but some say that those people were Egyptians." 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 article Hyp, for in the Egyptian tongue, the aspiration, in the Egyptian tongue again denotes shepherds, and that expressly also: and this to me seems the more probable opinion, and more agreeable to ancient history. [But Manetho goes on, and gives the names of other kings, which are before named kings, and called shepherds also, and their descendants,] as he says, "kept possession of Egypt five hundred and twelve years. After these, he says, "That the kings of Thebais and of the other parts of Egypt, being the successors against the shepherds, and that there was a terrible and long war was made between them." He says further, "That under a king, whose name was Aliphragmutus, the shepherds were sabotaged 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 the larger part of Egypt in order to keep all their possessions and their prey within a place of strength, but that Thuminus, the son of Aliphragmutus, made an attempt to take them by force and by siege, with four hundred and twenty thousand men, about them; but that, upon his despair of taking the place by that siege, they came to a composition with them, that they should leave Egypt, and go without any harm to be done to them and 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 this 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 built a city in that country which is now called Judea, and that large enough to contain the number of them: and they 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 many of the Egyptians, being the forefathers in the most ancient ages; and as they led such a wandering life in feeding sheep, they were called shepherds. Nor was it without 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-

* Here we have an account of the first building of the city of Jerusalem, according to Manetho, when the Phoenician shepherds were expelled out of Egypt, about thirty-seven years before Abraham came out of Haran.
mission. But as for these matters, I shall make a more exact inquiry about them elsewhere. 16. But now I shall produce the Egyptians as witnesses to the antiquity of our nation. I shall therefore here bring in Manetho again, and what he writes as to the order of the times in this case, and thus he speaks:—When this people, four hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus came to Argo; although the Argives look upon him as their most ancient king.† Manetho, therefore, bears this testimony to two points of the greatest consequence in our nation, and those three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus came to Argo; although the Argives look upon him as their most ancient king.† Manetho, therefore, bears this testimony to two points of the greatest consequence. The first point is the exclusion from Egypt and Egyptian records themselves. In the first place, that we came out of another country into Egypt; and that withal, our deliverance out of it was so ancient in time as to have preceded the siege of Troy. Then, in another point, that this account of the former and these things which Manetho adds, not from the Egyptian records, but, as he confesses himself, from some stories of an uncertain origin, I will dispute with you hereafter particularly, and shall demonstrate that they are no better than incredible fables.

17. I will now, therefore, pass from these records, and come to those that belong to the Phoenicians. Manetho, in another Apocryphon, witnesses, for twelve years and five months; then came his daughter Acacorhes, for twelve years and one month; then was her brother Rathitis, for nine years; then was Acacorches, for twelve years and five months; then came another Acacorhes, for twelve years and three months; after him Armais, for four years and one month; after him was Ramesses, for one year and four months; after him came Armais Minamoun, for sixty years and seven months; after him was Mephamound, for twenty-five years and ten months; after him was Thmoris, for nine years and eight months; after him came Amenophis, for thirty years and ten months; then was Herodotus, for thirteen years and five months; then came his daughter Acacorhes, for twelve years and one month; then was Rathitis, for nine years; then was Acacorches, for twelve years and five months; then came another Acacorhes, for twelve years and three months; after him Armais, for four years and one month; after him was Ramesses, for one year and four months; after him came Armais Minamoun, for sixty years and seven months; after him was Mephamound, for twenty-five years and ten months; after him came Sethosis, and Ramesses, who had an army of horse, and a naval force. This king appointed his brother Armais to be his deputy over Egypt. In another case, he had him as captain of his horsemen, under his brother to be his deputy 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 priests, nor be by his acts injurious to the mother of his children, and that he should not meddle with the other concubines of the king, while he made an expedition against Cyprus and Phoenicia, and besides against the Assyrians and the Medes. He subdued these countries, some by his arms, some without fighting, and some by the terror of his great army: and being pushed up by the great successes he had had, he went still on the more boldly, and overthrew the cities and the confederacy of the in the eastern parts. But after some considerable time, Armais, who was left in Egypt, did all those very things, by way of opposition, which his brother had forbidden him to do, without fear; for he used violence to the queen, and continued to make use of the rest of the concubines, without sparing any of them: nay, at the persuasion of his friends, he put on the diadem, and set up to oppose his brother. But then, he who was set over the priests of Egypt and the king's wife, he put him also for one of him of all that had happened, and how his brother had set up to oppose him: he therefore returned back to Pelusium immediately, and recovered his freedom again. The country also was called from his name, Egypt; for Manetho says, that Sethosis was himself called Egyptus, as was his brother Armais called Danaus.†

18. This is Manetho's account. And evident it is from the number of years by him set down belonging to this interval, if they be summed up together, that these shepherds, as they are here called, who were no other than our forefathers, were delivered out of Egypt, and came thence, and thus, and thus continued, three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus came to Argo.
19. I will now relate what hath been written concerning us in the Chaldean histories, which records have a direct agreement with our books in other things also. Berossus shall be witness to 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, following the most ancient records of that nation, gives us a history of the deluge of waters that then happened, and of the destruction of mankind thereby, and agrees with Moses as to that part of the story. He says that Noah's ark, wherein we are 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 Nabopolassar, 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 removed it entirely out of their own country, and transferred it to Babylon; when it so happened that our city was desolate, during the interval of seventy years, until the days of Cyrus king of Persia." He then says, "When Cyrus the king conquered Egypt, and Syria, and Phoenicia, and Arabia, and exceeded in his exploits all that had reigned before him in Babylonia and Chaldea." A little after which, Berossus says, "Nabuchodonosor, in his history of certain times: I will set down Berossus's own accounts, which are these: "When Nabopolassar, father of Nabuchodonosor, heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt and over the parts of the countries which had revolted from him, was not able to bear it any longer, but committing certain parts of his army to his son Nabuchodonosor, who was then but young, he sent him against the rebel; Nabuchodonosor, who now joined battle with him, and conquered him, and reduced the country under his dominion again. Now it so fell out, that his father Nabopolassar fell into a distemper at this time, and died in the city of Babylon, after he had reigned twenty years; and Saul stood, in a little time, that his father Nabopolassar was dead, he set the affairs of Egypt, and the other countries, in order, and committed the captives he had taken from the Jews, and Phoenicians, and Syrians, into the hands of Nabuchodonosor, that he might conduct that part of the forces that had on heavy armor, with the rest of his baggage, to Babylon; while he went in haste, having but a few with him, over the desert to Babylon; whither when he was come, he found the public affairs had been managed by the Chaldeans, and that the principal person among them had preserved the kingdom for him. Moreover, the Chaldeans obtained all his father's dominions. He then came and ordered the captives to be placed as colonies in the most proper places of Babylonia: but for himself, he adored the temple of Belus, and the other temples, and took all the spoils he had taken in this war. He also rebuilt the old city, and added another to it on the outside, and so far restored Babylon, that none who should besiege it afterward might be able to overcome it by the power to drive them to enter; and he built the city three walls about the inner city, and three about the outer. Some of these walls he built of burnt brick and bitumen, and some of them thus fortified the city with walls, afterward, an excellent manner, and had adorned the gates magnificently, he added a new palace to that which his father had dwelt in, and this close
by it also, and that more eminent in its height, and is its great splendor. 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. It was forty cubits high, and had very high walks, supported by stone piliars, and by planting what was called a penile paradise, and replenishing it with all sorts of trees, he rendered the prospect an exact resemblance of a mountainous coast. 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 Berossus relates concerning the forementioned king, as he relates many other things also in the fifth book of his Chaldaean history; wherein he complains of the Grecian writers for supposing, without any foundation, that Babylon was built by Semiramis, queen of Assyria, and for her false pretension of laying those wonderful edifices thereto relating, as if they were her own workmanship; as indeed in these affairs the Chaldaean history cannot but be the most credible. Moreover, we meet with a contradiction from that Berossus, in the archives of the Phoenicians, concerning this 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 says, "the reign of Tyre was the last of the great Megane-thenes also, in the fourth book of his Indian history, wherein he pretends to prove that the fore-mentioned king of the Babylonians was superior to Hercules in strength, and the greatness of his exploits," and adds: "let us imitate the great part of Libya; and conquered Iberia 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 by Cyrus, and the land taken from him, and the wine and the gold vases and the golden lamp and the rest of the treasures, shall be now demonstrated from what Berossus adds further upon that head; for thus he says in his third book: "Nabuchodonosor, after he had burned the temple of Jerusalem, fell sick, and departed this life, when he had reigned forty-three years; whereupon his son Eriimerodach obtained the kingdom. He governed public affairs after an illegal and impious manner, and had a son by a Negeb, his sister's husband, and was slain by him when he had reigned but two years." After he was slain, Negeb, the son who plotted against him, succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned four years. And the second king obtained the kingdom, though he were but a child, and kept it 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 conspirators got together, and by common consent put the crown upon the head of Nabonnedus, a man of Babylon, and one who belonged to that imposture. In his reign it was that the walls of the city of Babylon were curiously built with burnt brick and bitumen; but when he was come to the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus came out of Persia with a great army, and having al- ready slain all the rest of his kinsmen, he came hastily to Babylon. When Nabonnedus perceived he was coming to attack him, he met 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 Ecbates. 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 and labor; and he therefore ordered Ecbates, to besiege Nabonnedus; but as Nabonnedus did not sustain the siege, but delivered himself into his hands, he was at first kindly used by Cyrus, who gave him Carmania, as a place for himself; but afterwards he was assassinated. Accordingly, Nabonnedus 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 Nabuchodonosor died in the sixteenth year of his reign, laid our temple desolate, and so it lay in that state of obsequity for fifty years: but that in the second year of the reign of Cyrus its foundations were laid, and it was not finished till the second year of Darius. I will now add the records of the Phoenicians; for it will not be superfluous to give the reader demonstrations most then enough on this occasion. In them we have the names of the first nine kings of the Babylonians: "Nabuchodonosor besieged Tyre for thirteen years, in the days of Jehoiachin, their king; after he reigned Beael, ten years; after him were judges appointed, who judged the people. After them the kings of the Medes, Belshazzar and Darius, reigned. Belshazzar the son of Abdeus, ten months; Abbar the high priest, three months; Mitigoneus and Gaerstratus, the sons of Abelemus, were judges six years; after whom Belon was seven years, brother of Belshazzar. After him Belshazzar reigned one year, and Darius son of Balthasar, received from Babylon, who reigned four years; after his death their brother Hurmon, who reigned twenty years. Under his reign Cyrus the king of Persia." So this interval was fifty and four years besides three months; for on the seventh year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar he began to besiege Tyre, and Cyrus the Persian took the kingdom on the fourth year of the reign of Darius. Darius son of Balthasar is from the records of the Chaldeans and Tyrians agree with our writings about this temple; and the testimonies hereby produced are an indisputable and undeniable attestation to the antiquity of our nation. And if some scholars there be that think their several kings are not sufficient to such as are not very contentious. 22. But now it is proper to satisfy the inquiry of those that disbelieve the records of Barzabara, and think none but Greeks to be worthy of credit. In the days of Nebuchadnezzar, and of the second of Darius, when the Greeks were acquainted with our nation, and set before them such as upon 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 the philosophers 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 fol- lower, and admirer of them. There is not indeed extant any writing that is owned for his; but many there are who have written his history, of whom Herippus is the most celebrated, who was a person very inquisitive in all sorts of books: and of these Golden Verses, which are in being generally supposed to have been written not by himself, but by some of his scholars only, 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 sorts of approaches.

After which he adds thus: "This he hid and said in imitation of the doctrines of the Jews and Thracians, which he had adopted into his own philosophy." For it is very truly affirmed of this Pythagoras, that he took a great many of the laws of the Jews into his own philosophy. Nor was our nation unknown of old to several of the laws and customs of the Jews, as is proved by the custom of circumcision. Among which he enumerates others, and particularly that which called Corban; which oath can only be found among the Jews, and declares what a man may call a thing devoted to God. Nor indeed was Herodotus of Halicarnassus, a countryman with our nation, but mentions it after a very like manner, when he saith thus, in his second book concerning the Colchians. His words are these: The only people who were circumcised in their nation were the Egyptians, the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians; but the Egyptians, and those Syrians that are in Palæstine, confess that they learned it from the Egyptians. And for these Syrians who live about the Red Sea, the Jews called them Medes, and their neighbors the Macrones, they say they have lately learned it from the Colchians; for these are the only people that are circumcised among men in the East, and have no thing with the Egyptians. But as for the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I am not able to say which of them received it from the other. This therefore is what Herodotus says, "That the Egyptians and Ethiopians were the first circumcised." But there are no inhabitants of Palæstine that are circumcised except the Jews; and therefore it must be his knowledge of them that enabled him to speak so much concerning them. The Colchians also, a still more barbarous nation, and a poet, makes mention of our nation, and informs as that it came to the assistance of king Xerxes, in his expedition against Greece. For in his enumeration of all those nations, he last of all mentions us, as he says: "Here have passed over a people, wonderful to be believed, for they spoke the Phoenician tongue with their mouths; they dwelt in the Solymian mountains, near a broad lake: their heads were woolly, their faces square, and their noses large; and their hair grew on their cheeks, and their faces were like nasty horses' heads also, that had been hardened in the smoke." I think, therefore, that it is evident to every body, that Cheliris means us, because the Solymian mountains are in our country, wherein we inhabit, as also the lake called Asphaltitis; for this is a broader and larger lake than any other that is in Syria; and thus does Cheliris make mention of us.

But now, the time has come to speak of the Grecians, but those that are had in the greatest admiration for their philosophical improvements among them, did not only know the Jews, but, when they lighted upon any of them, admiring them also, it is easy for any one to know; for Clearchus, who was the scholar to Aristotle, and inferior to no one of the Peripatetics whomsoever, in his first book concerning asleep, says, "That Aristotle in his master's relations thereby what follows of a Jew, as it were, sets down Aristotle's own discourse with him. The account is this, as written down by him: "Now, for a great part of what this Jew said, it would be too long to recite it, but what includes in it both wonders, and indeed things so marvelous that it was amiss to discourse of. Now, that I may be plain with thee, Hyperchides, I shall herein seem to thee to relate wonders, and what will resemble fables in some respects, but I shall answer modestly, and said, For that very reason, it is that all of us are very desirous of hearing what thou art going to say. Then, replied Aristotle, For this cause it will be the best way to imitate 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 so pleases thee. This man then, (answer'd Aristotle,) by his name was Clearchus, of Colosseia: these Jews are derived from the Indian philosophers; they are named by the Indians Calami, and by the Syrians Sodani, and took their name from the country they inhabit, which is a country called Judea, and for the Jews this 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 the city, and became a Grecian, not only in his language, but in his soul also; insomuch that when we ourselves happened to be in Asia about the same places whither he came, he conversed with us, and entertained us with other pleasant discourses, and witnessed the 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 is Aristotle's account of the matter, 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 may please me learn more about him from Clearchus's book itself, for I am now desirous to speak of the philosophers, which was sufficient for my purpose. Now, Clearchus said this by way of digression, for his main design was of another nature. But for Hecateus of Abdera, who was a philosopher and one very useful in an active life, he was friendly 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 way only, but composed an entire book concerning the Jews themselves, out of which book I see 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 Hecateus lived; for he mentions the fight that was between Ptolemy and Demetrius about Gaza, which was fought on the eleventh year that their hands were bony; that they had round ravens on their heads; that their heads and faces were like nasty horses' heads, which had been hardened in the smoke: these awkward characters probably dished the Solym of Pindar no better than they did the Jews in Judea. And, indeed, this reproachful language has given these people, in so many places, to be a strong index not only to the Jewish, but also to the Grecian, and not the Solymians Solymians celebrated in Homer, whom Cheliris here describes; nor are we to expect that they were the same. Cheliris or his son was made famous by Josephus and Eusebius, made no mistake in the Jewish history. If, by comparing their testimonies with the more authentic records of that nation, we find them for the main, to conform to these, they must be received as having ought to be satisfied, and not expect that they ever had an exact knowledge of all the circumstances of the Jewish affairs, which, indeed, it was almost impossible for them to have. See sect. 93.
after the death of Alexander, and on the hundred and seventeenth olympiad, as Castor says in his history. For when he had set down this olympiad, he says further, 'That on this olympiad Ptolomy, the son of Lagus, best in battle Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who was named Poliorcetes, at Gaza.' Now, it is agreed by all, that Alexander died on the hundred and fourteenth olympiad: it is therefore evident that our action flourished in his time, and in the time of Ptolemy Antigonus. The point now is to the same purpose, as follows: 'Ptolomy got possession of the places in Syria after that battle at Gaza; and many, when they heard of Ptolemy's moderation and humanity, went along with him to Egypt; and he, in order to assist in his affairs: one of which (Hecateus says) was Hezekiah,' the high priest of the Jews, a man of about sixty-six years of age, and in great dignity among his own people. He was a very 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 tithes of the produce of the earth, and managed public affairs, and were in number not above fifteen hundred at the most.' Hecateus mentions this Hezekiah a second time, and says, that, 'as he was possessed of so great a dignity, and was become familiar with Alexander, he took certain of those Jews that were with him, and explained to them all the circumstances of their people; for he had all their habitations and polity down in writing.' Moreover, Hecateus declares again, 'what regard must be had to their war laws, and how 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 humiliation among their neighbors, 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 dissuaded from acting but what they think best; but the when they are stripped on this account, and have torments inflicted upon them, and they are brought to the most terrible kinds of death, they meet them after an extraordinary manner, beyond all other people, and will not renounce the worship of their god. Hecateus has also produced 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 Belus. When he was fallen to the ground, and in order thereto, he commanded all his soldiers in general to bring earth thither; but the Jews, and they only, would not comply with that command; say, they underwent stripes and great losses of what they had on this 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

for not assisting them in rebuilding them: they either underwent losses, or sometimes obtained forgiveness.' He adds farther, 'That the men deserve to be admired on that account.' He also speaks of the mighty population of our nation, and says, 'That the Persians formerly carried away many ten thousands of our people to Babylon, as also that not a few ten thousands were removed after Alexander's descent into Egypt and Phoenicia, by reason of the rest of the Persians.' Hecateus says, 'In the time of Alexander, Josephus states that the city is large, most Fruitful soil; it is called Jerusalem of Lesser Dimensions.' The same man describes our city Jerusalem also itself, as of a most excellent structure, and very large buildings, and standing out for the most ancient times. He also discourses of the multitude of men in it, and of the construction of our temple, after the following manner: 'There are many strong places and others (says he) in the country of Judea; but one city there is, about fifty furlongs in circumference, which is inhabited by a hundred and twenty thousand men, or thereabout: they call it Jerusalem. There is, about the middle of the city, an altar in the middle of the street, three furlongs, and seven broad, and the breadth a hundred cubits, in double cloisters; wherein there is a square shaft, not made of hewn stone, but composed of stones gathered together, having each side about seven cubits high, and four cubits broad; by it is a large edifice wherein there is a altar and a candlestick both of gold, and in which are two talents: upon these there is a light that is never extinguished, neither night nor day.' There is no image, or any thing, in any actions therein: nothing at all is there planted, nor sown, nor grown, nor any thing of that sort. The priests abide therein both nights and days, perform certain purifications, and drinking of wine while they are in the temple. Moreover, he attests, that we Jews went to synagogues along with king Alexander, and after he with his successors. He will add farther what he has described. Here he speaks again of the same army, concerning the actions of a man that was a Jew. His words are these: 'As I was myself going to the Red Sea, there followed a man whose name was Bismoliah: he was a young man of strong voice, and when it was said that he was a person of great courage, of a strong body, and by all allowed to be the most skilful archer that was either among the Greeks or barbarians. Now, this man, as people were in numbers passing along the road, and a certain augur was observing an augury by a bird, requiring them all to stand still, inquired which they stood for. Hereupon the augur showed them whence he took his augury, and told him, that if the bird stood where he sa

This Hezekiah, who is here called a high priest, is not named in any of the other historical chronicles; the time that he lived is not known: at that time being rather Onias, as Archbishop Usher supposes. However, Josephus often uses the word high priest in the plural number, as living many at the same time.
ill-disposed passion blinded the other's mind so entirely, that he could not discern the truth. And now certainly the foregoing records of the Egyptians, and Chaldeans, and Phoenicians, together with so many of the Greek historians, will be sufficient for the demonstration of our antiquity. Moreover, besides those forementioned, Theophilus, and Theodotus, and Mnases, and Aristophanes, and Hermogenes, Euhemerus also, and Zeno, and Conon, and 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, Athens, 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. However, Demetrius Phalerus, and the elder Philo with Eupolemus, have written truth about our affairs; whose lesser mistakes ought therefore to be forgiven them; for it was not in their power to understand our writings with the utmost accuracy.

24. One particular thing 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 their own testimonies against them. And that, 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 some of them have endeavored to disgrace the nobility of certain nations and of some of the most glorious cities, and have cast reproaches upon certain forms of government. Thus hath Theopompos abused the city of Thebes, and Lycurgus that of Lacedaemon, and he that wrote the Triполитicus, (for he is not Theopompos, as is supposed by some) done by the city of Thebes. Timeus also hath greatly abused the foregoing people and others also, and thus treat them they use chiefly when they have a contest with men of the greatest reputation; some out of envy and malice, and others, as supposing that, by this foolish talking of theirs, they may be thought worthy of being feared, and therefore indeed they do by no means fail of their hopes, with regard to the foolish part of mankind, but men of sober judgment still condemn them of great malignity.

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 is, nor indeed commanded to our departure thence. And indeed the Egyptians took many occasions to hate us and envy us; in the first place, because our ancestors had had the dominion over their country, and when they were delivered from there, and went to their own country again, they lived there in prosperity. In the next place, the difference of our religion from theirs hath occasioned great enmity between us, while our way of divine worship did as much amaze as that which their laws appointed, as does the nature of God exceed that of brute beasts; for, so far do they all agree through the whole country, to esteem such animals as gods, although they differ one from another in the external things of their sect, and I do not think of imitating the present form of divine worship their leaders, which neither the Macedonians nor our blessed Saviour did ever approve of.

1 The Phenician shepherds, whom Josephus mistaken the Jews for the Israelites. See the note on sect. 16.
ship which we made use of, though, when they saw our actions approved of by many others, they could not but envy our situation; and some of them have proceeded to that degree of folly and meanness in their conduct, as not to scruple to counterfeit their own ancient records, and to abuse themselves also in their writings, and yet were so blinded by their passions as not to discern it.

25. And now I will turn my discourse to one of their principal writers, whom I have a little before mentioned as a writer of antiquity; I mean Manetho. He promised to introduce the Egyptian history out of their sacred writings, and promised this: that, "our people had come into Egypt, many ten thousands in number, and saw the Egyptians," and then he had further confessed, "That we went out of 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 account; but after this he permits himself, in order to appear to have written rumors and reports passed abroad about the Jews, and introduces incredible narrations, as if he would have the Egyptian multitude, that had the honor of diverting the divine honours and their person to us, as he says they were, and that they were condemned to fly out of Egypt together; for he mentions Amonophis, a fictitious king's name, though on that account he durst not set down his own name above that of the reign, which he 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 departure of the Egyptians was the greatest event in the reign of Amonophis; and that five hundred and eighteen years before; 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 forty and a half years, and his years till the two brothers, Sethos and Hemiussus; the one of which, Sethos, was called by that other name of Amonus, and the other, Hemiussus, by that of Danatus. He also says, that Sethos cast the other out of Egypt, and reigned fifty-nine years, as did eldest son Rhamass reigned after him sixty-six years. When Manetho therefore had acknowledged, that our forefathers were gone out of Egypt six years ago, he introduces his fictitious king Amonophis, and says thus: "This king was desirous to become a spectator of the gods, as had Oras, one of his predecessors in that kingdom, desired the same before him; this desire was accompanied by an earnest desire to his namesake Amonophis, who was the son of Papis, 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 his was told him, that he might see the gods, if he would clear the whole country of the lepers and of the other impure people; that the king was pleased with this injunction, and got together all that had any defect in their bodies out of Egypt, and caused them to be carried up to Bahr; and then he caused them to be sent to those quarters which were on the east sides of the Nile, that they might work in them, and might be separated from the rest of the Egyptians." He says further, that "there were some of the lepers so pestered with those polluted with the leprosy; but that still this Amonophis, the wise man and the prophet, was afraid that the gods would be angry at him and at the king. If there should appear to have been violence offered them; who also added some further terror, that the gods would not let people come to the assistance of these polluted wretches, and would conquer Egypt, and keep it in their possession thirteen years: that, however, he durst not tell him 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 verbatim: "After those that were among this; his inquiries 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 was granted; and so the history of 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 Osarmuth, 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 abstain from any kind of marriage with the Egyptians; who were the highest estate, 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, and had set over the multitude 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 Amonophis, while he was from home, and he went in the name of the Egyptian, and sent ambassadors to those shepherds who had been driven out of the land by Tethmoses to the city called Jerusalem; whereby he informed them of his design, and asked their leave for him and his army, which he said 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 in the first place, bring them back to their ancient city and country Avaris, and provide a plentiful assistance for their multitude; that he would protect them and fight for them as occasion should require, and would easily reduce the country of the Egyptians to the same condition. The shepherds were all the very glad 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 the city of Avaris; the king of Egypt, upon his being informed of their invasion, was in great confusion, as calling to mind what Amonophis, 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 sent for their sacred animals to him especially for those that were principally wrecked in their temples, and gave a particular charge to the priests distinctly, that they should do their utmost to keep the king safe and care. He also sent his son Sethos, who was also named Rameses, from his father Rhamass being but five years old, to a friend of his. He then passed on with the rest of the Egyptians, and with the care of that which the king of Egypt should like of them, against the enemy, who met 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 colors of a pleader and a disputant: accordingly, it neither I am aware that an Egyptian prudent and well written, and the other bitter enemies of the Jews, with whom he had many enemies, was thereby betrayed to a greater heart, and passes them ordinary, and that by consequence he does not here reason with his usual fairness and impar-
sustained back and came to Memphis, where he beheaded Apis and the other sacred animals which he had set up 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 required the kings of Ethiopia, 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 fated three years. However, he pitched a camp for his Ethiopian army, as a guard to king Amonephis, upon the borders of Egypt. But the people of Jerusalem, when they came down there, did not contradict the king of Egypt; they treated the men in such a barbarous manner, that those who saw how they subdued the forementioned country, and the horrid wickedness they were guilty o., thought it most diabolical thing; for they did not only set the heathens, fire, but were not satisfied till they had been guilty of sacrilege, and destroyed the image of the gods, and used them in roasting of those sacrilegious, 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 priests, by name was Ammon, and his name Osarsip, 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.

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 Amonephis returned back from Ethiopia with a great army, as did his son Rhamesses with soldiers and those that were born in Egypt, and that he fought 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." Those and the like accounts are written by Manetho. But it will still demonstrate and the tribes, and tells ardent lies, after I have made a distinction which will relate to what I am going to say about him; for this Manetho had granted and confessed, that he was not born Egyptian, but that they had come from another country, and subdued Egypt, and then went away again out of it. But that those Egyptians who were thus diseased in their bodies were not miracles, but those that had been born in Egypt, and brought the people out was not one of that company, but lived many generations earlier. I shall endeavor to demonstrate from Manetho's own accounts themselves."

25. Now, for the first occasion of this fiction, Manetho supposes what is so better than a ridiculous thing; for he says, that "king Amonephis desired to see the gods." What gods, I pray, did he desire to see? If he meant the gods whom they thout that was made from Osiris and his daughter Isis, and the goat, the crocodile, and the baboon, he saw them already; but for the heavenly gods, how could he see them, and what should occasion this his desire? To be sure, it was because neither king nor priests had 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 arms for the overthrow of the priests. However, this prophet, by whose means the king thought to compass his design, was a wise man. If so, how came he not to know that such his desire was impossible to be accomplished? for the event did not well suit. And what preface could there be to suppose that the gods could not be seen by reason of the people's mains in their bodies, or leprosy? for the gods are not angry at the imperfection of bodies, but at wicked practices: and as to eighty those mained should be expelled out of Egypt, while the Jews were made to work in the quarries, as if he were rather in want of laborers, than intended to purge his country. He says further, that "this prophet slew himself, as foreseeing the anger of the gods, and that they would proceed against him after that he had left the prediction for the king-in-writing." Besides, how came it to pass, that this prophet did not foreknow his own death at the first? say, how came he not even to see the number of those that were to die in Egypt immediately? how came that unreasonable dread upon him of judgments that were not to happen in his lifetime; or what worse thing could he suffer, out of fear of which he made haste, to kill himself? Now let us see the 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 think to execute them against the people of his country, when it had been foretold him that he was to clear Egypt of them; but, as Manetho says, "He then, upon their petition, gave them that city to inhabit, which had formerly belonged to the shepherds, and was called Avarias, 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 flesh which was given by the Egyptians, but should kill and eat them all, and should associate with nobody but those that had conspired with them; and that he bade the multitude by oaths to be sure to continue in those laws; sure that this was the will of the gods about Avarias, he made war against the king." Manetho adds also, that this priest sent to Jerusalem to invite that people to come to his assistance, and promised to give them Avarias; for that it had belonged to the priests of those that were coming from Jerusalem; and that when they were come, they made a war immediately against the king, and got possession of all Egypt. He says also, that this Egyptian king had his army of two hundred thousand men, and that Amonephis, the king of Egypt, not thinking that he ought to fight against the gods, ran away presently into Ethiopia, and committed Apis and his priests, and certain other of his gods to the care of the priests, and commanded them to take care of 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 abstained from all sort of wickedness nor barbarity; and for that priest who settled their polity and their laws," he says, "he was by birth of Heliopolis, and his name was Osiris, the son of Scepter of Osiris, for that he changed his name and called himself Moses." He then says, that "on the thirteenth year afterward, Amonephis, according to the fatal time of the duration of his misfortune, came out of Egypt with a great army, and joining battle with the shepherds and with the polluted people, overcame them in battle, and slew a great many of them, and pursued them as far as the bounds of Syria."

26. Now Manetho does not reflect upon the improbability of his lie: for the leproser people, and the multitude that was with them, although they might formerly have been angry at the king, and yet those that had treated them so casually, 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 breaker towards
him. However, had they ever so much hated him in particular, they might have laid a private plot against him, but would had undoubtedly have made war against all the Egyptians; I mean this on the account of the great kindred they who were so numerous must have had among them. Nay still if they had resolved to fight with the men, they would not have had impiety enough for to fight with their gods: nor would they have ordained laws quite contrary to those of their own country, and to those in which they had been brought up themselves. Yet are we beholden to Manetho alone, who does not lay the principal charge of this horrid transgression upon those that came from Jerusalem, but says that the Egyptians themselves were the most guilty, and that they were the cause that contrived these things, and made the multitude take their oaths for doing 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 hard and dangerous thing, and to leave lost those poluted 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? For they say, that no one of the people were enemies, and greatly differed from them in their customs. He says, indeed, that they complied immediately, upon their promising them that they should conquer Egypt; as if they did not themselves know that country out of which they had been driven by force. Now, had these men been in want, or lived miserably, perhaps they might have undertaken so hazardous an enterprise; but as they dwelt in a happy city, and were in a contrary manner, those people were enemies, and greatly differed from them in their customs therefore, how came it about, that for the sake of those that had of old been their enemies, and those that were immured in their bodies, and of those whom none of their own relations would ever allow to run such hazards in offering them? For they could not foresee that the king would run away from them: on the contrary, he saith himself, that "Amenophis' son had three brothers, who would not have had impiety enough to lay 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 were brought from Jerusalem, and under this invasion they got the granaries of Egypt into their possession, and perpetrated many of the most horrid actions there." And thence he reproaches them, as though he had not himself introduced them as enemies; and although he might accuse such taunts were invited from another place for so doing, when the natural Egyptians themselves had done the same things before their coming, and had taken oaths so to do. However, "Amenophis, some time afterward, came upon them, and conspired with them in battle, and slew his enemies, and drove them before him as far as Syria." As if Egypt were so easily taken by people that came from any place whatsoever, and as if those that had been left behind by war, when it one 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 they get ready for their defense; but that "he followed them over the sandy deserts, and slew them as far as Syria."' while yet it is not an easy thing for an army to pass over that country, even without fighting.

31. It now remains that I debate with Manetho about Moses. Now, the Egyptians acknowledge him to have been a king, as we said before: as if he were born a son: nay, they would willingly lay claim to his kindred of his own, as if they had been supplied by his power of his name, and were joined by some of the priesthood, and the consent of the nobility; although it had been demonstrated out of their records, that he lived five hundred and eighteen years earlier, and then brought our forefathers out of Egypt into the country of his own country. Moses was not subject in his body to any such calamity, as is evident from what he himself tells us: so that he forbade those that had the leprosy either to come into a city, or sit in the village, because that should be the reason why Moses should go about the Egyptians with their clothes rent; and declares, that such as either touch them, or live under the same roof with them, should be esteemed unclean: nay, it is to only those leprosies people for whose sake he made these laws, but also for us who should be affected in the kindred of their body, who yet are not permitted by him to officiate as priests: nay, although any priest, of the secret stones had not initiated, should have such a calamity fall upon him afterward, he ordered him to be deposed. Nor is it then supposed that Moses should ordain such laws against himself, to his own reproach and damage who so ordained them? Nor is it indeed possible, if any one of Moses' relations at all probable, whether he relates the change of his name, and says, that "he was formerly called Osiris," and this a name no way agreeable to the other, while his true name was Moses, and signifies a name, as it were, which was more appropriate to the Egyptians call water Moe. I think, therefore, I have made it sufficiently evident that Moses, when he followed his ancient records, did not much mistake the truth of the history; but that Pharaohs, the sacred scripture, and such a name, in case he would have purged Egypt of the men who had polluted upon them, should be no longer troubled with so frightful apparitions: that Amenophis accordingly chose out two hundred and fifty thousand of those that had been left behind, and cast them out of the country: that Moses and Joseph were scribes, and Joseph was a sacred scribe: that their names were Egyptian originally, that of Moses had been Teshitthen, and that of Joseph Petseph; 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
Manetho and Herodotus, somewhat about Lybian- 

ese in imitation of friendship with them, and made with them an expedition against Egypt: that Amem-

ified could not sustain their attacks, but fled into 

Thespians, and left his wife with child behind him, 

who was, however, in certain caverns, and there 

brought forth a son, whose name was Meseas, 

and who, when he was grown up to man's estate, 

served the Jews into Syria, being about two 

hundred thousand, and then received his father 

Amemophis out of Ethiopia.

32. But now the king, 

Chereamon gives us, 

Now I take it for granted, that what I have said 

already hath plainly proved the falsity of both 

these narrations; for had there been any real 

truth at the bottom, it was impossible that such 

should have been greater discredit than the particular.

But for those that invent lies, what they write 

will easily give us very different accounts, while 

they forge what they please out of their own heads. 

Manetho says, that the king's desire of seeing the gods, 

was the origin of the exci-

tion of the polluted people; but Chereamon feigns 

that it was a dream of his own, spot upon him by 

Jais, that was the occasion of it. Manetho says, 

that after this he went and dwelt in Egypt, and 

brought the Jews to the king of Egypt, to the king 

was Amemophis; but this man says it was Phraiphanes. As to the numbers of the multitude that were expelled, they agree ex-

ceedingly well, the former reckoning them eighty 

thousand, and the other eighty thousand, and sixty 

and fifty thousand. Now, for Manetho, he de-

scribes these polluted persons as sent first to 

work in the quarries, and says, that after that, 

the city Avaris was given them for their habitation, 

tho' they had been in the war with the rest of the Egyp-

tians, that they invited the people of Jerusalem 

to come to their assistance; while Chereamon says 

out of Egypt, and lighted upon three hundred and eighty 

and eight thousand men about Pelusium, who had been left there by 

Amemophis, and so they invaded Egypt with them again; that thereupon Amemophis fled into 

Egypt, and Chereamon says, that about this time there 

a most ridiculous slander in not informing us who 

his army of so many ten thousands were, or 

whence they came; whether they were, native 

Egyptians, or whether they came from a foreign 

country; who does know what he could, and what 

formed a dream from Jais, about the leprous people, 

asigned the reason why the king would not bring 

them into Egypt. Moreover, Manetho sets 

down Joseph as driven away at the same time 

where the city Avaris was given them, and before Moses, which four generations make almost 

gene hundred and seventy years. Besides all this, 

Ramases, the son of Amemophis, by Manetho's 

account, was a young man, and assisted his father 

in this, and lastly, they say the same time with him, and fled into Ethiopia. But Chereamon 

makes him to have been born in a certain cave, 

after his father was dead, and that he then over-

came the enemies in battle, and drove them into 

Syria, being in number about two hundred thou-

sand. O the levity of the man! For he had neither 
told us who these three hundred and eighty thou-

sand were, nor how the four hundred and thirty 

thousand was got together, nor how they came into 

that land which is called Judges, and there they 

built a city, and dwelt therein, and that their 

city was named Hierosyla, from this their robb-

ing of the temples; but that still, upon the suc-

cess they had after this, they in time changed 

its denomination, that it might not be a reproach 
to them, and called the city Hierosolyma, and 

themselves Hierosolymites.

35. Now this man did not discover nor mention 

the same king with the others, but feigned a 

newer name, and passing by the dream and the 

Egyptian prophet, brings him to [Jupitrus] 

Hannous, in order to gain oracles about the scab-

by and leprosy; and the hereditary and genero-
tude of Jews were gathered together at the 

temples. Now it is uncertain whether he as-

cribes his name to these lepers, or to those 

that were subject to such diseases among the Jews 

as of a prodigious rarity; for had they been only con-

futed by other men, 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 narrates a generation 

between Joseph and Moses, about 32 or 33 years; which, 

77]
should be still so great a multitude remaining? Or after what manner did they pass over the desert, and get the land which we now dwell in, and build our city, and that temple which hath been so famous among all mankind? And besides, he ought to have spoken more about our language, and about giving us our own name; and to have informed us of what nation he was, and what parents he was derived from; and to have assigned the reasons why he undertook to make such a journey, and to go and concern himself about matters of injustice with regard to men during that journey. For, in case the people were by birth Egyptians, they would not on the sudden have so easily changed the customs of their country when they had been foreign: but they had for certain some laws or other, which had been kept by them from long custom. It is true, that with regard to those who ejected them, they might have sworn never to bear good-will to them, and might have had a plausible reason for so doing. But if these men resolved to wage an implacable war against all men, in case they had acted as wickedly as he relates of them, and this while they wanted the assistance of all men, this demonstrates a kind of man conduct indeed, but not of the men themselves, but very greatly so of him who tells such lies upon them. He hath also impudence enough to say, that a name impugning them with all sorts of reproaches over the city, and that this name was afterward changed. The reason of which is plain, that the former name brought reproach and hatred upon them in the times of their poverty, while, it seems, those that built the city were of that name, and in the city by giving it such a name. So we see that this wise fellow had such an unbounded inclination to reproach us, that he did not understand that robbery of temples is not expressed by the name being taken away from the fathers of us among the Greeks. But why should a man say any more to a person who tells such impudent lies? However, since this book is written to command respect, length, I will make another beginning, and endeavor to add what still remains to perfect my design in the following book.

* This is the meaning of Hierotheus in Greek, not in Hebrew.

**BOOK II.**

1. In the former book, most honored Epaphroditus, I have demonstrated our antiquity, and confirmed the truth of what I have said, from the writings of the Phanomians, and Chaldeans, and Egyptians. I have, moreover, produced many of the Grecian writers as witnesses thereof. I have also made a refutation of Manetho and Coptic, and all their other adversaries. I shall now, therefore, begin a confirmation of the remaining authors who have written anything against us; although I confess I have had a doubt upon me about Apion the grammarian, whether he could or not to take the trouble of attacking him or not; for some of his writings contain much the same accusations which the others have laid against us, some things that he hath added are very frigid and contemptible, and for the greatest part what he says, it is very scurrilous, 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 manner, and of one more to his advantage. But that he should be better in his whole life than a moustachian. - Yet, because there are a great many men so very foolish, that they are rather caught by such orations than by what is written with care, and take pleasure in reading the books of men, and cannot be persuaded to hear them condemned, I thought it to be necessary not to let this man go off without examination, who had written such an accusation against us, as if he would bring us to make an answer in open court. For I also have observed, that many men are very much delighted when they see a man who first began to reproach another, to be himself exposed to contempt on account of the vice he hath himself been guilty of. However, it is not a very easy thing to get over this man's discourse, nor to know plainly what he means: yet does he seem, amidst a great confusion and disorder in his falsehoods, to produce, in the first place, such things as resemble what I have exposed and confuted in the first book. Moreover, he accuses the Jews that are inhabitants of Alexandria; as, in the third place, he raises the same 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 confirmed the truth of what I have said, from the writings of the Phanomians, and Chaldeans, and Egyptians. I have, moreover, produced many of the Grecian writers as witnesses thereof. I have also made a refutation of Manetho and Coptic, and all their other adversaries. I shall now, therefore, begin a confirmation of the remaining authors who have written anything against us; although I confess I have had a doubt upon me about Apion the grammarian, whether he could or not to take the trouble of attacking him or not; for some of his writings contain much the same accusations which the others have laid against us, some things that he hath added are very frigid and contemptible, and for the greatest part what he says, it is very scurrilous, 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 manner, and of one more to his advantage. But that he should be better in his whole life than a moustachian. - Yet, because there are a great many men so very foolish, that they are rather caught by such orations than by what is written with care, and take pleasure in reading the books of men, and cannot be persuaded to hear them condemned, I thought it to be necessary not to let this man go off without examination, who had written such an accusation against us, as if he would bring us to make an answer in open court. For I also have observed, that many men are very much delighted when they see a man who first began to reproach another, to be himself exposed to contempt on account of the vice he hath himself been guilty of. However, it is not a very easy thing to get over this man's discourse, nor to know plainly what he means: yet does he seem, amidst a great confusion and disorder in his falsehoods, to produce, in the first place, such things as resemble what I have exposed and confuted in the first book. Moreover, he accuses the Jews that are inhabitants of Alexandria; as, in the third place, he raises the same accusations as concern the sacred purifications, with the other legal rites used in the temple.

1 Called by Tiberius, Cymbalhem Almond, the drum of the world.

2 This seems to have been the first dish that had been made in Egypt, and was a little before the time that Abas was given a large, well regulated and a large number of inhabitants. Abas is the first year of the seventh Olympiad, at which we shall see presently. See 1 Kings xx. 11; Isaiah xxxvi. 6.
bated and the lame out of Egypt, see how well this most accurate grammarian of ours agrees with those that have written before him. Mase- theo says, that the Jews departed out of Egypt in the reign of Tutmose, three hundred and ninety-three years before Damasus died to Argos; Lysi- machus says it was under king Bocchoris; and that it was one thousand seven hundred years ago; Molo and some others determined it as every one pleased; but this Apion, as ours, as deserving to be believed forty days they both 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 Phenicians. The reason why he added this to his narrative, was, 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 Phae- nicians, the city of Con and the other cities growing out 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- scerning whom I have formerly produced testimo- nial evidence that may not be denied; and that this Hiram was a friend of Solomon when he was building the temple at Jerusalem, and gave him great assistance in his building that temple, while still Solomon himself built that temple, and the Phenicians were building Carthage. The Jews came out of Egypt. As for the number of those that were expelled out of Egypt, he hath contrived to have the very same number with Lysi machus, and says they were a hundred and ten thousand families. He hath moreover a won- derful and plausible occasion for the name of Sab- bath; for he says, that "when the Jews had trav-elled a six days' journey, they had babies in the womb, and they had settled on the seventh day, as having got safety to that country which is now called Judæa; that then they preserved the language of the Egyptians, and called that day the Sabbath, that they had done this. And the Sabbath became named Sabbatneian 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 the name Sabbath was taken from the time they must have these baboes. But, for certain, if those men had been blind and lame, and had all sorts of distempers upon them, as Apion says they had, they could not have gone one single day from the wilderness, and they could not have travel over a large desert, and besides that to fight and conquer those that opposed them, they had not all of them bad baboes on their groin after the sixth day was over: for no such distem- per no wise moves to the sixth day upon things that travel; but still, when there are many ten thousands in a camp together, they constantly search a settled space [in a day]. Nor is it at all possible that such a thing should happen by chance; but the word must be understood to be so supposed. However, our admirable anath Apio- no had before told us, that "they came to Judæa in six days' time" and again, that "Moses was met by himself." He knew he was called Judæa; and Araba, which was called Sinai, and was encircled 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 have gone from the wilderness to the plains of Canaan so quickly? The place was so barren, and so waste, and at the same time to pass all over the country between that and Judæa in six days? And as for this grammatical translation of the word Sabbath, it either contains an in- sistence of his great impudence or gross ignorance; for the words Sabbo and Sabbath are widely dif- ferent from one another: for the word Sabbath in the Jewish language denotes rest from all sorts of work; but the word Sabbo, as he affirms, de- notes among the Egyptians a snail of a babe in the groin. 3. This is that novel account which the Egypt- ian Apion gives us concerning the Jews' depart- ure out of Egypt, and is no better than a conti- vance of his own. But why should we wonder at the lies he tells about our forefathers, when he affirms them to be of Egyptians original, when he lies also about himself? for although he was born at Oeas in Egypt, he pretends to be, as a man may say, the progenitor of all the Egyptians, and yet he foresees his real country and his pro- genitors, and, by falsely pretending to be born at Alexandria, cannot deny the pravity of his fami- ly; for you see how justly he calls those Egyptians whom he says were not Jews, to be Jews for had he not deemed Egyptians to be a name of great reproach, he would not have avoided the name of an Egyptian himself; as we know that those who-beg of their own countries, value themselves there, and are so dear to their des- tery, and reprove such as unjustly lay claim thereto. As for the Egyptians' claim to be of our kindred, they do it on one of the following ac- counts: I mean, either, as they value themselves upon it, and desire to be esteemed as such or else as they would draw in us to be partakers of their own sin in. But this fine fellow Apion seems to brooch this reproachful appellation against us, [that we were originally Egyptians,] in order to be esteemed as an Egyptian, and to make war for the privilege they had given him of being a fellow-citizen with them; he also is as- sisted in this by the ill-will the Alexandrians bear to those Jews who are their fellow-citizens, and so he proposes to himself that he may, by his art of lie, be estimable according to the nation thereby, and include all the other Egyptians also, while in both cases he is no better than an impudent liar.
the founder of that city gave them the privileges belonging thereto? After the like manner do those Jews that inhabit Ephesus and the other cities of Ionia, enjoy the same name with those that were originally born there, by the grant of the succeeding princes; nay, the kindness and humanity of the Romans hath been so great, that it hath granted leave to almost all others to take the same name of the Romans upon them; so that you may see now, how especially men only of large nations themselves also; for those anciently named Iberi, and Tyrrenhi, and Sabini, are now called Romans. And if Apion reject this way of obtaining the privilege of a citizen of Athens, why should he deny himself an Alexandrian hereafter; for otherwise, how can he who was born in the very heart of Egypt be an Alexandrian, if this way of accepting such a privilege of what he would have us deprive, be once abrogated? Although, indeed, these Romans, who are now the lords of the habitable earth, have forbidden the Egyptians to have the privileges of any city whatsoever; while this same fellow, who is willingly partake of such a privilege himself as he is forbidden to make of, endeavors by calumnies to deprive those of it that have justly received it; for Alexander did not, therefore, get some of our nation to Alexander, and he himself inhabitant for this his city, on whose building he had bestowed so much pain; but this was given to our people as a reward, because he had, upon a careful trial, found them all to have been men of virtue and fidelity to themselves, and to the kings assigning us. Alexander however our nation to such a degree, that, for the equity and the fidelity which the Jews had exhibited to him, he permitted them to hold the country of Samaria free from tribute. Of this he himself was, also was Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, as to those Jews who dwelt at Alexandria. For he intrusted the fortresses of Egypt into their hands, as believing they would keep them faithfully and valiantly for him; and when he had extinguished the tyrants and other tyrants, and the other cities of Libya to himself, he sent a party of Jews to inhabit them. And for his successor Ptolemy, who was called Phidias, I see not only set all those of our nation, who we are not unjustly said to have frequented money for [their reason:] and what was his greatest work of all, he had a great desire of knowing our laws, and of obtaining the honor of carrying our name, and of enjoying his country. He desired that such men might be sent him as might interpret our law to him: and in order to have them well compiled, he committed that care to so ordinary persons, but ordained that Demetrius Philheres, and Andreas, and Aristaeus; the first, Demetrius, the most learned person of his age, and the others, such as were intrusted with the guard of his body, should take the care of this matter; nor would he certainly have been so desirous of learning our law and the philosophy of our nation, had he despised the men that made use of it, or had he not indeed had them in great admiration.

5. Now this Apion was unacquainted with almost all the kings of these Macedonians whom he pretends to have been his progenitors; who were yet very well affected towards us; for the third of those Ptolemies, who was called Ergetes, when he had gotten possession of all Syria he did not at once impose the Egyptian gods for his victory, but came to Jerusalem, and, according to our laws, offered many sacrifices to God, and dedicated to him such gifts as were suitable to such a victory; and as for Ptolemy Philopator and his wife Cleopatra, they committed their whole kingdom to the Jews, when Onias and Deodotes both were, whose names are lauded at by Apion, were the generals of their whole army. But certainly, instead of reproaching them, he ought to admire their actions, and return them thanks for arising for the glory of their nation; for when these Alexandrians were making war with Cleopatra the queen, and were in danger of being utterly ruined, these Jews brought them to terms of agreement, and freed them from the danger. And when Onias, after the death of Alexander, brought a small army afterward upon the city, at the time when Tiberius the Roman ambassador was there present. Yes, do I restore to say, and that he did rightly and very justly is so doing; for that Ptolemy who was once, making war upon the death of his brother Philopator, came from Cyrene, and would have ejected Cleopatra 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 sent 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 recovered a kingdom which he never had; and took some proceedings; for when Ptolemy Physcon, 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 with a thousand elephants, that they might be troubled upon and destroyed; and when he had made those elephants drunk for that purpose, the event proved contrary to his preparations; for these elephants left the town; and the Jews were enabled to put them down, and by(turning) upon Physcon'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 conscience whom he loved so well, to whom he was related, and other concerning him, making supplication to him, that he would not perpetrate so great a wickedness. So he compiled with her request, and repented of what he either had already done or thought to do; whereas it is well known that the Alexander and his, with good reason celebrate this day, on the account that they had thereon been vouchsafed such an evident deliverance from God. However, Apion, he adds not that this event was owing to the nation of the Jews, or to the knowledge of their religion; and no provision was made to accuse the Jews for making this war against Physcon, when he ought to have commended them for the same. This man also makes mention of Cleopatra, the last queen of Alex- andria, and abuses us, because she was unkind 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 near relations and husbands who had loved her, and in general, with regard to all the Romans, and those emperors that were her benefactors; 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 treachery, the two being destroyed the gods of Egypt and the sepulchers of her progenitors; and while she had received her kingdom from the first Cesar, she had the impudence to rebel against her son and successor: nay, she corrupt all Egypt with intoxication as she did in her youth, and made it an enemy to his country, and made him terrors to his friends, and [by his means] despoiled some

*For the sake of, or frequently, I would here read the, a great deal of money; for we, indeed, read both in Amsterdam, and the text of that Ptolemies, which has been universally supposed to have happened under Ptolemy Philopator, the fourth of those Ptolemies, that was the son of Onias, and killed his seven sons at a sacrifice, and made him terrors to his friends, and [by his means] despoiled some

1 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 Physcon, whereas it is evident that those Ptolemies, which has been universally supposed to have happened under Ptolemy Philopator, the fourth of those Ptolemies, that was the son of Onias, and killed his seven sons at a sacrifice, and made him terrors to his friends, and [by his means] despoiled some

2 Joseph's son, and adopted son.
citizens in proper times, but style those who are well known to be in especial danger to them all, no other than foreigners; for it does not appear that any of the kings had ever formerly bestowed those privileges of citizens upon Egyptians, no more than have the emperors done it more or less sparingly; yet it was the case that they introduced us into this city at first, the kings augmented our privileges therein, and the Romans have been pleased to preserve them always inviolate. Moreover, Apion would lay a blit upon us, to make us appear not to be of the same family as 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 magnanimity and modesty of the Romans, whereby they do not compel those that are subject to them to transgress the laws of their countries, but are willing to receive the honors due to them after such a manner as those who are to pay them esteem consistent with piety, and with their own laws; for God; with which honors for conferring honors upon them, when they are compelled by violence so to do. Accordingly, since the Grecians and some other nations think it a right thing to make images, perhaps they have painted the pictures of their parents, and wives, and children, they exult for joy; and some there are who take pictures for themselves of such persons as were never related to them, as the Egyptians; and, some take the images of trees, the rocks, and all the rest of the real 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 well known; for this honest man, of whom it was often omitted with regard to the Jews than it was with regard to the other inhabitants of Alexandria. And if Germanicus was not able to make a distribution of corn to all the inhabitants of Alexandria, the Jews would be no more able to do it; but, if these kings think them unworthy of having the entire custody thereof upon all occasions.

6. But, besides this, Apion objects to us thus: — "If the Jews, (says he,) be citizens of Alexandria, and of the senate and its decum, of the same ed- piles of Augustus Caesar, whereby our merits (to the Romans) are justified. Apion ought to have looked upon those edpiles, and, in particular, to have read those which were made up to his half under Alexander and all the Ptolemies, and the decrease of the senate and of the greatest Roman emperors. And if Germanicus was not able to make a distribution of corn to all the inhabitants of Alexandria, why then, some take the pictures of all the rest of the real 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 well known; for this honest man, of whom it was often 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 kings had formerly entrusted to their care; and if the Jews were to take any part of the kings' property, they did not object to those kings think them unworthy of having the entire custody thereof upon all occasions.

7. However, I cannot but admire those other authors who furnished this man with such his materials: I mean Poseidounis and Apollonius [the son of] Molo, who, while they accuse us for not worshipping the same gods whom others worship, they think themselves not guilty of impiety when they tell lies of our cities and reproachful stories about our temple; whereas it is a most shameful thing for freemen to forgive lies on any occasion, and much more so, to forgive them about our temple, which was so famous over all the world, whereas, when our ancestors for Apion had the impudence to pretend, 'that the Jews placed an ass's head in their holy place,' and he affirms, 'that this was discovered when Antiochus Epiphanes spoiled our temple, and found that they had as much gold, that we thought it worth a great deal of money.' To this my first answer shall be this, that had there been any such thing among us, an Egyptian ought by us means to have thrown it in our teeth, since an
is not a more contemptible animal than the goat and other such creatures, which among men are gods. But besides this answer, I say farther, how comes it about that Apion does not understand this to be no other than a palpable lie, and to be confessed by the thing itself, namely the clearly incredible? For we Jews are always governed by the same laws, in which we constantly persevere; and although many misfortunes have befallen our city, as the like have befallen others, and although other cities were demolished by Titus, [Epiphanius,] and Pompey, and the Great, and Licinicus Crassus, and last of all Titus Caesar, have conquered us in war, and gotten possession of our temple; yet have they none of them found any such thing there, nor indeed anywhere else, which was agreeable to the strictest justice; and although what they found we are not at liberty to reveal to other nations. But for 30 Antiochus, [Epiphanius,] 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 anything there that was ridiculous. This is attested by many worthy writers; Ptolemy of Memphis, and others of the Caesars, and of Caius Antonius, and of Demetrius, and of Ptolemy, and of Timagenes, Castor the chronologist, and Apollodorus, who says that it was out of Antiochus’s want of money that he broke his leg, and when he was brought into the temple, when it was full of gold and silver. Apion ought to have had a regard to these facts, unless he had himself either an ass’s heart or a dog’s impudence; of such a dog I mean as they worship; for he is not only a mad dog but also an external罗马的西而这全有the tale he tells us. As for us Jews, we ascribe no honor or power to asses, as do the Egyptians to crocodiles and asps, when they esteem such as are set upon by the former, or bitten by the latter. For why should a dog, and persons worthy of God. Asses are the same with which we are with other wise men, viz. creatures that bear the burdens that we lay upon them; but if they come to our threshing-floors, and eat our corn, or do other things which 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 perfectly unskilful in the composition of such falseries; or he was liar, or he was lying for the sake of his profit; or he was a Socinian falling into that error which is most [somewhat better] he was not able to persever to in what he had undertaken, since he hath no manner of success in those reproaches as he casts upon us.

8. But the other Grecian is false, in order to prove this ; it being not enough to say, that they who presume to speak about divine worship, ought not to be ignorant of this plain truth, that it is a degree of less impurity to pass through temples, than to forge wicked calumnies of its priests. Now, such men as are more zealous to justify a sacrilegious king, than to write what is just and what is true about us and about our temple; for when they are defending one thing indulging in another, that perfidiosity and sacrilege which he was guilty of, with regard to our nation, when he wanted money, they endeavor to disgrace us, and tell lies, even relating to futurities. Apion confesses the man’s justifying him upon this occasion, and says, that Antiochus found in our temple a bed and a man lying upon it, with a small table before him, full of dainties, from the fishes of the sea, and the fruits of the dry land; that this man had been there for days that did not betake before him; that he immediately adored the king upon his coming in, as hoping that he would afford him all possible assistance; that he fell down upon his knees, and stretched out to him his right hand, and begged to be released; and that when the king bade him sit down, and tell him who he was, and why he dwelt there, and what was the meaning of those various sorts of food that were set before him, the man made a lamentable complaint, that this was just what he had done, and that he was this account of the distress he was in, and said, that he was a Greek, and that as he went over this province, in order to get his living, he was seized upon by foreigners, on a sudden, and was brought before the king. This was seen by nobody, but was fastened by these curious provisions thus set before him; and that truly, at the first, such unexpected advantages seemed to him matter of great joy; that after this, however, it was agreeable to the strictest justice; and that length, astonishment, what their meaning should be; that at last he inquired of the servants that came to him, and was by them informed, that it was in order to the fulfilling a law of the Jews, which they must not tell him, that he was seized; and that they did the same at a set time every year; that they used to catch a Greek foreigner and fast him thus up every year, and then lead him to a certain wood, and kill him, and use him, and to make him a sacrifice, and taste of his entrails, and take an oath upon thus sacrificing a Greek, that they would ever be at enmity with the Greeks; and that then they threw the remains of the sacrifice into the sea. This is what I call the pit.” Apion adds farther, “that the man said, there were but a few days to come ere he was to be slain, and inquired Antiochus, that, out of the reverence he bore to the Grecian Gods, he would not believe, but desired that he should be allowed to consult on the point, and get back into the country, and to so die in his own blood, and would deliver him from the miseries with which he was encompassed.” Now, this is such a most tragical false as is full of nothing but cruelty and impudence; yet does it not even adduce a single instance of this; and those who wrote it in his vindication are willing to suppose; for he could not presume beforehand that he should meet with any such thing as coming to the temple; and must have found it unnecessary to assert anything of this sort to prove that he was an impostor, that was given to unlawful pleasures, and had no regard to God in his actions. But [after Apion] he has done whatever his extraordinary love of lying hath dictated to him, as it is most likely he was before he began his works; for the difference of our laws is known not to regard the Grecians only, but they are principally opposite to the Egyptians, and to some other nations also; and while it so falls out of the way of common sense, it would astonish and confound us, how comes it about that we take an oath, and conspire openly against the Grecians, and that by the effusion of their blood also? Or, how is it possible, that all the Jews should get together in these sacrifices, and the extirpation of one man should be sufficient for so many thousands to taste of them, as Apion pretends? Or, why did not the king carry this man, whosoever he was, down in Apion’s book, with great pomp back into his own country, when he might thereby have been esteemed a religious person himself, and a mighty lover of the Greeks, and might thereby have procured himself the good will from all men against that hatred the Jews bore to him. But I leave this matter: for the proper way of confuting fouls is not to use base words, but to appeal to the things themselves that are said, and lay the hand upon them. It was not ever the construction of our temple, of what nature it was, know well enough how the purity of it was never to be profaned; for it had four several courts, encompassed with choisters round about lost; I mean so far of their writings as considered that description; though it is plain Josephus perceived them all, as extent in his time.

It is remarkable that Josephus here, and, I think, in places also, roughens some few distinct courts of the temple.
every one of which had, by our law, a peculiar degree of separation from the rest. Into the first course one part was set apart for the men of the first generation, and some but women, during their courses, were permitted to pass through it; all the Jews went into the second court, as well as their wives, were separated from all uncleanliness; into the third went the Jewish men when they were clean and purged; into the fourth went the priests, bearing on their ascendant garments: but for the most sacred place, none went in but the high priest, and it was only opened to him with wonder. 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, these holy persons are not to be seen; no sooner do they rise in the night than they continue 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 the purifying of our temple, the holy table) and the laver, which are all written in the law; for there is no thing 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 mentioned above, I will not admit 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 have above five thousand men in them, yet do they not all appear together, as some imagine; those days are over, other priests succeed in the performance of their services, and assemble together at mid-day, and receive the keys of the temple, and the vessels by take, without any thing relating to food or drink being carried into the temple; nay, we are not allowed to offer such things at the altar, excepting what is prepared for the sacrifices.

None of this 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 purity of our temple, he had not, entirely, omitted to take notice of it; but he forges a story about the seizing of a Gracianus, about ineffable food, and the most delicious preparation of delicacies; and pretends that strangers could go into the temple, andHoly men of the first course, as none of the Jews are not allowed to enter unless they be 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 facts. For the holy men of the first course, chief among whom are the high priests, have been all of late years, as above related, became occasioned by so many calamities that are raised upon us.

10. Nay, this miracle of piety devieth us farther, and adds the following pretended facts to those former fabes: he says, that when the Jews were in a long 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 was Zabius, obtained the favor of the Jews, and promised that he would deliver Apollo, the god of Dora, into their hands, and that he would come to our temple, if they would all come up with him, and receive the temple, and the Jews with them; that Zabius made him a certain wooden instrument, and put it round about him, and set three rows of lamps therein, and walked after such a manner, that he appeared to them the god Apollo, and that the sky was full of stars walking upon the earth; that the Jews were terrified frightened at so surprising an apperance, and stood very quiet at some distance; and that Zabius, while they continued so very quiet, went into the temple, and placed the golden head of an ass, (for so factiously does he write,) and then went his way back again to Dora, in great haste. And say you so, sir? as I may reply, that Apion load the ass, that is himself, and lays on him a burden of lies; and for his letters and lies, he is one of the persons that has no being, and not knowing the cities he speaks of, he changes their situation; for Idumea borders on Arabia, and is an inland country, where there is no such city as Dora: although there be, it is true, a city named Dora, in Phoenicia near Mount Carmel, but it is four days' journey from Idumea. Now, then, why does this man tell us things so confus is, as we have no books in common with other nations? If our forefathers were so easily prevailed upon to have Apollo come to them, and thought they saw him walking upon the earth, and the stars with him; for certain those who have so many feet, and particular by fifty lamps, must yet, at this rate, have never seen a candlestick! but still it seems that while Zabius took his journey over the country, there were so many ten thousands of people, nobody met him. He must, then, it seems, have been in the 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 adorned with certain precious stones, and 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 thought he had the gods in his hand. Whether, therefore, he returned it to us again, or whether Apion took it and brought it into the temple again, that Antiochus might find it, and afford us a handle for a second s Fate of Apion's, is uncertain.

11. Apion also tells a false story when he mentions an oath of ours, as if we "swore by God, the maker of the heaven, and earth, and to bear no lie will have our say any longer, and particularly by none of the Greeks." Now this oath ought to have said directly, that "we would bear no good will to any foreigner, and particularly to none of the Egyptians." For then his story about the high priests, who were bound to kill or to have destroyed all the original forgeries, in case our forefathers had been driven away by their kinsmen the Egyptians, not on account of any wickedness they had been guilty of, but on account of the calamities which they were uncaptured by force of arms; that these rather remote from them in place, than different from them in our institutions, insomuch that we have no enmity with them, or any jealousy of them. On the contrary, it hath so happened, that many of the Jews have come over to our laws and some of them have continued in their observation, although others of them, had not courage enough to persevere, and so departed from them again; or did any body ever hear this oath sworn by us? Apion, on the other hand, most unwarily and heedlessly, for he indeed was the first composer of it. In 12. However, Apion deserves to be admired for his great prudence, as to what I am going to say, which is that they are a plain mark among us, that we neither have just laws, nor worship God as we ought to do, because we are not governors, but are rather in subjection to Gentiles, sometimes to one nation, and sometimes to another; and that the city of Jerusalem, and several other cities, while their city (Alexandria) had been of old time an imperial city, and not used

* Judges, in the Greek, by a gross mistake of the transcribers.
† Seven, in the Greek, by a like gross mistake of the transcribers. See Of the War, B. v. ch. v. rect. 4. ‡ Two hundred, in the Greek, by a gross mistake of the transcribers. See Of the War, B. vi. ch. v. sect. 9.
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 said what he hath said 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 most nations have been often subdued, and brought into subjection by others. Now for the Egyptians, they are the only nation that hath had this extraordinary privilege to have never served any of those monarchs who subdued Asia and Europe, and this on account, as they pretend, that the gods had into their country, and were unwilling to be engaged into the shapes of wild beasts: Whereas these Egyptians are the very people who appear to have never, in all the past ages, had one day of freedom, no, not so much as from their own lords. For I will not reproach them with relating 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 esteemed sacred; 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 Macedonians, the latter of whom were styled by all men the most courageous, and the former by all the wisest of men. I say nothing of such kings as have been famous for piety, particularly of one of them whose name was Cresus, nor what calamities he met with in his triumph over the city of Delphi, of the temple at Ephesus, of the destruction of ten thousand others which have been burnt down, while nobody cast reproaches on those that were the sufferers, but on those that were the authors of these calamities. Now we have Apion, an accuser of our nation, though one that still forgets the miseries of his own people the Egyptians; but it is that Sesostris, who was once so celebrated a 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 of what every body knows, that the Egyptians were servants to the Persians, and afterwards to the Macedonians, when they were lords of Asia, and were not better than slaves, while we have enjoyed liberty formerly; nay, more than that, have had the dominion of the cities that lie round about us, and the dominion of the sea in their hundred and twentieth years, until Pompeius Magnus. And when all the kings every where were conquered by the Romans, our ancestors were the only people who continued to be 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 arts, nor any eminent for wisdom."—He then enumerates Socrates, and Zeno, and Cleintheus, 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 pronounces Alexandria to be happy because it hath such and such a man as he is in it; and I say, he was the fittest man to be a witness to his own deserts, although he hath appeared to all others no better than a wicked mountebank, of a corrupt life and ill discourses; on which account one may justly pity them, and with good reason, if it should turn upon such a citizen as he is. But as to our own men, he hath: *This notorious disgrace belonging peculiarly to the people of Egypt, ever since the times of the old prophets of the Jews, noted both section 4 already, and here, may be seen the two views of an Egyptian of Polaeum, Epist. lib. i. cap. 499. And this a remarkable composition of the ancient prediction of God, by Ezek. xxviii. 14, 15.—"That the Egyptians should be a base kingdom, the basest of the kingdoms," and that it should not exalt itself any more above the nations. *The
against apion, book ii.

... that they continued in the use of those unwritten customs, although they were always changing them upon several occasions. But for our legislator, who was of so much greater antiquity than the rest, (as even those who speak against us upon all occasions, at all times, the scribes,) he absolved himself to the people as their best governor and councillor, and included in his legislation the entire conduct of their lives, and preserved with them to receive it, and brought it so to pass, that they never did, and were not answered with his laws did most carefully observe them.

17. But let us consider his first and greatest work: for when it was resolved on by our forefathers to come over to the side of Egypt, and to return to their own country, this Moses took the many ten thousands that were of the people, and saved them out of many desperate distresses, and brought them home in safety. And certainly it was here necessary to travel over a country without roads and full of sand, to overcome their enemies, and during these battles, to preserve their children, and their wives, and their prey; so all which occasions he became an excellent general of an entire army, and he conducted himself so in the mention of the laws of other nations, that are contrary to ours, those ought deservedly to thank themselves for it, who have pretended to deprive us of our laws upon such comparison of their own: nor will there, I think, be made by them a pretense to that, either that we have no such laws ourselves, an epiphany of which I will present to the reader, or that we do not, above all men, live very virtuously; wives, widows, and orphans. 16. To begin then a good way backward: I would advance this, in the first place, that those who have been admirers of good order, and of living under common laws, and who began to introduce those laws, and that degree of virtue which the legislator of the greatest advantage, which is the usual time when governments gain great powers to themselves, and pave the way for tyranny, and ascendant the multitude to live very virtuously: wives, widows, and orphans. 16. To begin then a good way backward: I would advance this, in the first place, that those who have been admirers of good order, and of living under common laws, and who began to introduce those laws, and that degree of virtue which the legislator of the greatest advantage, which is the usual time when governments gain great powers to themselves, and pave the way for tyranny, and ascendant the multitude to live very virtuously: wives, widows, and orphans. 16. To begin then a good way backward: I would advance this, in the first place, that those who have been admirers of good order, and of living under common laws, and who began to introduce those laws, and that degree of virtue which the legislator of the greatest advantage, which is the usual time when governments gain great powers to themselves, and pave the way for tyranny, and ascendant the multitude to live very virtuously: wives, widows, and orphans. 16. To begin then a good way backward: I would advance this, in the first place, that those who have been admirers of good order, and of living under common laws, and who began to introduce those laws, and that degree of virtue which the legislator of the greatest advantage, which is the usual time when governments gain great powers to themselves, and pave the way for tyranny, and ascendant the multitude to live very virtuously: wives, widows, and orphans. 16. To begin then a good way backward: I would advance this, in the first place, that those who have been admirers of good order, and of living under common laws, and who began to introduce those laws, and that degree of virtue which the legislator of the greatest advantage, which is the usual time when governments gain great powers to themselves, and pave the way for tyranny, and ascendant the multitude to live very virtuously: wives, widows, and orphans.
while the Athenians, and almost all the other Greeks, made laws about what was to be done or left undone, but had no regard to the exercising them thereto is practice.

But for our legislators, he very carefully joined these two methods of instruction together: for he neither left those practical exercises to go on without verbal instruction, nor did he permit them to go on without the exercises for practice, but beginning immediately from the earliest infancy, and the appointment of every one’s diet, he left nothing of the very smallest consequence to be done at the pleasure of all mankind, but so contrivingly he made a fixed rule of law what sorts of food they should abstain from, and what sorts they should make use of; as also what commodities they should have with others; what great differences they should use, as to eating or drinking, and what times of rest should be interposed; that, by living under that law as under a father and a master, we might be guilty of no sin, neither voluntary nor out of ignorance; for he did not propose this law to be so, nor did he not now explain how these notions of God are the sentiments of the wisest among the Grecians, and how they were taught them upon the principles that he afforded them. However, they testify with great assuredness that those notions are confirmed, and agreeable to the nature of God, and to his majesty; for Pythagoras, and Anaxagoras, and Plato, and the Stoic philosophers that succeeded them, and almost all the rest, are of the same sentiments, and hold the same notions of the name of God; yet we must not be idle so much as to have determined those notions of persons moral and immutible through all eternity, superior to all mortal conceptions in perfection; and, though known to us by his power, yet unknown to us by his name. It is not now expected that these men shall declare those truths unerring and immutable through all eternity, so that they may be known by the name of God; yet we must not allow these men to disclose those truths about these possessions to more than a few, because the body of the people were prejudiced with other opinions before. He, therefore, to each legislator, who was to agree to his laws, did not only present those that were his contemporaries to agree with these notions, but also imprinted this faith in God upon all their posterity, that it never could be dissolved; the reason why the constitution of this kind of government was so much better directed to the utility of all, other than public laws 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 it; and indeed, justly, he did not for tunes 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 Moses’s settlement) have a reference to God; for he could not do otherwise without those in suspense or undetermined. For there are two 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 he has 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 Lacedaemonians, and the Cretians, get to be learned by practical exercises, but not by words;

This expression itself, οὕτως ἀντερινεμένοι, is very peculiar. That Moses ordained the Jewish government in such a manner, may be illustrated by that parallel expression, οὕτως ἁλίθεια, which occurs in St. John, 1 and that, 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 very improper in him who was writing in his own tongue, and he thought it might not be endured by his contemporaries even in his Antiquities and in these books against Apion, all written for the use of the Greeks and Romans, to be read and understood, and as far as ever, his truth would give him leave. Though it be very sensible, though he never uses such expressions in his books, and was writing originally for the Jews beyond Egypt, and in their language; in neither of these, however, Josephus directly opposes the Jewish settlement under Moses to be a divine settlement, and, indeed, no other than a real theocracy.

These excellent accounts of the divine attributes, and that God is not to be at all known in his essence, as also some other books: expressions about the resurrection of Josephus, and almost all the other Greeks, made laws about what was to be done or left undone, but had no regard to the exercising them thereto is practice.

But for our legislators, he very carefully joined these two methods of instruction together: for he neither left those practical exercises to go on without verbal instruction, nor did he permit them to go on without the exercises for practice, but beginning immediately from the earliest infancy, and the appointment of every one’s diet, he left nothing of the very smallest consequence to be done at the pleasure of all mankind, but so contrivingly he made a fixed rule of law what sorts of food they should abstain from, and what sorts they should make use of; as also what commodities they should have with others; what great differences they should use, as to eating or drinking, and what times of rest should be interposed; that, by living under that law as under a father and a master, we might be guilty of no sin, neither voluntary nor out of ignorance; for he did not propose this law to be so, nor did he not now explain how these notions of God are the sentiments of the wisest among the Grecians, and how they were taught them upon the principles that he afforded them. However, they testify with great assuredness that those notions are confirmed, and agreeable to the nature of God, and to his majesty; for Pythagoras, and Anaxagoras, and Plato, and the Stoic philosophers that succeeded them, and almost all the rest, are of the same sentiments, and hold the same notions of the name of God; yet we must not allow these men to disclose those truths unerring and immutable through all eternity, so that they may be known by the name of God; yet we must not allow these men to declare those truths to more than a few, because the body of the people were prejudiced with other opinions before. He, therefore, to each legislator, who was to agree to his laws, did not only present those that were his contemporaries to agree with these notions, but also imprinted this faith in God upon all their posterity, that it never could be dissolved; the reason why the constitution of this kind of government was so much better directed to the utility of all, other than public laws 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 it; and indeed, justly, he did not for tunes 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 Moses’s settlement) have a reference to God; for he could not do otherwise without those in suspense or undetermined. For there are two 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 he has 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 Lacedaemonians, and the Cretians, get to be learned by practical exercises, but not by words;
is affected, but some of the philosophers have been so indolent as fully to indulge such contradictions, while some of them have undertaken to use such words as entirely take away the nature of God, as others have taken away his providence and power, and then, amongst us any difference in the conduct of our lives, but all our works are common to us all. We have one sort of discourse concerning God, which is conformable to our law, and affirms that he cannot be changed, and who can question the principle of speaking concerning the conduct of our lives, that all other things ought to have piety for their end; and this any body may hear from our women and servants themselves. 22. But while we are ourselves persuaded that our law was made agreeably to the will of God, it would be impious for us not to observe the same principles, and to think that the laws may be changed? and what can be invented that is better? or what can we take out of other people's laws that will exceed it? Perhaps some would have the entire sedentary government of our ancestors shall be subject to the same punishment as if he had been guilty of iniquity towards God himself. When we offer sacrifices to him, we do it not in order to secure ourselves or be drunkards; and our excesses are against the will of God, and would be an occasion of injuries and of luxury; but by keeping ourselves sober, orderly, and ready for our other occupations, and being more temperate than others. And for the duty at the sacrifices themselves, we ought, in the first place, to pray for the common welfare of all, and after that our own: for we are made for fellowship one with another, and who prefers the common good before what is private and acceptable to God. And let our prayers and supplications be made humbly to God, not [so much] that he would give us what is good, (for he hath already given that of his own accord, and hath proposed it to us,) that we may duly receive it, and when we have received it, may preserve it. Now the law has appointed several purifications at our sacrifices, whereby we are cleansed after a generality, after what sometimes happens to us in bed, and after accompanying with our wives, and upon many other occasions which it would be too long now to set down. And this is our doctrine concerning God and his worship, and is the same that the law appoints for our practice. 25. But then, what are our laws about marriage? That law owns no other mixture of sexes but that which nature hath appointed, of a man and a woman, and that the wife adorns the husband in the procession of children. But it abhors the mixture of a male with a male; and if any one do that, death is his punishment. It commands us, also, when we marry, not to have relations with the person, nor to take upon ourselves by violence, nor to persuade her deceitfully and knavishly, but to demand her in marriage of him who hath power to markable, that although the temple of Jerusalem was built as the only place where the whole nation of the Jews were to offer their sacrifices, yet is there no mention of the sacrifice of prayer, the sacrifice of praise, the sacrifice of thanksgiving. However, those ancient forms used at sacrifices are now generally lost, to the enormous number of false religions. It is here also unnecessary to introduce the Old Testament, which is only a part of the New Testament, and where the sacrifice of prayer, the sacrifice of praise, the sacrifice of thanksgiving is nowhere mentioned.
disposes of her, and is fit to give her away by the nearness of his kindred; for (says the scripture) "A woman is inferior to her husband in all things." Let her, therefore, be obedient to him; but to have to do with another man is a wicked thing, which, if any one ventures upon, death is inevitably his punishment: no more can he avoid the same who forces a virgin betrothed to another man, or entices another man's wife. The law, moreover, compels them to bring up all our offspring, and forbids women to cause abortion of what is begotten, or to destroy it afterward; and if any woman appears to have so done, she will be a murderer of her child, by destroying a living creature, and diminishing human kind; if any one, therefore, proceeds to such fornication or murder, he cannot be clean. Moreover, the law enjoins, that after the man and wife have lain together in a sence of any ilustrious mammals, nor for them; but there is a defilement contracted thereby, both in soul and body, as if they had gone into another country; for indeed the soul, by being united to the body, is subject to miseries, and is not freed from the penalties of death, on which account, the law requires this purification to be entirely performed.

26. Nay, indeed, the law does not permit us to make festivals at the births of our children, and thereby do them the profit of those of eating to excess; but it ordains, that the very beginning of our education should be immediately directed to sobriety. It also commands us to bring those children up in learning, and to exercise them in the labors of our parents, and with the assistance of their predecessors, in order to their imitation of them, and that they might be nourished up in the laws from their infancy, and might neither transgress them nor have any pretense for their ignorance of them.

27. Our law has also taken care of the decent burial of the dead, but without any extravagant expenses for their funerals, and without the erection of any ill-fitting monuments for them; but hath ordered that their nearest relations should perform their obsequies: and hath shown it to be regular, that all who pass by when any one is buried should accompany the funeral, and join in the mourning for the deceased. It also ordains, that the house and its inhabitants should be purified after the funeral is over, that every one may thence learn to keep at a great distance from the thoughts of being pure, if he once hath been guilty of murder.

28. Our law ordains also, that parents should be honored immediately after God himself; and delivers that son who does not requite them for the benefits he hath received from them, but is disrespectful on any such occasion, to be stoned. It also says, that the young must pay due respect to every elder, since God is the eldest of all beings. It does not give leave to conceal any thing from our friends, because that is not true friendship; but it will not concur in all things to their fidelity: it also forbids the revelation of secrets even though an enmity arise between them. If any judge take bribes, his punishment is death: he that overlooks one that offers him a present, and at the same time he is able to relieve him, he is a guilty person. What is not by any one intrusted to another, ought not be required back again. No one is to touch another's goods. He that lends money must not demand usury for its loan. These, and many more of the like sort, are the rules that unite us in the bonds of society one with another.

29. It will also be worth our while to see what exactly our legislator would have us exercise in a"... that he who in our present copies of the Old Testament, our intercourse with strangers: for it will thus appear, that he made the best provision he possibly could, both that we should not dissolve our own constitution, nor show any envious mind to others, but to be kind to those who take care and think well of us. Accordingly, our legislator admits all those that have a mind to observe our laws, to do so; and after a friendly manner, as esteeming that a true union, which not only extends to ourselves, but to those who are related to us, and that by the same manner with us: yet does he not allow those that come to us by accident only, to be admitted into communion with us.

30. However, there are other things which any law does not command us to do, but forbids us to do: and what is that? He forbids us to speak evil of any one, lie, or use any invective expressions against another. He also forbids us to speak of other men's affairs, as if we were not concerned in them; or to bring them into contempt, or show any disdain of them. He also prohibits us from speaking ill of any one in the hearing of another; and he also prevents others from doing so. He also prevents us from speaking ill of any one when he is absent, or that any one has committed against him. He also prohibits us from speaking ill of any one in the hearing of another; and he also prevents others from doing so. He also prevents us from speaking ill of any one when he is absent, or that any one has committed against him. He also prohibits us from speaking ill of any one in the hearing of another; and he also prevents others from doing so. He also prevents us from speaking ill of any one when he is absent, or that any one has committed against him. He also prohibits us from speaking ill of any one in the hearing of another; and he also prevents others from doing so. He also prevents us from speaking ill of any one when he is absent, or that any one has committed against him. He also prohibits us from speaking ill of any one in the hearing of another; and he also prevents others from doing so.

31. Nay, indeed, in case it had so fallen out that our nation had not been so thoroughly known among all men as they are, and our voluntary submission to our laws had not been so openly and generally esteemed, let us not think that it was necessary to have written these laws himself, and had
read them to the Greeks, or had pretended that he had been with them at the limits of the
knowledge of the world, that had in ancient times been subject to; and this is true of
those that have attempted to write something of the same kind for political government,
and for laws, are accused as composing monstrous and indecent laws for their
inhabitants, and as being contented to eat and drink, not at random or at every one's
pleasure, or being under inviolable rules in lying with our wives, in magnificent
clothing, and again in the observation of our times of rest; while those that can use
words in war, and can put their enemies to flight when they attack them, cannot bear to submit
to such laws about their way of living; whereas our
being accustomed to such laws, renders us fit to show our fortitude upon other occasions
also.

34. Yet do the Lyasimachi and the Moliones, and some other writers, (unkindly sophists as they
call us,) and the authors of the laws, see us as the vilest of mankind. I have now no
mind to make an inquiry into the laws of other nations; for the custom of our country is to
keep our own laws, but not to bring accusations against the
laws of others. All of us have our heads hath expressly forbidden us to laugh at and re-
vere those that are esteemed gods by other people,
[.] account of the very name of God ascribed to them. But since our antagonists think
fit to run us down, it is of no great concern whether those that have been admired among the Greeks
for wisdom, who hath not greatly blamed the
most famous poets, and most celebrated
lawgivers, for writing such nations originally
among the best 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 begotten one by another,
and that the kind of being is to be imagined.
They also distinguish them in their
places and ways of living, as they would
distinguish several sorts of animals: as some to be
under the earth; as some to be in the sea; and
other seats of the ancients; and indeed 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 necessities of life, and had their food
prepared for them by others; and these good
and humane actions they do for no other purpose
but this, that by their actions and their sufferings
they may be able to conquer all those against
whom they are at war. I need not add this, that
they have not been quite able to maintain their
laws; for, not only a few single persons, but mul-
titudines of them have in heaps neglected those
laws, and have delivered themselves, together
with their land, to the will of those that are their
rulers, more accurately; that some are set to trades;
those that are gods, and another goddess is a
weaver; that one god is a warrior and fights with
men; that some of them are harpers, or delight in
archery; and besides these, they inherit the land
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 Orator.
and lament and mourn for such their afflictions.

But what is the grossest of all in point of lascivi
uousness, are those unbound lusts ascribed to
almost all of them, and their amours; which how
can it be other than a most absurd supposition, espe-
cially, when it reached to the male gods, and to the
female goddesses also? Moreover, the chief of all their
gods, and their first father himself, overlooks those
goddesses whom he hath defiled
begotten with child, and suffers them to be
kept flocks, or driven as shepherds; while others, like ma-
ufactors, are bound in a prison of brass. And what
sober persons are there who would not be pro-
verbial at such stories, and rebuke those that
forget and mix, and so seem to admit those who
those that admit them for true? Nay, others there
are that have advanced a certain timorous-
ness and fear, as also madness and fraud, and any
other passion, into that nature among the
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 call others of them writers of evil. The rest
also endeavor to move them as they would the
vilest of men, by gifts and presents, as looking for
nothing else than to receive some great mischief
from them unless they pay them such wages.

But what do you, perchance, inquire, what
should be the occasion of this unjust manage-
ment, and of these scandalous about the Deity? And
truly I suppose it to be derived from the im-
perfect knowledge the heathen legislators had at first of
gods; and also from the ignorance which they had in dealing
plain to the people even so far as they did com-
prehend of it, nor did they compose the other part of
their political settlements according to it, but
ought of very little consequence, and gave leave both to the peoples
what gods they pleased, and those subject to all
sorts of passions, and to the ostrows to procure politi
social decrees from the people for the admissi
of such foreign gods as they thought proper.

The painters also, and statuaries of Greeks, had
herein great power, as such of them could con-
trive a shape [proper for a God;] the one to be
formed out of clay, and the other by making the
beast of such a one. But these workmen that
were principally admired, had the use of
very 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 filled with gold and silver, and of all the arts,
of all kinds of purification.] Besides this, the
first gods, who have long flourished in the
honors done them, are now grown old, [while
those that found and after them are come in their
room; and second seat, I may say. At any
most honorably of them that I can say: nay,
certain other gods there are, who are newly intro-
duced and newly worshipped, [as we, by way of
dignity, so presently of leave have to
to place of worship desolate:] and for their
images, some of them are already left desolate,
and others are built anew, according to the pleas-
sure of men; whereas, they ought to have
preserved their opinion about God, and that worship
which is due to him, always and immutably the
same.

37. But now this Appollonius Mela was one of
those foolish and partial men. However, nothing
that I have said was unknown to those that were
real philosophers among the Greeks, nor were
they unacquainted with those frigid pretences
of allegories, [which had been alleged for such
purpose of them, but had still agreed with us as
to the true and becoming notions of God,] whereas it was
that Plato would not have politics, settlements
of this kind, on the excuse that adulteries
are even Homer himself with a garland on
his head, and with ointment poured upon him, and this
because he should not destroy the right notions of
God with his fables. Nay, Plato principally
imitated our Legislator in this point, that he con-
joined his-citizens to have the main regard to this
precept, that every one of them should learn
their laws accurately. He also ordained that
they should not admit of foreigners intermixing
with them, who, as we have said, were not
the commonwealth should keep itself pure,
and consist of such only as persevered in their
own laws. Appollonius Mela did no way con-
side this, when he made it one branch of his ac-
cepting that those who were to have a different
as have different notions about God, nor will we
have fellowship with those that choose to observe
a way of living different from ourselves; yet is
this manner of sects not among the ordinary
Greeks only, but among such of those Greeks as are
of the greatest reputation among them. Moreover,
the Lacedaemonians continued in their way of ex-
clusion, and would not admit of any, who are not
pleased, nor indeed their very own people to
travel abroad, as suspecting that those two things would
introduce a dissolution of their own laws; and
perhaps there may be some reason to blame the rigid
severity of the Lacedaemonians, for the great
privilege of their city on no foreigners, nor
indeed would give leave to them to stay among
them; whereas we, though we do not think fit
to imitate other-institutions, yet do we willingly
admit of all others. What sects are those, which I
think I may reckon to be a plain indication
of our humanity, and at the same time of
our magnanimity also.

38. But I will shew more of the Laceda-
emonians, than the Athenians, who glory in
having made their city to be common to all men, what
their behavior was. Appollonius did not know, while
they punished those that did but speak one word
contrary to their laws about the gods, without
mercy; for on what other account were it that
Socrates was put to death by them? For certainly
he neither betrayed their city to its enmities, nor
was he guilty of any sacrilege with regard to any
of their temples; but it was on this account, that
he swore certain new oaths, and that he affirmed
either in earnest, or, as some say, only in jest,
that a certain demon used to make signs to him
what he should not do.] For these reasons he
was committed to prison, and then to kill himself.
His accuser also complained, that he corrupted
the young men, by inducing them to despise the
political settlement and laws of their city; and
thus was Socrates, the wisdom of Athens, punish-
ed, and put to death. And though he was of
Clazomenae, was within a few suffrages of being
governed and died, because he said the sun, which the Athenians thought to be
destroyed and was to die, was to be published by
the public proclamation, that they would give a
talent to any one that would kill Diogenes of Miletus,
because it was reported of him that he hungered
others. This strange answer was also forbid
d by the Tyrrhenians, b. 1. sect. 16. as Simplicius
has notes.
at theirמטפסית. Protagonists 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 fled immediately away. Nor need we at all be surprised when men attempt to conciliate the strongest of their magistrates, when they did not spare even women also; for they very lately slew a certain priestess, because she was accused by somebody that the mediating people into the worship of strange gods, necessary pretexts have been adduced for their laws; and a capital punishment had been decreed to such as introduced a strange god; it being manifest, that they who make use of such a law, do not believe those of other nations to be really gods, but only intend to give 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 Scythians, they take a pleasure in killing men, and suffer little from brute beasts; yet do they think it reasonable to have their institutions observed. They also slew Anacharsis, a person greatly admired for his wisdom among the Greeks, and afterwards they appeared to come fraught with Grecian 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 the Grecian customs, for having been brought up among the Persians, he was delighted with the preservative of them, 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 the Greeks had been forbidden so to do by one of the 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, we may therefore say, if we do not altogether abuse even a brute beast: and as for us, neither hath the fear of our governors, nor a desire of following what other nations have in to great esteem; but we have as little to withdraw from our own laws; nor have we exerted our courage in battles, to increase our wealth, but only for the observation of our laws; and when we do, we bear the losses, yet when any persons would create policy, we have returned to it, in the first instance to go to war, though it be beyond our ability to pursue it, and bear the greatest calamities to the last with much fortitude. And, indeed, what reason can there be why we should desire to imitate the laws of our great and mighty country, when they are not observed by our own legislators? And why do not the Laconians think of abolishing that form of their government which suffer them, not to associate with any others, as well as their custom of matrimony? And why do not the Eleusians and Thebans abolish that unnatural and impudent lust, which makes them lie with males? For they will not show a sufficient sign of their repentance of what they of old thought, nor have returned to it, in the first instance to go to war, though it be beyond our ability to pursue it, and bear the greatest calamities to the last with much fortitude. And, indeed, what reason can there be why we should desire to imitate the laws of our great and mighty country, when they are not observed by our own legislators? And why do not the Eleusians and Thebans abolish that unnatural and impudent lust, which makes them lie with males? For they will not show a sufficient sign of their repentance of what they of old thought, nor have returned to it, in the first instance to go to war, though it be beyond our ability to pursue it, and bear the greatest calamities to the last with much fortitude. 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And why do not the Eleusians and Thebans abolish that unnatural and impudent lust, which makes them lie with males? For they will not show a sufficient
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 in order to convict those that have written about us unjustly, and in an impudent affectation of disguising the truth. And now I think I have said what I meant; what I intended in writing these books. For whereas our accusers have pretended, that our nation are a people of a very late original, I have demonstrated that they are exceeding ancient; for I have produced as witness to many ancient authors, who have made mention of us in their books, while they said no such writer had so done. Moreover, they had said, that we were sprung from the Egyptians, and 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 a road not sordid and weak, but strong bodies. Those accusers reproached our legislator as a vile fellow: whereas God in old time bore witness to his virtuous conduct; and since that testimony of God, time it self hath been discovered to be true; it is that the same thing, which is kept by any others before us, we should have owed them thanks, as disciples owe to their masters: but if it be visible that we have made use of them, more than any other men, and if we have been more honest, than their original invention is our own, let the Apis, and the Molos, with all the rest of those that delight in lies and reproaches, stand confounded; but let this and the foregoing book be dedicated to thee, Ephraimite, who hast brought the people to the land 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 sordidly finished and uneventful, 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 there must be in it perpetual darkness. This region is a place of captivity for all souls; in which angels are appointed as guardians to them, who distribute to them temporary punishments, agreeable to every one's behavior and manners.

2. In this region there is a certain place set apart, as a lake of unquenchable fire, wherein we suppose no one hath hitherto been cast, but it is prepared for a day more-determined by God, in which one righteous sentence shall deservedly be passed upon all men; where the just, and those that have been disobedient to God, and have given honor 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 destitution; while the just shall obtain an incorruptible and never-failing kingdom. These are indeed confined in Hades, but not in the same place wherein the unjust are confined.

3. Hades is not distant from Hades, wherein the unjust are confined. That 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 rest 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 constrained by necessity, but ever enjoying the prospect of the good things they see, and rejoicing in the expectation of those new employments 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 ease, no burning heat, no piercing cold; nor are any briers there; but the constancy of the fathers and of the just, which they see always, smiles upon them, while they wait for the rest and glory of Israel, which is to be among 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 to 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 laws, and to thrust them as they descend. Nor these, but all the rest, are set over them, and drag them into the neighborhood of hell itself, who when they are hard by it, continually bear the noise of it, and do not stand clear of the hot vapor 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 in effect punished thereby; not only so, but where there is the appearance (as it were of a choir) of many of the just, even hereby are they punished; for a chaos deep and large is fixed between them; insomuch that a just man that 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 confined until a proper season which God hath determined, when he will make a resurrection of all men from the
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dead: not procuring a transmigration of souls from one body to another, but raising again those very bodies, which you Greeks, seeing to be dissolved, do not believe [their resurrection.] But listen not to deceivers: for while you believe that the soul is created, exempt from all mortal bond, according to the doctrine of Plato, and this in time, be not incredulous, but believe that God is able, when he hath raised to life that body which was made as a compound of the same elements, to make it strong and perfect; for he will not ever be said of God, that he is able to do some things and unable to do others. We have therefore believed that the body will be raised again, for although it is dissolved, it is not perished; for the earth receives its remains, and preserves them; and while they are like seed, and are mixed among the more fruitful soil, they flourish, and what is sown is indeed sown bare grain, but at the mighty sound of God the Creator, it will sprout up, and be raised in a clothed and glorious condition, though not before it has been dissolved, and mixed [with the earth.] So that we have not rashly believed the resurrection of the body; for although it is dissolved for a time, and is covered with corruption, as the earth is; and will still, and is cast into the earth, as into a potter's furnace, in order to be formed again, not in order to rise again such as it was before, but in a state of purity, and at the same time also whole created, that it may not be a spittle of corruption. And to every body shall its own soul be restored. And when it hath clothed itself with that body, it will not be subject to misery, but being itself pure, it will continue with its pure body, and rejoicing with it, with the same sickness wherein they died; and such as were in unbelief, the same shall they be when they shall be faithfylly judged.

6. For all men, the just as well as the unjust, shall be brought before the Word; for to him hath the Father committed all judgment, and he, in order to fulfill the will of his Father, shall come as judge, whom we call Christ. For Minor and Rhadasanthis are not the judges, as you Greeks say of Christ, the Father hath glorified, CONCERNING WHOM WE HAVE ELSE WHERE GIVEN A MORE PARTICULAR ACCOUNT, FOR THE SAKE OF THOSE WHO SEEK AFTER TRUE KNOWLEDGE, EXERCISING THE RIGOROUS JUDGMENT OF THE FATHER TOWARDS ALL MEN, HATH PREPARED A JUST SENTENCE FOR EVERY ONE, ACCORDING TO HIS WORKS; AT HIS JUDGMENT-SEAT, WHEN ALL MEN, AND ANGELS, AND DEMONS STAND, THEY WILL SENT FORTH ONE VOICE, AND SAY, JUST IS THE JUDGMENT; THE REJOINER TO WHICH WILL BRING A JUST SENTENCE UPON BOTH PARTIES, BY GIVING JUSTLY TO THOSE WHO HAVE DONE WELL, AN EVERLASTING FULFILLMENT; BUT ALLOWING TO THE LOVERS OF WICKED WORKS TO PASS THROUGH THE UNQUENCHABLE FIRE, AND THAT WITHOUT END, AND A CERTAIN SIFTY WORM NEVER Dying, AND NOT DESTROYING THE BODY, BUT CONTINUING ITS ERUPTION OUT OF THE BODY WITH NEVER-CEASING GRIEF: NEITHER WILL SHEET manufacture TO THE BODY, THAT IT MAY AVOID A SATISFIED METHOD OF LIVING: FOR THOUGH IT MAY BE POSSIBLE, PERHAPS, TO BREAK OFF THE CHAIN OF OUR IRREGULAR AFFECTIONS AT ONCE, YET OUR AMPUTATION CANNOT BE SECURED WITHOUT THE BODY, THE PRAYERS OF GOOD MEN, THE HELP OF THE BROTHERS, AND OUR OWN SINCERE REPENTANCE AND CONSTANT CARE. IT IS A GOOD THING NOT TO SIN AT ALL; IT IS ALSO GOOD, HAVING SINNED, TO REPENT: AS IT IS BEST TO HAVE HEALTH ALWAYS, BUT IT IS A GOOD THING TO RECOVER FROM A DISORDER.—TO GOD BE GLORY AND DOMINION FOR EVER AND EVER. Amen.

END OF THE WRITINGS OF JOSEPHUS.

3C
APPENDIX.

DISSERTATION I.

The Testimonies of Josephus concerning Jesus Christ, John the Baptist, and James the Just, uninterpolated.

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 and rejected by some, who have made it appear as spurious, it will be fit for me, who have ever declared my firm belief that these testimonies were genuine, to set down fairly some of the original evidence and citations I have met with in the first fifteen centuries concerning them, and then to make proper observations upon that evidence, for the reader's more complete satisfaction.

But before I produce the citations themselves out of Josephus, give me leave to prepare the reader's attention, by setting down the sentiments of perhaps the most learned person, and the most competent judge that ever was, as to the authority of Josephus, I mean of Joseph Scaliger, in the Prolegomena to his book De Eminentissime Temporum, p. 17. "Josephus is the most diligent and the greatest lover of truth of all writers; nor are we afraid to affirm of him, that it is more safe to believe him, not only as to the events related by him himself, but as to those recorded by others, than as to the foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers, and this, because his fidelity and his compass of learning are every where conspicuous."

The ancient Citations of the Testimonies of Josephus, from his own Time till the end of the Fifteenth Century.

About A.D. 116. Thuc. Annal. lib. xv. cap. 44. "Now in order to still the rumour, made by the Jews, that he himself had set Rome on fire, this accosted them who were hated for their wicked practices, and called by the vulgar "Christians;" these he punished unjustly. The author of the Apologie, who, in the sixtieth year 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 put to death by Pilate, but he ascended into heaven, as the prophecies did foretell was to happen."

About A.D. 330. Origen. Comment. in Matth. p. 234. "This James was of so shining a character among the people, on account of his righteousness, that Flavius Josephus, when, in his twentieth book of the Jewish Antiquities, he had a mind to set down what was the cause why the people suffered such miseries, till the very holy house was demolished, he said, that these things befell them by the anger of God, on account of what they had dared to do to James, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ: and wonderful it is that while he did not receive Jesus for Christ, he did nevertheless bear witness that Jesus was so righteous a man. He says farther, that the people thought that they suffered these things for the sake of James."

About A.D. 450. Contra Celso. lib. i. p. 35, 38. "Jesus of Nazareth, who was called a Jew, that admitted of John the Baptist, and how he baptised Jesus, that one who lived but a little while after John and Jesus, wrote, how that John was a baptist unto the remission of sins. For Josephus testifies in the eighteenth book of Jewish Antiquities, that John was the Baptist, and that he promised purification to those that were baptized. The same Josephus also, although he did not believe in Jesus as Christ, when he was inquiring after the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the demolition of the temple, and ought to have said, that their machinations against God were the cause of those miseries coming on the people, because they had slain that Christ who was foretold by the prophets, he, though as it were unwillingly, and yet as one who speaks the truth, says, "These miseries befell the Jews by reason of their forsaking the Just, who was the brother of Jesus, that was called Christ, because they had slain him who was a most righteous person." Now this James was he whom that genuine disciple among us, Paul, said he had seen as the Lord's brother; [Gal.i. 19.] which relation implies not so much nearness of blood, or the sameness of education, as it does the agreement of manners and preaching. If therefore he says the demolition of Jerusalem befell the Jews for the sake of James, with how much greater reason might he have said, that it happened for the sake of Jesus? etc."

About A.D. 352. Eturb. Demonstr. Exov. lib. iii. p. 124. "Certainly the attestation of those I have already produced concerning our Saviour may be sufficient. However, it may not be amiss, if over and above, we make use of Josephus the Jew for further witness, who in the eighteenth book of the Jewish Antiquities, in the history of what happened under Pilate, makes 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 a veneration for truth; 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 unto them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had spoken of these and ten thousand other things concerning him; these and all the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day." If, therefore, we have this historian's testimony, that he not only brought over to himself the twelve apostles, with the seven churches of Asia, but he converted many of the Gentiles also, he must manifestly have had somewhat in him extraordinary above the rest of 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? Moreover, the scripture 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. 20.]"

About A.D. 350. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 11. "Now the divine scripture of the Gospels 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 wife Herodias. She was the wife of Aretas, king of the Parthian Arabians; 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 [Ar-etas made war with him]: because his daughter had been used dishonorably. In which was, when it came to a battle, he says, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered the because of his wicked contrivance against John."
Moreover, the same Josephus, by acknowledging John to have been a most righteous man, and the Baptist, conspires in his testimony with what is written in the Gospels. He also relates, that Herod lost his kingdom for the sake of the same Herodias, together with whom he was himself consigned to be banished to Vipsea, a city near to the territory of Gaul. And this is his account in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, where he writes this of John:—some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod’s army came from God, and that the death of John was ordained by God. But he did not call against John, that was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and one that commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both in the right and toward God and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism, for that by this means the washing [with water] would appear acceptable to him, when they made use of it, not in order to the putting away, but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now when [many] others came in crowds about him, for they were greatly desirous of his doctrine in the midst of men, and 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, so he supposed it best to prevent any abuse by a law which should inflict punishment on all who were drowned, as a man of piety, and would not have the law done away, he supposed, for so many pernicious acts, such as the Jewish law, and that he would not let the people be set aside, and the public should suffer, to repent [of such negligence]. Accordingly, he was sent a prisoner out of Herod’s suspicious temper, and after he had been in prison a little while, he was put to death. When Josephus had said this of John, he makes mention also of our Saviour in the same history, after this manner. Now there was a certain time over 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 Heathen. This is said, 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 called a man; a doer of wonderful works, who came to him and desired to know the time of his death, the third day from his death alive again, according to the writings of the prophets, who foretold these and innumerable other miraculous events concerning him; from whom began the congre- gation of Christians, and he gathered all sorts of men; nor does there remain any nation in the Roman world which continues strangers to his religion. If the Jews do not believe us, let them at least believe their own writers. Josephus, who was a historian, hath said this, and yet hath he spoken truth after such a manner, and so far was his mind wander- ed from the right way, that even he was not a believer as to whether he had 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 hardness of his heart and his pernicious inten- tions. He was not a believer, but this he would have it 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 has not denied it to be so.

About A. D. 360. Ambrose, or Hagia Sophia de Excld. 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, when he writes against himself,) that Jesus of Nazareth was the 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 called a man; a doer of wonderful works, who came to him and desired to know the time of his death, the third day from his death alive again, according to the writings of the prophets, who foretold these and innumerable other miraculous events concerning him; from whom began the congregation of Christians, and he gathered all sorts of men; nor does there remain any nation in the Roman world which continues strangers to his religion. If the Jews do not believe us, let them at least believe their own writers. Josephus, who was a historian, hath said this, and yet hath he spoken truth after such a manner, and so far was his mind wandered from the right way, that even he was not a believer as to whether he had 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 hardness of his heart and his pernicious intentions. He was not a believer, but this he would have it 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 has not denied it to be so.

About the same Josephus, de Fisc. Illustr. in Josepho.—Josephus, in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, most expressly acknowledges that Christ was slain by the P°rsisenees on account of the greatness of his miracles, and that John the Baptist was truly a prophet, and that Jerusalem was demolished on account of the slaughter of James the Apostle. Now, he writes concerning our Lord after this manner: "At the same time there was Jesus, a wise man, if yet it be lawful to call him a man; a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of those who willingly receive the truth. He had many followers both as the Jews and of the Gentiles. He was believed to be Christ, and those who by the principal men, Pilate, had condemned him to the cross, yet notwithstanding, those who had loved him at first persevered, for he appeared to them alive on the third day, as the oracles of the prophets foretold; and many wonderful things respecting him; and the sect of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day."

About A. D. 410. Iridorus Palaeontius, the Scholar of Chrysostom. lib. iv. cap. 325.—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 stood, 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 there was about that time one Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew many to him, and over him were 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 die, the second day after he rose again, as the divine prophets had said these and a vast number of other wonderful things concerning him; and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. Now I cannot but with great joy at this, man's love of truth in many respects, but chiefly where he says, "Jesus was a teacher of men who received the truth with pleasure.""

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**About A.D. 646. Susoenn. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 1.**—In the days of the son of Mattathias, a priest, a man of very great note both among the Jews and Romans; may well be a witness of credit, as to the truth of Christ's history; for he spurned to call him a man, as being a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of the words of truth. He names him Christ openly, and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared on the third day alive; and that ten thousand wonderful things were foretold of him by the divine prophets. He testifies also, that those whom he drew over to him, being many of the Gentiles as well as of the Jews, continued to love him; and that the tribe named from him, was established. Now he seems to me, by this his relation, almost to proclaim that Christ is God. However, he appears to have been so affected with the strangeness of the thing, as to run as it were in a sort of middle way, as not to put any burden upon belief in him, but rather to afford his suffrage to him.

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**About A.D. 510. Censorinus. Hist. Triparti. s. Susoennae.**—Now Josephus, the son of Mattathias, and a priest, a man of great nobility among the Jews; and of great note among the Romans, bears witness to the truth of Christ's history; for he dares not call him a man, as a doer of famous works, and a teacher of true doctrines; he names him Christ openly; and is not ignorant that he rose again 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 aliye among whom he had chosen, and Jesus had called to him, and that they continued to love him; and that the sect which was named from him was by no means extinct at that time.

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**About A.D. 646. Chron. Alex. p. 514.**—Now Josephus also relates in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, how John the Baptist, that holy man, was beheaded on account of Herodias, the wife of Philip, the brother of Herod himself; for Herod had taken his brother's wife who was then alive, and had been his lawful wife: she was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petreans. When therefore Herod had taken Herodias away from her husband, while he was yet alive, (on whose account Herodias also was beheaded against Herod, because his daughter had been dishonourably treated. In which war, he says, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered that 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.

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**F. 385. 887.**—Now that our Saviour taught his disciples 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.

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**P. 564. 565.**—Josephus relates in the fifth book of the Jewish war, that Jerusalem was taken in the third (second) year of Vespasian; as after forty years since they doted 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 a window: and this he attributes to the good will of the Jews, and the agreement of the Romans.

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**About A.D. 140. Anastasius Abbas contr. Jod.**—Now Josephus, an author and writer of your own, says of Christ, that he was a just and good man, showed and declared so to be by divine grace and power, while he lived. According to what others say.

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**About A.D. 790. Georgius Syncellus Chron. p. 339.**—These miseries befall 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 have seceded to no one, but are faithful to Christ, and the righteous person. Now, as Ananias, a person of that character, thought he had a proper opportunity, because Festus was dead, and Albinus was but upon the road, so he assembles the sanholie, and steals away to Antioch. He was the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, and some of his companions; and when he had formed an accusation against them, as breakers of the Jewish law, he committed them to the Jews; but as for those that seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and those that were the most uncasey at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done. They also sent to the king (Agrippa,) desiring him to deliver up James, that he should be suffered no more, for what he had done already could not be justified, &c.

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**About A.D. 850. John. Malala Chron. lib. x.**—From that time began the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem. Josephus, the son of Mat- theias, and a priest, a man of great note among the Jews, and of great note among the Romans, has written; who also said this, that from the time the Jews crucified Christ, who was a good and righteous man, (that is, if it be fit to call such a one a man, and not a God,) the land of Ju

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**About A.D. 650. Photius Cod. lib. xlvii.**—I have read the treatise of Josephus about the universe, whose title I have elsewhere read to be,

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**Of the Creation of the Universe,** which he, the learned Herodian, has written in two very small treatises. He treats 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, de- 

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**Of the Creation of the Universe,** which he, the learned Herodian, has written in two very small treatises. He treats 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, de-
Lord: and because he both witnessed that Christ, is like manner, was a wise man, and the doer of great miracles; and that when he was crucified he appeared the third day.

About A.D. 1140.  Geoffries Viterbecensi Chron. p. 366. s. Vera. Rufini.—Josephus relates, that a very great war arose between Aretas, king of the Arabians, and Herod, on account of the sin which Herod had committed against John. Moreover, when Pilate, at the accusation of the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, those that had loved him sent him, that he would not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, according to what the divinely inspired prophets had foretold, that these and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him. Moreover, he writes thus concerning Christians, who were named from him, continue in being unto this day.”

About A.D. 1380.  Nicephorus Callistus Hist. Eccles. II. i. p. 90, 91.—Now this [concerning Josephus the] father of the book of the holy Gospels, but by Josephus, that lover of truth; who also makes mention of Herodias his brother’s wife, whom Herod had taken away from him, while he was alive, and married her, having divorced his wife, a most dignified woman, who was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petrean Arabians. This Herodias he had married, and lived with her; on which account also, when he was killed John heathen, we with Aretas, because his daughter had been married to one in which war he relates, that all Herod’s army was destroyed, and that he suffered this on account of the most unjust slaughter of John. He also adds, that John was beheaded, a most rightdoer. Moreover, he makes mention of his baptism, agreeing in all points thereto relating with the Gospel. He also informs us, that Herod lost his kingdom on account of Herodias, with whom also he was condemned to be banished to the place in which was their place of exile, and a city bordering upon Gaul, and lying near the utmost bounds of the west.

About A.D. 1450.  Hardmannus Schedelius Chron. p. 60. —Josephus, the Jew, who was called Flavius, a priest, and the son of Mattathias, a priest of that nation, a most celebrated historian, and very skilful in many things: he was certainly a good man, and of an excellent character, who had the highest praise.

About A.D. 1490.  Platini de Vitis Pontificum in Christo.—I shall avoid mentioning what Christ did until the 30th year of his age, when he was baptized by John, the son of Zacharias, because not only the Gospels and Epistles, but all the acts of his, which he did in a most excellent and most holy manner, but the books of such as were quite remote from his way of living, and acting, and ordaining, and teaching, and ordering the Christian people as Josephus himself, who wrote twenty books of the Jewish Antiquities in the Greek tongue, when he had proceeded as far as the government of the emperor Tiberias, says, “there was in the year when the Jews were at Jerusalem, it was lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of men, of such especially as willingly hear the truth. On this account he drew over to him many both of the Jews and Gentiles: He was Christ. But when Pilate, instigated by the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, yet did not those who had loved him from the beginning forsake him: and besides, he appeared to them the third day alive, as the divinely inspired prophets had foretold, that a very great war arose between Aretas, king of the Arabians, and Herod, on account of the sin which Herod had committed against John. Moreover, when Pilate, at the accusation of the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, those that had loved him sent him, that he would not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, according to what the divinely inspired prophets had foretold, that these and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him. Moreover, he writes thus concerning Christians, who were named from him, continue in being unto this day.”

About A.D. 1120.  Zonaras Ansal. tom. i. p. 267.—Josephus, in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, writes thus concerning our Lord and God Jesus Christ: “Now there was about this time, Jesus of Nazareth, a wise man, who was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure; for that Christ drew over many even from the Gentiles; whom when Pilate, after he had condemned him did not leave off to preach concerning him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had testified, and spoke these and other wonderful things concerning him. Moreover, this last was most wonderful of truth, because he commended John who baptized our
Dissertation I.

told that these and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him. And the famous 
name of Jesus Christ, taken from heaven, as well as 
their sect, do still continue in being.

The same Josephus also affirms, that John the 
Baptist, a true prophet, and on that account one 
that was in every sense of the word a true part of 
Herod, the son of Herod the Great, a little be 
fore the death of Christ, in the castle of Macha 
rus; not because he was afraid for himself and 
his kingdom, as the same author says, but be 
cause in the name of Jesus Christ he married Herodias, 
the sister of Agrippa, and the wife of that excellent 
person his brother Philip.

About A. D. 1480. Trithumnum Abbas de Scrip 
tor. Eccles.—Josephus the Jew, although he con 
cluded to be a Jew, did frequently commend the 
Christians; and in the eighteenth book of Anti 
quities, wrote down an eminent testimony con 
cerning our Lord Jesus Christ.

Observations from the foregoing Evidence and 
Citations.

1. The style of all these original testimonies 
belonging to Josephus is exactly the style of the 
same Josephus, and especially the style about 
those matters of his Antiquities wherein we find 
these testimonies. This is denied by nobody as 
to the other, concerning John the Baptist and 
James the Just, and is now become equally un 
deniable. This is not the first time either.

II. These testimonies therefore being confess 
sedly and undeniably written by Josephus him 
self, it is next to impossible that he should wholly 
ommit some testimony concerning Jesus Christ; 
nay, while his testimonies of John the Baptist, 
and James the Just, are so honorable, and give 
them so great characters, it is also impossible 
that this testimony concerning Christ should be 
other than very honorable, or such as afforded 
him some advantage. This character alike from 
the very same author, who gave such a full and ad 
vantageous character of John the Baptist, the 
forerunner of Jesus of Nazareth, all whose dis 
ciples were by him directed to Jesus of Nazareth, 
as to the true Messiah, and all whose disciples 
became afterwards the disciples of Jesus of Na 
zareth, say nothing honorable of that Jesus of 
Nazareth himself? And this in a history of those 
very men, which he was born, and lived, and 
died, and that while the writer bore him but a 
little after him, in the same country in which he was 
born, and lived, and died. This is almost incre 
dible. And further, could the very same author, 
who gave such an advantageous character of James the Just, and this under the very surren 
dation of James the brother of Jesus, who was called 
Christ, which James was one of the principal 
disciples or apostles of this Jesus Christ, and had 
been many years the only Christian bishop of the 
believing Jews of Judes and Jerusalem, in the 
very days, and in the very country of this writ 
er; could he, I say, wholly omit any, say, a very 
honorable account of Jesus Christ himself, which 
bishop this Jesus most certainly was? This is also almost incredible. Hear 
what Igitius, one of the wisest and most learned of 
all those who have lately inclined to give up 
the testimony concerning Christ, as it stands in 
such a passage, and so express it: "If any one ob 
serve this occasion to me, that Josephus hath not 
omitted John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, 
or James the disciple of Christ, and that therefore 
he could not have done the part of a good histo 
rian, and oblige his whole account concerning 
Christ, I shall freely grant that Josephus was not 
entirely silent concerning Christ; nay I shall fur 
ther grant, that when Josephus was speaking of 
Christ, he did not abstain from his commenda 
tion; for we are not to determine from that in 
yeretate hatred which the modern Jews bear to 
Christ, what was the behaviour of those Jews, 
upon whom the miracles that were daily wrought

by the apostles in the name of Christ surprised

a great number of Jews.

III. The famous clause in this testimony of 
Josephus concerning Christ, This was Christ, or 
the Christ, did not mean that this Jesus was the 
Christ of God, or the true Messiah of the Jews, 
but that he was the Messiah, which was a famous 
of that name, of which there were not a few, as 
mentioned by Josephus himself, by the addition 
of the other name of Christ; or that this 
person was no other than he whom all the world 
then called the Messiah, and who was known 
by the name of Christ, by his followers by the 
name of Christians. This I esteem to be a clear 
case, and that from the arguments following:

1. The Greeks and Romans, for whose use 
Josephus wrote his Antiquities, could do other 
wise understand these words. The Jews indeed, 
and afterward the Christians, who knew that 
a great Messiah, a person that was to be Christ 
the Anointed of God, and that was to perform 
the office of a King, a Priest, and a Prophet, to 
God's people, might readily so understand this 
expression; but Josephus, as I have already no 
ted, wrote here, not to Jews or Christians, but to 
Greeks and Romans, who knew nothing of the 
Messiah, but knew well the general name of living 
in Judea, whose name was Jesus Christ, or Je 
sus Christ, had founded a new and numerous 
sect, which took the latter of those names, and 
from him called Christians, Jews, Greeks, or 
Romans; in which sense alone could they 
understand these words of Josephus, and in which 
sense I believe he desired they should understand 
them; nor does Josephus ever use the Hebrew 
name Jesus as if he meant the Messiah, or the 
Greek term Christ in any such acceptance elsewhere.

2. Josephus himself as good as explains his 
own meaning, and that by the last clause of this 
very passage, where he says, the Christians 
were named after this: "Cosmopolita," as though he really meant he was the true Mes 
siah, or Christ of God. He farther seems to me 
to explain this his meaning in that other place, 
where alone he elsewhere mentions this name of 
Jesus of Nazareth, that is, when upon occasion of the men 
tion of Jesus, when he was condemned by Ama 
sus, he calls him the brother of Jesus, not, that 
was the true Messiah, or the true Christ, but 
only that was called Christ.

I must observe, that the purpose of Jes 
ophus to declare himself here to be a Christian; 
or a believer In Jesus as the true Messiah. Had 
he intended so to do, he would surely have ex 
plained the meaning of the word Cosmopolita 
written in this place. He would have re 
acted; he would surely have been a great deal fuller and larger in his 
accounts of Christ and of the Christian religion; 
and 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 repu 
tation with both which people, he is known to 
have been, in the writing of these Antiquities 
very greatly solicitous.

The usual and natural way of writing is histori 
cal and declarative of facts, and of the opinions 
of others, and but rarely such as directly informs 
us of his own opinion, unless we prudently gather 
it from what he says historically, or so as the op 
inions of others. This is a duty obliged on him in 
the writings of Josephus, and in particular as to 
what he says of John the Baptist, and of James 
the Just; so that this interpretation is most prob 
able, as most agreeable to Josephus's way of 
writing, which is so strongly marked in the present 
passage.

(5.) This seems to be the universal sense of all 
the ancients without exception, who cite this tes 
timony from him; and though they almost every 
where own this to be the true reading, yet do 
not all think it desirable to reject it. It is still 
as unbelieving Jews, and not a believing Chris 
tian: nay, Jerome appears so well assured of 
this interpretation, and that Josephus did not
means to declare any more by these words than a common opinion, that, according to his usual way, he did declare that Josephus, not to be the Messiah, but to the sense, (of which we have, I think, two more instances in his accounts out of Josephus, now before us,) he declares this clause credibilior esse Christus, has taken care particularly and clearly to preserve those histories to us. Thus, when we find that Josephus calls Jesus, the Son of Christ, by the name of James the Just, and describes him as a just and righteous man, in an especial manner, we are to remember that such is his name and character in the gospel according to the Hebrews, and the only remaining true remains of Hegesippus, but nowhere else that I remember, in the earliest antiquity: nor are we to suppose they herein referred to any other than those righteous men, by which mention is made, wherein St. Paul, (4) before he embraced Christianity, professed himself to have been blameless. Thus when Josephus, with other Jews, ascribed the miseries of that nation under Vespasian and Titus, with the destruction of Jerusalem, to the barbarous murder of James the Just, we must remember what we learn from the Ebonite fragments of Hegesippus, that these Ebonites interpreted a prophecy of Isaiah, as foretelling this very murder, and those consequent miseries. Let us take away the just one, for he is unprofitable to us: therefore shall they eat the fruit of their own ways. (4) Thus when Josephus says, as we have seen, that the priests and scribes did not believe to be the true Messiah, without believing he was more than a man; who also believed the necessity of the observance of the ceremonial law of Moses in order to salvation for all mankind, we must not suppose that he accused the Jewish Christians' 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 take to be the opinion proved, that Josephus was no other in his own mind and conscience than a Nazarene or Ebonite Jewish Christian; and have observed that this entire testimony, and all that Josephus says of John the Baptist, the eating of bread and drinking of wine as the Messianic and the Messiah, the statement of the Messiah in the scripture, the mission of the Messiah, the testimony of the Messiah, to the Messiah, and the Messiah himself, most of all, and the Messiah himself being the Messiah, all the rest of the apostles and their companions, exactly agrees to him under that character, and so other. And indeed to me it is most astonishing, that all our learned men, who have of late considered these testimonies of Josephus, except the converted Jew Galatinus, should miss such an obvious and natural observation. We all know this from St. James's own words, that we are not supposed to be the opinion of the Ebonites. The high priest and sanhedrim, who always persecuted the Christians, and now condemned these Christians, and especially Ebonites, were of this opinion, which is supposed to be the case, when our Lord and Josephus himself even as his own enemies, and himself, under that opinion, and of all those who thought the terrible miseries of that nation effects of the vengeance of God for their murder of this James, about A. D. 68, we may easily see these opinions could only be the opinion of the Ebonites. He who persecuted the Christians, and now condemned these Christians, and the body of those unbelief, who are supposed to suffer for murdering this James, the high priest, and the scribes and Ebonites, would not have been the case; and the Ebonites in Judaeus, could not, to be sure, be of that opinion; nor could Josephus himself, who is a plain and evident key of this whole matter.

V. Since therefore Josephus appears to have been, in his own heart and conscience, no other than a Nazarene or Ebonite Christian, and, by consequence, with them agreed all our Greek gospels and Greek books of the New Testament, and received only the Hebrew gospel of the Nazarenes or Ebonites, styled by them, The Gospel of the Hebrews, or to Christians, Testes apostles, or even according to Matthew, we ought always to have that Nazarene or Ebonite gospel, with the other Nazarenes or Ebonite fragments in view, when we consider any passages of the Christian gospel. Thus, since that gospel omitted all that is in the beginning of our St. Matthew and St. Luke's gospels, and began with the ministry of John the Baptist; in which first parts of the gospel history, and the acts of John the Baptist, and of the enrolling or taxation under Augustus Caesar and Herod, it is no great wonder that Josephus has not taken care particularly and clearly to preserve those histories to us. Thus, when we find that Josephus calls Jesus, the Son of Christ, by the name of James the Just, and describes him as a just and righteous man, in an especial manner, we are to remember that such is his name and character in the gospel according to the Hebrews, and the only remaining true remains of Hegesippus, but nowhere else that I remember, in the earliest antiquity: nor are we to suppose they herein referred to any other than those righteous men, by which mention is made, wherein St. Paul, before he embraced Christianity, professed himself to have been blameless. Thus when Josephus, with other Jews, ascribed the miseries of that nation under Vespasian and Titus, with the destruction of Jerusalem, to the barbarous murder of James the Just, we must remember what we learn from the Ebonite fragments of Hegesippus, that these Ebonites interpreted a prophecy of Isaiah, as foretelling this very murder, and those consequent miseries. Let us take away the just one, for he is unprofitable to us: therefore shall they eat the fruit of their own ways. Thus when Josephus says, as we have seen, that the priests and scribes did not believe to be the true Messiah, without believing he was more than a man; who also believed the necessity of the observance of the ceremonial law of Moses in order to salvation for all mankind, we must not suppose that he accused the Jewish Christians' 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 take to be the opinion proved, that Josephus was no other in his own mind and conscience than a Nazarene or Ebonite Jewish Christian; and have observed that this entire testimony, and all that Josephus says of John the Baptist, the eating of bread and drinking of wine as the Messianic and the Messiah, the statement of the Messiah in the scripture, the mission of the Messiah, the testimony of the Messiah, to the Messiah, and the Messiah himself, most of all, and the Messiah himself being the Messiah, all the rest of the apostles and their companions, exactly agrees to him under that character, and so other. And indeed to me it is most astonishing, that all our learned men, who have of late considered these testimonies of Josephus, except the converted Jew Galatinus, should miss such an obvious and natural observation. We all know this from St. James's own words, that we are not supposed to be the opinion of the Ebonites. The high priest and sanhedrim, who always persecuted the Christians, and now condemned these Christians, and especially Ebonites, were of this opinion, which is supposed to be the case, when our Lord and Josephus himself, even as his own enemies, and himself, under that opinion, and of all those who thought the terrible miseries of that nation effects of the vengeance of God for their murder of this James, about A. D. 68, we may easily see these opinions could only be the opinion of the Ebonites. The high priest and sanhedrim, who always persecuted the Christians, and now condemned these Christians, and the body of those unbelieving Jews, who are supposed to suffer for murdering this James, the high priest, and the scribes and Ebonites, would not have been the case; and the Ebonites in Judaeus, could not, to be sure, be of that opinion; nor could Josephus himself, who is a plain and evident key of this whole matter.

VI. In the same way concerning the Saviour, from Tacitus, almost all that was true of the Jews is directly taken by him out of Josephus, as will be demonstrated under the third Dissertation hereafter.

VII. The second author I have alleged for its Justin Martyr, one so nearly coeval with Josephus, that he might be born about the time that he wrote his Antiquities, appeals to the same Antiquities by that very name; and though he does not here directly quote them, yet does he seem to me to allude to this very testimony in them concerning our Saviour, when he affirms in this place to Trypho the Jew, that his nation originally knew that Jesus was the Son of God, and ascended into heaven, as the prophets did foretell was to happen. Since there neither now is, nor probably in the days of Justin was, any other Jewish testimony extant, which is so agreeable to what Justin has affirmed of the son of Josephus the Jew before us; nor indeed does he seem to me to have had any thing else particularly in his view here, but this very testimony, where Josephus says, That Jesus appeared to his followers alive the third day after his death, the divine prophets had foretold these, and tens thousand other wonderful things concerning him.
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 allow’d on all hands to have quoted both the excellencies of 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 particular instances, this would have Christ; and yet that, as we have seen, because he twice assures us, that in his opinion, Josephus did not himself acknowledge Jesus for the true Messiah, or the true Christ of God; notwithstanding their express quotation of that clause in Josephus as genuine, so that that least suppose Origen to have had no direct notion of those words from all the other ancients, we cannot conclude from this assertion of Origen's, that he had not those words in his copy, not to say that it is, after all, much more likely that he differed from 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. All that is requisite for me to note is, that Origen affords us four several indications that the main parts at least of this testimony itself were in his copy.

(1.) When Origen introduces Josephus's testimony concerning James the Just, that he thought the miseries of the Jews were an instance of the divine vengeance on that nation for putting James to death instead of Jesus, he uses an expression no way necessary to his purpose, nor occurring to him unless he was referring to the way which he knew to be the true, and which they had lain that Christ which is foretold in the Prophecies. Whence could this expression come here into Origen's mind, when he was quoting a testimony of Josephus concerning the brother of Christ, but from his remembrance of a clause in the testimony of the same Josephus concerning Christ himself, that the prophets had foretold his death and resurrection, and ten thousand other wonderful things by him, that he had spoken of Jesus and his death before, and that he had a very good opinion of Jesus, which yet he could learn no way so authentically as from this testimony? Nor do the words he here uses, as Josephus was not remote from the truth, perhaps allude to any thing else but to this very testimony before us.

(2.) How came Origen to be so surprised at Josephus's ascribing the destruction of Jerusalem to the Jews' murdering of James the Just, and not to their murdering Jesus, as we have seen before? and that he did not think that Josephus's copy had spoken of Jesus and his death before, and that he had a very good opinion of Jesus, which yet he could learn no way so authentically as from this testimony? Nor do the words he here uses, as 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 as respects these concerns, we ought to have a regard to the divinity of the depositions of 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 expressly, that Josephus did not himself own, in the clause that a Christian had been cut out 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? This was not the case with Christ; and yet he is likely to persuade 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 other than as the Messiah, who was to be cut out of Christ, which was derived, and where sa al says speaks of those Christians as a sect then in being, whose author was a wonderful person, and his followers great lovers of him and of the truth, yet such a sect as he had not joined himself. Whose exposition, as it is a very natural one, so was it, I doubt, but too true of our Josephus at that time: nor can I devise any other reason but this, and the which suppose not to have had this testimony when he speaks of James the brother, not of Jesus who was Christ, but of Jesus who was called Christ, that could so naturally induce Origen and others to be of that opinion.

TWO significant passages in Suidas and Theophylact, already set down, as citing Josephus, the former, that Jesus officiated with the priests of the temple; and the latter, that the destruction of Jerusalem and miseries of the Jews were God's way to the salvation of nations to death, which are in none of our present copies, nor cited thence by any ancient authors, nor indeed do they seem altogether consistent with the other more authentic testimonies. However, since I see nothing here but a passage from Josephus's, called Memoirs of the Jews' captivity, a book never heard of elsewhere, and since both citations are not at all disagreeable to Josephus's character as a Nazarene or Ebionite, I daras as he had not joined himself. Whose exposition, as it is a very natural one, so was it, I doubt, but too true of our Josephus at that time: nor can I devise any other reason but this, and the which suppose not to have had this testimony when he speaks of James the brother, not of Jesus who was Christ, but 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 quotes this passage from Josephus's, called Memoirs of the Jews' captivity, a book never heard of elsewhere, and since both citations are not at all disagreeable to Josephus's character as a Nazarene or Ebionite, I dare as he had not joined himself. Whose exposition, as it is a very natural one, so was it, I doubt, but too true of our Josephus at that time: nor can I devise any other reason but this, and the which suppose not to have had this testimony when he speaks of James the brother, not of Jesus who was Christ, but of Jesus who was called Christ, that could so naturally induce Origen and others to be of that opinion.
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 he even saw any of Josephus's writings besides, and far from believing 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 Testament in the destruction of Jerusalem and misery 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 me that Tertullian knew no Greek Antiquities of Josephus, or his Greek books of the Jewish Wars; nor is this at all strange in Tertullian, a Latin writer that lived in Africa, by none of which African writers is there any one clause, that I know of, cited out of any of Josephus's writings: nor is it worth my while, in such numbers of positive citations of these clauses, to mention the silence of other later writers, as being here of very small consequence.

**DISCUSSION II.**

Concerning God's Command to Abraham to offer up Isaac his Son for a Sacrifice.

Since this command to Abraham (j) has of late been greatly mistaken by some who venture to ride without very respectful fashion from very modern notions, and this without a due regard in either the customs, or opinions, or circumstances of the times whereof these facts belong, or indeed to the true reasons of the facts themselves; since the mistakes have not only the everlasting, but even circumstances, and reasons, have of late so far prevailed, that the very same action of Abraham's, which was so celebrated by St. Paul, (g) St. James, (k) the author to the Hebrews, (l) Philo, (m) and Josephus, (n) in the first century, and by innumerable others since, as an uncommon instance of signal virtue, of heroic faith in God, and piety towards him; nay, in the sacred (p) history highly commended by the divine Angel of the Lord when he appeared to Abraham, and promised to be plentifully rewarded; since this command, I say, now at last in the eighteenth century, become a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence among us, and that sometimes to persons of other good sense, and of a religious disposition of mind also, I shall endeavor to set this matter in its true, i.e. in its ancient and original light, for the satisfaction of the inquisitive. In order wherefore we are to consider,

1. That till this very profane age, it has been
I think, universally allowed by all sober persons, who owned themselves the creatures of God, that the Creator has a just right over all his rational creatures, to protract their lives to what length he pleases; to cut them off when and by what instrument he pleases; to afflict them with what sicknesses he pleases; and to remove them from one state or place in this his great palace of the universe to another, as he pleases. This is enough for all those rational creatures are bound in duty and interest to acquiesce under the divine disposal, and to resign themselves up to the good providence of God in all such his dispensations towards them. To ask, why the mind of God ever does act in these cases after a mere arbitrary manner, or without sufficient reason, believing, according to the whole tenor of nature and revealed religion, that he hath nothing that he hath made, (c) that whatsoever he does, how melancholy soever it may appear at first sight to us, is really intended for the good of his creatures, and, at the upshot of things, will fully appear so to be; but that still he is not obliged, nor does in general give his creatures an account of the particular reasons of such his dispensations towards them; to which all these circumstances and reasons, have of late so far prevailed, that the same action of Abraham's, which so far was celebrated by St. Paul, and St. James, the author to the Hebrews, Philo and Josephus, in the first century, and by innumerable others since, as an uncommon instance of signal virtue, of heroic faith in God, and piety towards him; nay, in the sacred (p) history highly commended by the divine Angel of the Lord when he appeared to Abraham, and promised to be plentifully rewarded; since this command, I say, now at last in the eighteenth century, become a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence among us, and that sometimes to persons of other good sense, and of a religious disposition of mind also, I shall endeavor to set this matter in its true, i.e. in its ancient and original light, for the satisfaction of the inquisitive. In order wherefore we are to consider,

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those to us seemingly severe dispensations, nor are we certain when 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 prevent or put an end 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 present state, to call our Almighty, all-wise, and all-powerful Creator to an account and upon any such occasions; since we cannot acknowledge that it is He that hath made us, and not we ourselves (r); that we are nothing, and have no more of our own lives, independent of him, but that all we are, all 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 in what way soever, and whenever he pleases; all that still remaining of what still exists of us, in such cases, with the pious Psalmist, xxx. 9, "I was dumb, I opened not my mouth, because thou didst it": and with patient Job, i. 21, ii. 10, "Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall not adversity come also? 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 divine command for that purpose, it is full as strong against the present system of the world, and against the conduct of divine providence in general, and against natural religion, which is founded on the justice of that providence, and is no way peculiar to revealed religion, or to the fact of a future state, as we now believe. And is this less much different from what was soon after the days of Abraham thoroughly settled, after Job and his friends' debates, by the inspiration of Elisha, and the determination of God himself, where the divine providence was at length so strongly cleared and justified before all the world, as it will be, no question, more generally cleared and justified at the final judgment.

3. That this expectation is false also, I think, has 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 whosoever. I doubt not but all our princes, counsellors, 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 do the most sceptical of the moderns care so much about this authority directly and solely, as to signify 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 this of the slaughter of an only child, seems plainly to be, will be a greater evidence that such command does not come from God, than any pretended revelation can be that it does. But as to this matter, although divine revelations have now so long continued, and are strong enough for that authority, it is not clear 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, ought at present generally, if not absolutely, to deter men from acting upon such a pretended revelation, yet there was no such uncertainty in the days of the old prophets of God, or of Abraham, the friend of God, (r) who are said to have had an entire certainty of those their revelations: and what originally shows they were not deceived, is this, that the events and consequences of things afterwards always corresponded, and secured them of such divine revelations. Thus the second voice, (s) the account of his being to that command, are demonstrations that the hams commission for what he did was divine, and are an entire justication of his doing in that matter. The words of the law being thus collected, the more they had applied them here for the letting the land into a fitter place; but the glorious promises to Abraham's obedience by the second voice must here be produced from verse 15. It is an angel of the Lord called unto Abraham's house, and said, I have sworn, saith the Lord, for this hast thou done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me, that in blessing I will bless thee, and multiply thee exceedingly. And Abraham was方多 is himself should the families of the earth be blessed, was now confirmed in the same. For he had before, in the mis3, chapt. xii. ver. 3, and xiii. 18, himself should the families of the earth be blessed, but that this blessing was to belong to his times, and to be bestowed by the means of several branches of his posterity; but to him and his seed, and to the Son of Abraham only, was not mentioned before; but, on such an amazing instance of faith and obedience, as was this his readiness to offer up his only begotten son Isaac, was the promise made to him. The only Son of Abraham, in the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God, the Son of Abraham, (s) which highly serves our observation in this place; nor can we suppose that any thing else than clear convictions and this ingenious guess, that this man came from so good a man, and so tender a father as Abraham was, to sacrifice his own beloved son, and to be thereby all the comfort he received from him at last to be in the midst of that universal and happy prosperity from him hereafter.

4. That long before the days of Abraham, the demons or heathen gods had required and received human sacrifices, and particularly that of the Phoenicians, of all others, is a thing so evident that it is not necessary to dwell upon it, nor to speak of the sacrifices offered to the gods of Egypt in that ancient time, among whom it was unlawful to sacrifice any brute beast (bears, bulls, and pure cattle, and ganders, only excepted,) their names in. However, it is evident from Sancho Butana, Manetho, Passavers, such as a Polish rider, and many others, that such sacrifices were frequent both in Phisicia and Egypt, and that long before the days of Abraham, as Sir John Marsham and Bishop Cumberland have fully proved; nay, that is, in a time much before they were uninacquainted with the nature of the Egyptians and their religion, (though not in Egypt,) this cruel practice continued long after Abraham, and till the very third, if not also the fifth century of Christianity, before it was quite abolished. That the words of the original authors in English, "(s) Chronus offered up his only begotten son as an burnt offering, to his father Ouranos, when the gods were a female and a pestilential death consecrated to the stars Saturn, was to (s) Mathm. l. 1. (w) Ap. Marsh.'Chron. (r) Philo. Bib. ex Sanc.p.76. (s) Philo. Bib. ex Sanc.
was king of the country, and had by a nymph of that country, named Asobres, an only begotten son, whom, on that account, they called Jedus, (the Phoenicians 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, adored his son with royal apparel, and built an altar and offered him in sacrifice.

"(y) The Phoenicians, when they were in great dangers by war, by famine, or by pestilence, sacrificed to Saturn one of the dearest of their possessions, chosen by public lot, for that purpose. And Sanchoniatho's Phoenician history is full of such sacrifices. [These hitherto I take to have been before the flood.]"

(5) In Arabia the Damutii sacrificed a child every year.

"(a) They relate, that of old, the [Egyptian] kings sacrificed such men as were of the same color with Typho at the sepulchre of Osiris.

(4) Manetho relates, that they burnt Typhoanian men alive in the city Iditiba, [or Ilithyba] and scattered their ashes like chaff that is winnowed; and this was done publicly, and at a set season in the dog-days.

In the Pharisaic nations did a long time admit of the slaughter of children, as of a holy practice, and acceptable to the gods. And this thing both private persons, and kings, and entire nations, practise at proper seasons.

The Pharisaic nations, whom they sacrificed with the gods of Osiris, and the land was polluted with blood." See Isr. v. 5.

"(g) The children of Judah have done evil in my sight, in that they have made their daughters to pass through the fire unto Molech, in the midst of abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out before the children of Israel.

(2) Moreover, Ahas burst 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."

(6) And the Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anamalech, the gods of Sepharvaim," &c.

"(m) And Josiah defiled Tophet, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man should burn his son or his daughter to pass through the fire unto Molech.

(9) Yes; they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto demons, and shed innocent blood; the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan, and the land was polluted with blood." See Isr. v. 5.

(3) The children of Judah have done evil in my sight, in that 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.

(5) Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Behold I will bring evil upon this place, the which whosoever heareth, his ears shall tingle, because they have forsaken me, and have estranged this place, and have burned incense unto other gods, whom neither they nor their fathers have known, nor the kings of Judah, and have filled this place with the blood of innocents.

(7) They have built the high places of Baal, which are in the midst of the city 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.

(8) Moreover, thou hast taken thy sons and thy daughters, whom thou hast born unto me, and these hast thou sacrificed unto them to be devoured. Is this of thy wickedness a small matter, that thou hast slain thy children, and delivered them to cause them to pass through the fire for them?" See chap. xx. 28; 1 Cor. x. 20.

(4) Thou hastated the old inhabitants of thy holy land for doing most odious works of witchcraft, and for every abomination, and for the cruel and merciless murderers of children, and devourers of man's flesh, and the beasts of blood, with their priests out of the midst of their idolatrous crew, and the parents that killed with their own hands sons destined by the hand of God to be saved.

6. That Almighty God never permitted, in any one instance, that such a human sacrifice should actually be offered to himself. (though he had a right to have required it, if he had so pleased.)

(9) 2 Kings xvi. 3.
(1) 2 Chron. xxviii. 3.
(2) 2 Kings xxiii. 20.
(3) Fam. vii. 25, 26.
(5) Jer. xxxix. 5.
(6) Ezek. xxvi. 20, 21.
(7) Wisdom xi. 2-6.
under the whole Jewish dispensation, which yet was full of many other kinds of sacrifices, and this at a time when mankind generally thought such sacrifices of the greatest virtue for the procuring pardon of sin and the divine favor; this the ancient records of the heathen world attest. Take their notion in the words of Philo Byblius, the translator of Sanchoniathon: (c) "It was the custom of the ancients, in the most serious princes and dangers, 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] deities, of which they were devoted in a mystical manner." This the history of the king of Moab, (d) 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 sted of the land, for a burnt-offering upon the city wall." This also the Jewish prophet Micah (e) implies, when he inquires, "Whever shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the God of my salvation? When shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, with 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?" No, certainly, "for he hath shewed thee, 0 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 did here, (f) had had God and his son, devotion and obedience of Abraham to himself, whether they were as strong as the Pagans exhibited to their demons or idols, yet did he withal take effectual care, and that by a miraculous interposition also, to prevent the execution, and provide himself ram, as a vicarious substitute, to supply the place of Isaac immediately: (g) "And the angel of the Lord called unto Abraham, and said, Abraham, Abraham; and he said, Here am I. And he said, Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do anything unto him; for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me. And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold, a ram caught in a thicket by his horns; and Abraham went, and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son." Thus though Jephthah (h) has, by many, been thought to offer up his only daughter, and child for a sacrifice, and that as bound on, 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 been of another opinion, though it should be a mistake, and that this vow extended only to her being devoted to serve God at the tabernacle, or elsewhere, in a state of perpetual virginity; and that neither that law did enjoin any human sacrifices, nor do we meet with any example of its execution in this sense afterward. Philo never mentions any such law no more than Josephus; and when Josephus had thought that Jephthah had made such a vow, and executed it, he is so far from being disapproved, that the very compliance with any law of God, that he expressly condemns him for it, as having acted contrary thereto; or in his own words, (y) "as having offered an oblation neither conformable to the law, nor acceptable to God, nor weighing with himself what opinion the hearers would have of such a practice."

7. That Isaac being at this time, according to Josephus (e), is herein followed by Archb. Ussher, (a) 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 offered seems absolutely necessary, in all 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 was the nature of the work, and of his safety, immediately performed the sacrifice." And for Josephus, (c) after introducing Abraham in a pathetic speech, laying before Isaac the divine command, and exhoriating him patiently and joyfully to submit to it, he tells us, that the sacrifice was then offered, (d) when he refers 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 does the author (e) perform his rite, whatever it were, till his daughter had given her consent to it.

8. It appears to me that Abraham never despairs entirely of the interposition of Providence to obviate the command he prepared to sacrifice his son. 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 about to offer his son: "We will go and worship, and we will come 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 the burnt-offering?" And Abraham answered, "My son, God 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 am inclined also firmly believed, that if God should permit 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 his son would go and worship, and would come again to the servants; and is clearly and justly collected from this history by the author to the Hebrews, chap. xi. 17, 18, 19. "By faith Abraham, when he was about to sacrifice Isaac, his son, he had vowed himself, saying, Surely God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering." Both these passages look to me, somewhat like such an expectation. However.

10. That the firm and just foundation of Abraham's faith and assurance in God for such a resurrection, was this, besides the general conside-
nation of the divine variety, that during the whole time of his sojourning in strange countries, in Canaan and Egypt, ever since he had been called out of Chaldees or Mesopotamia at seventy-five years of age, he had (k) had constant experience of a special, of an overruling, of a kind and gracious providence over him, till this his 1225th year, which against all human views had continually blessed him, and enriched him, and, in his elder age, had given him first Ishmael by Hagar, and afterwards promised him Isaac to (l) spring up in him upon his blessing. He had himself answered the voice of the deadness of Sarah’s womb, when she was past age, and when it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women, (m) and had actually performed at Josephus (n) and the very other promises, how improba- bly sower that performed at promised, he had ever made to him, and this during fifty entire years together; so that although at his first exit out of Chaldees, or Mesopotamia, he might have been tempted to stagger at such a promise of God through unbelief, (o) Yet might he now, after fifty years’ constant experience, be justly “strong in faith, giving glory to God; as being fully persuaded, that what God had promised, the reasur- rection of Isaac, “he was both able and willing to perform.”

11. That this assurance, therefore, that God, if he permitted Isaac to be slain, would infallibly raise him again from the dead, entirely alters the state of the case, and brings it rather into conformity to the true God, from that of all other human sacri- fices whatsoever offered to false ones, all those others being done without the least promise of preservation of the sacrificer; for indeed, when it takes away all pretence of injustice in the divine command, as well as of inhumanity or cruelty in Abraham’s obedience to it.

12. That, upon the whole, this command to Abraham to offer his son Isaac, who was “loved of him, very like an intention of God to typify or repre- sent beforehand in Isaac, “a beloved,” or “only begotten son,” what was to happen long afterward to the great “Son and Seed of Abraham,” the Messiah, the beloved son “only begotten of the Father,” whose day Abraham saw by faith beforehand, and rejoiced to see it, (p) was that “he by the determinate counsel and foreknow- ledge of God should be crucified and slain, (q) as a sacrifice upon the altar of God. This was, in point of day, and this at Jerusalem also; and that in the mean time, God would accept of the sacri- fices of rams, and the like animals, at the same city Jerusalem, that one cannot easily avoid the appearance of an anticipation of the sacrifice here. If Abraham had been 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 the return back, after the slaying of the sacrifice, would naturally be “the third day” also: and why this sacrifice was not Ishmael “the son of the flesh” only, but Isaac the son by promise, (s) the beloved son of Abraham, and why Isaac was styled the only son, or only begotten son of Abraham, though he had Ishmael besides; and why Isaac himself was to bear the wood on which he was to be sacrificed; (t) and why the place was no other than the land of Moriah, (u) as the place of the Shechinah, or Messiah, had been seen, and God by his worshipped, even before the days of Abra- ham, and where lately lived, and perhaps was now dwelt Melchisedek, the grand type of the Mes- siah; and why the sacrifice must be made after the manner of that in Tethmis, or on Mount Calvary. 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 anything else, when in his foretold passage, he says, that “Isaac was fully persuaded of what he knew was to come,” and therefore “cheerfully yielded himself up to be offered,” in order that name of this place, Jehovah-Jireh, which continued till the days of Moses, and signified, God will see, or rather God will provide, seem 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, yet such a divine command to Abra- ham for slaying his beloved son Isaac, 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 offering their children for sacrifices to their idols, I answer, there is no room of that argument.

13. That this objection is so far from truth, that God’s public and miraculous prohibition of the execution of this command to Abraham, (which command itself the Gentiles would not then shall be surprised at because so like to their own usual practices,) as well as God’s substitution of a vicarious oblation, seems to have been the very occasion of the instant abolition, of those im- moral practices among the neighboring Egyptians, and of the substitution of more inoffensive ones there instead of them. Take the account of this abolition, which we shall presently prove was about the time of Abra- ham’s offering up his son Isaac, it is preserved through Porphyry, from Manetho, the famous Egyptian historian and chronicler, which is also cit- ed from Porphyry, by Eusebius and Theoreot: “Amosis, (a) says Porphyry, abolished the law in Egypt for offering sacrifices of children, and Manetho bears witness in his book of Antiquity and Piety. They were sacrificed to Jeno, and were examined, as were the pure calves, that were also served with them; they were sacrificed three in a day. In that country, it was com- manded that man of wax, of the same number, should be substituted.”

Now I have lately shown, that these Egyptian laws which 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 abolition of these human sacrifices, and the substitution of waxen images in their stead, and particularly at Heliopolis, in the northeast part of Egypt in the neighborhood of Beer-sheba, in the south of Palestine, where Abraham now lived, at the ex- pense of about sixty years after his departure from Ur, was in the days, and by the order of Tethmis or Amosis, who was the first of the Egyptian kings, after the expulsion of the Phcenian shep- herds. Now therefore we are to inquire, when this Tethmis or Amosis issued this abolition law, that is, the time of the time with the time of the sacrifice of Isaac. Now, if we look into my chronological table, publi- shed A. D. 1721, we shall find that the hundred and twenty-fifth year of Abraham, or which was also one, the twenty-fifth year of Isaac, falls.
Dissertation III.

Tacitus’s Accounts of the Origin of the Jewish Nation, and of the Particulars of the last Jewish War; that the former was probably written in opposition to Josephus’s Antiquities, and that the latter was for certain almost all directly taken from Josephus’s History of the Jewish War.

Since Tacitus, the famous Roman historian, who has written more largely and profoundly 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 favor 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, 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 universally known at Rome in that age; and since therefore it is not at all impossible to suppose that Tacitus could be acquainted with the writings of Josephus, it cannot but be highly proper to compare their accounts of Judea, of the Jews, and of Jewish affairs, together. Nor is it other than a very natural paradox to me, how it has been possible for learned men, particularly for the several learned editors of Josephus and Tacitus, to be so very silent about this matter as they have hitherto been, especially when we know of so many authors as to have treated of this matter, and circumstances, is so very remarkable: say, indeed, since many of the particular facts are recorded 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 inexplicable.

The two only other writers with whom we know of, whences such Jewish affairs might be supposed to be taken by Tacitus, who never appears to have been in Judea himself, are Justinus of Tiberias, a Jewish historian, contemporaneous with Josephus, and one Antonius Julianus, or mentioned by Suetonius Felix, in his Octavius, sect. 83, as having written on the same subject with Josephus, and both already mentioned by me on another occasion, Dissertation I. As to Justinus of Tiberias, he could not be the historian whom Tacitus took his Jewish affairs, because, as we have seen in the present chapter, he was, in that manner, a perfect stranger to the Jewish nation, and to the Jewish nation, and by his method of writing on Judaism, not there, as we know from the testimony of Photius, Cod. xxi. And as to Antonius Julianus, his very name shows him to have been not a Jew, but a Roman. He is never mentioned by Josephus, and never by another Roman or Jewish historian 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 him. Nor could any other writer, as Tacitus, ever take up with such a poor and most unknown historians as these two, while Josephus’s seven books of the Jewish War were then so common; were in such great reputation at Rome; were esteemed of, and recommended by Vespasian and Titus, the emperors, by king Agrippa, and king Archelaus, and Herod, king of Chalcis; and he was then honored with a statue: and these his books were deposited at the public library at Rome, as we know from Josephus himself, and from the places which are mentioned by Josephus himself, in his own life, sect. 85, and some others from the relations of Roman people, where the affairs of Rome were concerned; and also other affairs might be remembered by old officers and soldiers that had been in the Jewish war. Accordingly, I still suppose that Tacitus had some part of his information these ways, and particularly where he a little differs from, or makes additions to Josephus; but then, as this will all reach no farther than three or four years during this war, so will it by no means account for that abridgment of the geography of the country, and entire series of the principal facts of history thushere relating, which are in Josephus, from the days of Josephus, 240 years before the war, with which Antiochus, both Josephus and Tacitus begin their distinct histories of the Jews, preparatory to the history of the Jewish war. Nor can Tacitus take the greatest part of those earlier facts belonging to the Jewish nation from the days of Moses, or to Christ and Christians in the days of Tiberius, from Roman authors; of which Jewish and Christian affairs he must have had some knowledge, and which the heathens generally did grossly pervert and shameful falsify; and this is so true as to Tacitus’s own accounts of the origin of the Jewish nation, that the reader may adduce them in constant rule, that when Tacitus contradicts Josephus’s Jewish Antiquities, he either tells direct falsehoods, or truths so miserably disguised, as renders them little better than falsehoods, and hardly ever lights upon any thing relating to them that is true and solid, but when the same is in those Antiquities at this day, of which matters more will be said in the notes 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 tradition is, that the Jews ran away from the island of Crete, and settled themselves on the country by the coast of Libya, and this at the time when Saturn was driven out of his kingdom by the power of Jupiter: an argument for it is fetched from their name Cretaeus, which signifies Cretans, and the neighboring inhabitants are named Idaeus, which, with a barbarous augment, becomes the name of Judei (Jews.) Some say they were a people that were very numerous in Egypt under the reign of Osiris, and that the Egyptians got free a serious confusion. It is strange Tacitus could persuade himself thus rashly to set these down.
from that burden, by sending them into the adjacent countries, under their captains Hierosolymus and Judas. The greatest part, say they, were those Ethiopians whom fear and hatred obliged to change their habitations, in the reign of King Cepheus. (a) There are those who report that they were Assyrians, who wanting lands got together, and obtained part of Egypt, and soon afterward settled themselves in cities of the parts of Syria that lay nearest to them. (b) Others pretend their origin to be more eminent, and that the Solymi, a people celebrated in Homer's poems, were the founders of this nation, and gave them the name Hierosolymas, to the city which they built there. (c)

CHAP. III.] Many authors agree, that when once an infectious distemper was arisen in Egypt, and the Nile and the Aegyptiotes under their king went to the oracle of [Jupiter] Hammon, and begged he would grant him some relief against this evil; and that he was enjoined to purge his nation of them, and to banish this kind of men and those countries as hateful to the gods. (d) 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 name, was sent for to the sun, and being sent from any of the gods, or from any of mankind; since they had been abandoned by both, but bade them believe in him as in a celestial leader, (e) by whose help they had already gotten clear of the Egyptian slavery; (f) That though they were unacquainted with every thing, they began their journey at random. But nothing tired them so much as the want of water; and now they laid themselves down to die, groaning to see death, and his corpse; when an herd of wild asses came from feeding, and went to a rock overshadowed by a grove of trees. Moses followed them, as conjecturing that there was some secret sown ground, and so he opened large sources of water for them. (g) That was an ease to them; and when they had journeyed continually six entire days, (f) on the seventh day they drove out the inhabitants, and others the nations wherein their city and temple were dedicated.

CHAP. IV.] As for Moses, in order to secure the nation frankly to himself, he ordained new rites, and such as were contrary to those of other men. All things are with them profane which with us are sacred; and again, those practices are allowed 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 is also sacrificed, which the Egyptians worship under the name of Apis. (i)

They abstain from swine's flesh as a memoria l of that miserable destruction which the swine, which that creature is liable, brought on them, and with which they had been defiled. (j) That they had endured a long famine they attest still by their frequent fasting. (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, (a) because that day gave them the [first] rest from their labors. Besides which they are idle the very day of the Sabbath, and are pleased with a lazy life. Others say that they do honor thereby to Saturn; (p) or perhaps the Idae gave them this part of their religion, who as we said above were expelled, together with Saturn, and other gods; and it is not improbable, that the founders of this 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 governed; and that their bodies, by which means the Jewish commonwealth was augmented. And because among themselves there is an unalterable fidelity and kindness, always ready at hand, but bitter enmity towards all others; (f) they are a people separated from others in year (p) and in their beds; though they be the leasted nation upon earth, yet will they not corrupt foreign women, (a) though nothing be esteemed unlawful among themselves. (v)

They have ordained circumcision of the parts

(1) The Jews had but one solemn fast of old in the whole year, the Passover; so the Ambrose, anz.
(2) Unleavened bread was only used at the passover.
(3) It is very strange that Tacitus should not know or confess that the Jews'INDEX day, and second day of rest, were in memory of the seventh, or Sabbath-day's rest, after the six days of creation. Every Jew, as well as every Christian, could have informed him of these matters.
(4) 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 jubile, so he says nothing of it.
(5) As the Jews, in the days of Moses, or long before, knew that the Greeks and Romans would long afterward call the seventh day their Sabbath, they concluded their obser"uers 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. 42.
(6) That the sun, moon, and stars, rule over the affairs of mankind, was a heathen and not a Jewish notion; neither Jews nor Christians were ignorant of such astrology, though Tacitus seems to have been deep in it.
(7) This acknowledgement of the antiquity of Moses, and of his Jewish settlement, was what the heathen minded not always to own.
(8) What these pretended awkward and impure inscriptions were.
(9) Josephus shows the contrary, as to the laws of his nation, confr. Apion, book ii. sect. 29.
(10) High and entirely false character, and contrary to their many laws against uncleanness. See Josephus, Antiq. ii. iii. chap. xii. sect. 22.
used in generation, that they may thereby be distinguished from other people: the proselytes (α) to their religion have the same usage.

They are taught nothing sooner than to despise the gods, to set them in the country, and to have their parents, children, and brethren, in the utmost contempt; (β) but still they take care to increase and multiply, for it is esteemed utterly unlawful to kill any of their children. Word. (γ) It is a mark of those who die in battle, or are put to death for their crimes, as eternal. Hence comes their love of posterity and contempt of death.

They derive their custom of burying (γ) instinctively from their dead from the Egyptians; they have also the same care of the dead with them, and the same persuasion about the invisible world below; but of the gods above, their opinion is contrary to theirs. The Egyptians worship abundance of animals, and images of various sorts.

The Jews have no notion of any more than one Divine Being, (α) and that known only by the name of 'great labr.' Such are the images of gods out of perishable matter, and in the shape of men. That this Being is supreme, and eternal, and immutable, and unperishable, is their doctrine. Accordingly, they have not their true gods in their cities, much less in their temples: they never grant this piece of flattery to kings, or this kind of honor to emperors. (β) But because their priests, when they play on the pipe and timbrels, wear ivy round their head, and there is a branch found in their temple, (γ) 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 fit for festivals, while the practices of the Jews are absurd and sordid.

CHAP. VI.] The limits of Judea are bordered by the Grecian Phoenicians 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 labors. There are not many showers of rain: their soil is very fruitful: the produce of their land is ours, in great plenty. (d)

They have also, besides ours, two trees peculiar: the banana tree, which is the palm of another tree. Their groves of palms are tall and beautiful. The banana tree is not very large. As soon as any branch is swollen, the veins quack 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.

(α) The proselytes of justice only, not the proselytes of the gate.

(β) How does this agree with that unalterable fidelity and constancy of the Jews? Tacitus told us the Jews had towards one another? unless he only means that they preferred the divine commands before their nearest relations, which is the highest degree of Jewish and Christian piety.


(δ) These are very valuable conclusions, which Tacitus here makes. As to the unspotted piety of the Jewish nation, he might have added, that they are an infinite, unbounded rejection of all idolatry, and all worship of images, say, of the image of the emperor Caligula himself, or of sacrifices in the temple.

(α) All these conclusions were to be learned from Josephus, and almost only from him; out of whom, therefore, I think Tacitus took the finest part of his character of the Jews.

(β) This particular fact, that there was a golden vine in the Jewish temple, was in all probability, as it is very likely, taken by Tacitus out of Josephus; but as the Jewish priests were never adorned with ivy, the signal of Bacchus, how Tacitus came to imagine this, I cannot tell.
mouth, when they mix sile with them, are melt
ed into glass: this sort of shore is but small, but
its sand, for the use of those that carry it off, is
immeasurable.

CHAP. VIII. A great part of Judea is com-
posed of scattered villages; it has also larger
towns, and the Jerusalem is the capital of
the nation. In that city there was a temple of
immense wealth; in the first parts that are fortified
are the city itself, next it the royal palace.
The temple is enclosed in its most inward recesses. A
Jew cannot get no farther with his sight; but the
priests are excluded by their threshold. While
the East was under the dominion of the Assyrians,
the Medes, and the Persians, the Jews were of all
desire, of all desire. (c)

(2) After the dominion of the Macedonians pre-
vailed, king Antiochus tried to conquer their su-
perstition, and to introduce the customs of the
Greeks; but he was disappointed of his design,
which was to give this most profane nation a
character for the better, and that was by his war
with the Parthians, for at this time Araxes had
fallen off [from the Macedonians]. Then it was
that the Jews set kings over them, because the
Medes and Persians were become wiser; the
Romans were 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, stamped the
Romans as less than kings that kings under which
they introduced the destruction of cities, the
slaughter of brethren, of wives, and parents,
but still went on in their superstition; for they took
upon them withal the honorable dignity of the
high priesthood, as a firm security to their power
and authority.

CHAP. IX.] The first of the Romans that con-
quered the Jews was Caius Pompeius, who en-
tered the temple by right of victory. Thence the
rebbeblem was reserved where every divine prer-
ience was no image of a god, but an empty place,
and mysteries, most secret places that have noth-
ing 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 those provinces were reduced under
Marcus Antonius, Pescara, king of the Parthians,
got possession of Judea, but was himself slain by
Paulius Ventidius, and the Parthians were driven
back: and for the Jews, Caius Sosius subdued them.
Antonius gave the kingdom to Heracl: and when Augustus conquered Antonius,
he still augmented it.

After Henry's death, one Simon, without wait-
ing for the disposition of Cæsar, took upon him
the title of king, who was brought to punishment by
or under Quintilius Varus, when he was pres-
ent of Syria. Afterward the nation was redu-
ced, and the children of Herod governed it in
those partitions.

Under Tiberius, the Jews had rest. After some
time they were enjoined to place Caius Cæsar's
statue in the temple; but rather than permit that,
the temple was destroyed, and that action was put
an end to by the death of Cæsar.

Claudius, after the kings were either dead or re-
duced to smaller dominions, gave the province of
Judea to Roman knights, or to freed men, to be
governed there the same as at Rome; and Caius
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
Frank, in his war remaining, which would work hard and
difficult, but rather from the nature of the mountain,
set this matter almost right, according to Josephus, and
by way of correction, for that account is in his annals,
which were written after this, which is in his histori-
ography. (a)

(4) Here Josephus may use some mistake
in the affairs of Cæsarius. See Of the War, B. I. ch. 21, sect. 8.
(c) Josephus says nothing of the death of Cæsarius; in
Tacitus seems to have known nothing in particular about
it. 32D
and the obstinacy of the Jewish superstition, then because the besieged had strength enough to un- dergo the distresses [of a siege.]. We have al- ready informed [the reader] that Vespasian had with him three legions, 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 fame: but what did first of all seem to come within his power, was his triumphs, and consol- ship, and the glories of his victories over the Jews. When he had once obtained these, he believed it was portended that he should come to the em- pire. (p)

The war 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 solemn worship. Vespas- ian was once offering a sacrifice there, at a time when he had some secret thought in his mind: the priest, whose name was Basilius, when he heard and over and looked at the entrails, said, Vespas- ian, whatever thou art about, whether the building of the temple, or the construction of thy law, or augmentation of thy slaves, thou art granted a mighty seat, very large bounds, a huge number of men. These doubtful answers were soon spread abroad by fame, and at what hour were ex- pected, nor was any thing so much in public vogue, and very many discourses of that nature were made before him, and the more because they foretold what he expected.

Vespasian and Vespasianus went away, having fully agreed on their designs: the former to Ant- ioch, the latter to Caesarea. Antiochus is the capi- tal of Syria, and Caesarea the capital of Judea. The commencement of Vespasian's advancement to the throne at Alexandria, where Titus Alexander made such haste, that he obliged the legions to take the oath of fidelity to him on the calends of July, which was ever after cele- brated as the day of his inauguration, although (q) the custom of laying on the hand on the fifth of the nones of July, with that eagerness that they would not stay for his son Titus, who was then on the road, returning out of Syria, chap. 79. Vespasian delivered over the strongest part of his army to his son, and continued in what remained of the Jewish war. Hist. book iv. chap. 51.

During these months in which Vespasian con- tinued in Alexandria, waiting for the usual set time of the summer gales of wind, and stayed 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 favor was declared.

A certain man of the vulgar sort at Alexand- ria, well known for the decy of his eyes, kneel- ed down by him and groaned, and begged of him the cure of his blindness, as the admonition of Serapius, that god which this superstition nation worships above others. He also desired 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 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, they should have the reputation of a vain person, and sometimes upon the solicitation of the infirm, he flattered himself, and others flatter- ed him with the hopes of succeeding. At last he ordered the physicians to give their opinion, what the cause of their diseases was, and if they were curable by the art of man or not? The phys- icians answered uncertainly, that the one had not his visual faculty utterly destroyed, and that it might be restored, if the obstacles were removed; these physicians were disorders or healing virtue were made use of, they were ca- pable of being made whole. Perhaps, said they, the gods are willing to assist, and that the empe- ror is chosen by divine interposition: however they said at last, that if he should have the fortune; and saw would have the glory, if not, the poor mis- able objects would only be laughed at. Where- upon Vespasian imagined that his good fortune would be universal, and that nothing on that ac- count should hinder him, he left Alexandria, and in the sight of the multitude, who stood in great expectation, he did what they desired him: upon which the same hand was recovered, and the God of heaven doth indeed do these cures (r) are related to this day by those who were present, and when speaking falsely will get no re- ward.

BOOK V.—CHAP. I.

At the beginning of the same year Titus Caesar, who was pitched upon by his father to finish the conquest of Judea, and while both he and his fa- ther were private persons, was celebrated for his virtues, and under Alexander Titus, then emperor of the Romans, and hopes of reputation, the kind inclinations both of the provinces and of the armies striving one with another who should most encourage him. He was also himself in a disposition to show that he was not equal to his fortune; and when he appeared in armies, he did all things after such a ready and graceful way, treating all after such an affable manner, and with such kind words, as invited the good-will and good wishes of all. His language was so pure, that it sanctified the actions in the troops; he mixed with the common sol- diers, yet without any stain to his honor as a gen- eral. (s) He was received in Judea by three legions, together with Titus Alexander the young, who were Vespasian's old soldiers. Syria also afforded him the twelfth, and Alexandria soldiers out of the twenty-second and twenty-third legions. Twenty cohorts (t) of auxiliaries accompanied, as also eight troops of horse.

King Agrippa also was there, and king "Je- nus, and the auxiliaries of king Antiochus, and a strong body of Arabians, who, as is usual in na- tions that are neighbors to one another, were with them, and accustomed hatred against the Jews, with many others out of the city of Rome, as every one's hopes led him of getting early into the general's favor, before others should privatize them.

(p) Josephus takes notice in general of these many miracles of Vespasian's advancement to the empire, and distinctly adds his own remarkable prediction of it also. Of the War, B. iii. chap. viii. sect. 3-9.

(q) This allegory seems to imply that Vespasian was great, and Judea a temple, which he at that time held at Alexandria, as the whole history of Josephus im- plies, and the place where now Vespasian was, which was not considered a temple till Ptolemy Ty- rhenus, though the Mauzoleum at Alexandria was a temple, which might be celebrated afterward from his first proclamation at the great city Alexandria, only then the honor of the name was impious or false.

(r) The miraculous cures done by Vespasian are attested both by the testimony of Josephus, in section 7, and by Dio, p. 47. He is well attended, he has overthrown the heathen oracle of Serapis to procure the divine approbation to Vespasian's advancement to the empire of Rome, as he suggested the like approbation to the advancement both of Vespasian and Titus to Joseph- phus, which two were to be his chosen instruments in bringing on that terrible destruction upon the Jewish na- tion, which he had threatened to execute on these Roman armies. Nor could any other Roman generals than Ves- pasian or Titus Alexander, have so great an influence over the Jews, and destroyed Jerusalem, or this whole history in Josephus implies. Josephus also very well states, and indeed well attested, that the seven days of the humil- ity day might be celebrated afterward from his first proclamation at the great city Alexandria, only then the honor of the name was impious or false.

(s) The miraculous cures done by Vespasian are attested both by the testimony of Josephus, in section 7, and by Dio, p. 47. He is well attended, he has overthrown the heathen oracle of Serapis to procure the divine approbation to Vespasian's advancement to the empire of Rome, as he suggested the like approbation to
Dissertation III.

He entered into the borders of the empires' country with these forces in exact order of war; and looking carefully about him, and being ready for battle, he pitched his camp not far from Jerusalem.

Chap. X.] When therefore, he had pitched his camp, as we said just now, before the walls of Jerusalem, he pompously showed his legions (a) ready for an engagement.

Chap. XI.] The Jews formed their camp under the walls for some days, but soon the enemy succeeded, they resolved to venture further, but if they were beaten back, that was their place of refuge. When a body of cavalry (a) were sent against them, and with them cohorts, that were armed and numbered, the Romans began to march, but soon afterward the enemies gave ground, and on the following days there were frequent skirmishes before the gates, till after many losses they were driven into the city. The Romans then took possession of it; for, every day, the numbers repaired to their camp, and there became more seditious than before.

There were three captains and as many armies. Simon had the remotest and largest part of the walls under him. John, who was also called Barnabas, was among the Glorias, (b) which were a little less than half the city; and Eleazar had fortified the temple itself. John and Simon were superior in multitude and strength of arms; Eleazar was superior by his situation, but battles, factions, and quarrels, were confined to them all; and a great quantity of corn was consumed by fire. After a while John sent some, who, under the pretence of offering sacrifice, might slay Eleazar and his body of troops, which they did, and got the number of these; and now the city was now parted into two factions, until, upon the coming of the Romans, this war abroad produced peace between those that were at home.

Chap. XII.] Such prodigies (c) had happened, as this war, which was peculiar and strange; though in its own way, would not agree to expiate by the ceremonies of the Roman religion, nor would they atone the gods by sacrifices and vows, as these were used on such occasions. Armies were seen to fight in the sky, and their colors looked of a bright light color, and the temple shone with sudden flashes of fire out of the clouds. The doors of the temple were opened on that night, and the voices of the voices, etc., etc. was heard, that the gods were retiring, and at the same time there was a great motion perceived, as if they were going out of it, which some esteemed to be causes of terror. The greater part had a firm belief that this was done in connection with the sacred books, that at this very time the East would prevail, and that some very great event that came out of Judent was to be expected; and thus they were prepared and brought about the event.

We have been informed, that the number of the besieged, of every age, and of both sexes, male and female, was six hundred thousand. (d)

There were weapons for all that could carry them, and more than could be expected, for their number were bold enough to do so. The men and the women were equally obstinate; and when

(a) This word in Tacitus, pompously showed his legions, looks as if that pompous show which was some months afterwards, in Josephus, ran in his mind; Of the War, B. v. chap. 11. sec. 1.

(b) These first 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 horsemen or cavalry, 500 in number, among whom Titus had like to have been slain or taken prisoner. Of the War, B. v. chap. ii. sec. 1.—3.

(d) Such a deliberation and resolution, with this very reason, it would be desirable to till the field, and at last were starved out by famine, is in Josephus, Of the War, B. v. chap. xii. sec. 1. (a)

(e) Of the city of Jerusalem, its two hills, its three walls, and four towers, &c. are in this place at large in Josephus, Of the War, B. v. chap. iv. See also Josephus, Of the Wars, B. v. chap. viii. sec. 6. (a)

(f) Of these pools, see Josephus, Of the War, B. vi. chap. xii. sec. 4. The cisterns are not mentioned by him here, though they be mentioned by travellers. See Robinson's Palestine, tom i. p. 304.

For a long siege. After Pompey's conquest also their fear and experience had taught them generally what they should want. (a)

Moreover, the covetous temper that prevailed under Claudius, gave the Jews an opportunity of purchasing arms, and a portion of Josephus (a) leaves to fortify Jerusalem; so they built walls in time of peace, if they were going to war, they being augmented in number by those rude multitudes of people that retired thither on the ruins of the other cities, for every day, the number increased, and in the city cities, and there became more seditious than before.

There were three captains and as many armies. Simon had the remotest and largest part of the walls under him. John, who was also called Barnabas, was among the Glorias, (b) which were a little less than half the city; and Eleazar had fortified the temple itself. John and Simon were superior in multitude and strength of arms; Eleazar was superior by his situation, but battles, factions, and quarrels, were confined to them all; and a great quantity of corn was consumed by fire. After a while John sent some, who, under the pretence of offering sacrifice, might slay Eleazar and his body of troops, which they did, and got the number of these; and now the city was now parted into two factions, until, upon the coming of the Romans, this war abroad produced peace between those that were at home.

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We have been informed, that the number of the besieged, of every age, and of both sexes, male and female, was six hundred thousand. (d)

There were weapons for all that could carry them, and more than could be expected, for their number were bold enough to do so. The men and the women were equally obstinate; and when

(a) This is Tacitus's or the Romans' own hypothesis, unsupported by Josephus.

(b) This is what the Jews want for the Jews to build the walls of Jerusalem for money is only Tacitus's or the Romans' own hypothesis, unsupported by Josephus. Nor is Josephus's belief the same, in the transaction of Josephus, as it is in Tacitus and Sextus. Dio says, he was far from covetousness in particular. The others seem to have misrepresented his meek and quiet temper and learning, but without ambition, and his great kindness to the Jews, as the most contemptible folly. See Antiq. B. xix. ch. iv. sec. 4. He was, indeed, much ranked at first by a very bad penmaster. Palæmon declared that he was reviled and poisoned by a very bad wife, Agrippina.

(c) These prodigies, and more, are at large in Josephus, Of the War, B. v. chap. 11. sec. 4. (a)

(d) These interpretations and reflections are in Josephus, Of the War, B. v. chap. 11. sec. 4.
Dissertation III.

They supposed they were to be carried away captive, they were more afraid of life than of death.

against this city and nation. Caesar resolved to fight, by ramparts and ditches, since the situation of the place did not admit of taking it by storm or surprise. He parted the duty amongst the legions, that there might be no further suspense, until whatever had been invented for the taking of cities by the ancients, or by the ingenuity of the moderns, was got ready.

Annal.—Book XV.

Nero, in order to stifle the rumor, [as if himself had set Rome on fire,] ascribed it to those people who were hated for their wicked practices, and called by the vulgar, Christians: these he ordered to be put to death. 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 punicous superstition was in part suppressed, but it burst out again, not only over Judea, where 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, that was done there; and when Nero, 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 sailing all mankind; nay, they made a mock of those, and despised them, by putting them into the skins of wild beasts, and setting dogs upon them to tear them to pieces: some were nailed to crosses, and others flamed to death: they were also used in the night-time instead of torches for illumination. Nero had offered his own garden for this spectacle. He also gave them Circassian games, and dressed himself like the driver of a chariot, sometimes appearing among the common people, and sometimes showing himself; when a commission 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, notorious humor of one man, who was his mistress. 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 obser-tion of what shows itself; and what a commission 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 notorious humor of one man, who was his mistress. 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 observation of what appears itself, and what a commission 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 notorious humor of one man, who was his mistress.

Pliny's Epistle to Trajan.

About A. D. 112.

Sir.—It is my constant method to apply myself to you for the resolution of all my doubts; for we are drawn into the same need of our just proceeding, or instruct my ignorance? I have never been present at the examination of the Christians [by others], on which account I am unac-

(f) This passage seems to have been directly taken from the accounts given by Pliny and the Christians, Antiq. B. II. ch. iii. sect. 2, of which see Dissert. I. before.

(g) Till now it seems repentance was not commonly allowed those who had been once Christians, but though they recanted, and returned to idolatry, yet were they commonly put to death. This was persecution in perfection! But I have a further account of the ancient Christians, that they commonly suffered for that bare name, without the presence of any crime; they could prove against themselves. This was also persecution in perfection!

(i) Amazing doctrine! that a firm and fixed resolution of keeping a good conscience should be thought without dispute to deserve death, and this by such comparatively pacient heathens as Pliny and Trajan.

(2) This was the case of St. Paul, who being a citizen of unknown age, he allowed himself to be examined by the Roman procurator, Aquila, about the twenty-fifth year of his age, but still discovered no more than that they were advised to the emperor to intercede for them. Hereupon I have put off any further examinations, and have recourse to you, for the affair seems to be well worth consultation, especially

(3) (a) This must probably be the feast of Easter.
on account of the number (c) 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 contagion, not only in cities and towns, but into country villages also, which yet is there reason that, publicly and without secrecy, 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 we have had few proofs, and oflate appeared; whereby it is easy to suppose how great a multitude of men might be assembled, is place for repentance be admitted.

TACITUS'S EPISTLE TO PLINY.

My Friend—You have taken the method which you ought in examining the causes of those that had been accused as Christians, for indeed no certain and general form of judging can be ordained in this case, the people are mixed, as not to be sought for; but if they be accused, and convicted, they are to be punished; but with this caution, that he who doth himself to be a Christian, and makes it plain that he is not so, by supplicating to our gods, although he be afterwards proved to be a Christian, may be allowed pardon upon his repentance. As for libels sent without an author, they ought to have no place in any accusation whatsoever, for that would be of very ill example, and not agreeable to my reign.

Observations upon the Passages taken out of TACITUS.

I. We see here what a great regard the best of the Roman historians of that age, Tacitus, had to the history of Josephus, while though he never names him, as he very rarely names any of those Roman authors whence he derives other parts of his history, yet does it appear that he refers to his seven books of the Jewish Wars several times in a very few pages, and almost always depends on his accounts of the affairs of the Romans and Parthians, as well as of the Jews, during no fewer than two hundred and forty years, to which these books extend.

II. Yet it does appear, that when he now and then followed other historians or reports concerning the Romans, the Parthians, or the Jews, during that time, he sometimes took them in, and had better have kept close to Josephus than hearken to any of his other authors or informers.

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 were contradicted by the same; and having read them, he must have been struck with wonder, and affirmed, and supported by no good evidence whatsoever; as also he could hardly avoid seeing that Josephus's accounts in those Antiquities were not at all conformable, but entirely contradictory to the ancient records of that nation, and of the neighboring nations also, which indeed no one can avoid seeing that carefully peruses and considers them.

IV. But, 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 here the more gross, in regard he professed such great impartiality, [Hist. B. i. chap. i.] and is alleged 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 futility of the Romans, were therefore so strong in him, as to overbear all restraints of sober reason and equity, and make them thus to proceed. To be said, he was 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 his followers were Jews, and also knew that the Christian religion was derived into the Roman provinces from Judea, it is no wonder that his hatred and contempt of the Jews extended itself to the Christians also, and that he was confounded with the Jews: as therefore his hard words of the Jews appear to have been generally groundless, and hurt his own reputation instead of theirs, so ought we to esteem his sable hard words of the Christians to be blots upon his own character, and not upon theirs.

VII. Since therefore Josephus, soon after the publication of Josephus's Antiquities, and in contradiction to the Jews, wrote a book in which he denied all 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 Maimeth and Lyshmae, and no where else met with so fully and all at one, 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. 1, that the same Antiquities were the very occasion of Apion's publication of his equal scandalous stories about them, and which Josephus so thoroughly confuted in these two books written against him. And if Tacitus, as I suppose, had also read these two books, his procedure in publishing such stories, after that he had seen so thorough a confutation of them, was still more highly criminal. Nor will Tacitus's fault be much less, though we suppose he neither saw the Antiquities nor the books against Apion, because it was very easy for him, from reading at random, and more authentic accounts of the origin of the Jewish nation, and of the nature of the Jewish and Christian religions, from the Jews and Christians themselves, which he owned were very numerous there in his time, to make such a publication of such idle stories is utterly inexcusable.

VIII. It is therefore very plain, after all, that notwithstanding the encomiums of several of our learned critics upon Tacitus, and hard suspicions upon Josephus, that all the (involuntary) mistakes of Josephus, in all his large works put together, their quality as well as quantity considered, do not amount to near so great a mass, as do these gross errors and misrepresentations of Tacitus. And such later and lesser critics should have learned more judgment and modesty from their great father Joseph Scaliger when, as we have seen, after all his deeper inquiries, he solemnly pronounces, De Exempl. p. 17, "that Josephus is the most diligent and the greatest lover of truth of all writers;" and is not afraid to affirm, that, "it is more safe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also to those that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers, and this because his fidelity and compass of learning are very where conspicuous."

least in Bithynia, even in the beginning of that century, as is wholly undeniable.
### TABLE OF THE JEWISH WEIGHTS, MEASURES, &c. AND PARTICULARLY THOSE MENTIONED IN JOSEPHUS’S WORKS.

#### Of Jewish Measures of Length.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inches</th>
<th>Feet</th>
<th>Inches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cubit, the standard</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0 10 1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeroth or large span</td>
<td>10 1-3</td>
<td>0 7 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small span</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palm or hand’s breadth</td>
<td>3 1-3</td>
<td>0 3 1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inch or thumb’s breadth</td>
<td>1 16</td>
<td>0 1 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digit or finger’s breadth</td>
<td>5 75</td>
<td>0 5 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orgyia or fathom</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>7 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essekil’s Canneh or reed</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>10 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabian Canneh or pole</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>14 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schemos’s line, or chain</td>
<td>1680</td>
<td>140 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabbath-day’s journey</td>
<td>42000</td>
<td>3500 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish mile</td>
<td>84000</td>
<td>7000 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stadium or furlong</td>
<td>2400</td>
<td>700 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parasang</td>
<td>260000</td>
<td>21000 0</td>
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#### Of the Jewish Measures of Capacity.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Cub. Inches</th>
<th>Pints or Pounds</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bath or Ephah</td>
<td>507.274</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corus or Chomer</td>
<td>8072.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seah or Saton</td>
<td>269.091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto according to Josephus</td>
<td>822.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto according to Josephus</td>
<td>134.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto according to Josephus</td>
<td>414.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omer or Assarom</td>
<td>80.722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cab</td>
<td>44.859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log</td>
<td>11.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meitres or Syrian firkia</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Of the Jewish Weights and Coins.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L.</th>
<th>z.</th>
<th>d.</th>
<th>🍀 on Tr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stater, Siclus, or shekel of the sanctuary, the standard</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyrian Coin, equal to the shackle</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behkal, half of the shackle</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7 1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drachma Attica, one-fourth</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drachma Alexandrina, or Drachmae, or Adrachmaon, one-half</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerah, or Obolas, one-twentieth</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manah, Mna—100 shakels in weight</td>
<td>7 10 0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talent of silver,—300 shakels.</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>0 0</td>
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<td>Shekel of gold, not more than</td>
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<td>Talent of gold, not more than</td>
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*With the Syro-Macedonian Names Josephus gives them, and the Names of the Julian or Roman Months corresponding to them.*

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### TABLE I.

**COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE LIVES OF THE PATRIARCHS,**

**FROM ADAM TO THE DELUGE.—ACCORDING TO THE HEbrew COMPUTATION.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.M.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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#### THE DELUGE.

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<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>1665</td>
<td>5722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1656</td>
<td>1655</td>
<td>5721</td>
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### TABLE II.

**CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, FROM THE CREATION TO THE BIRTH OF OUR LORD.**

#### According to the Supplications of three celebrated Writers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Usher (following the Hebrew)</th>
<th>Josephus</th>
<th>Pezron (following the Septuagint)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>2. The Deluge</td>
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<td>1636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Vocation of Abraham</td>
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<td>4. The Exodus of Israel</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. The Foundation of the Temple</td>
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<td>3397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The Temple burned</td>
<td>3416</td>
<td>3416</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. The Nativity of our Lord</td>
<td>4001</td>
<td>4001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Usher</th>
<th>Josephus</th>
<th>Pezron</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1651</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1666</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5722</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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**The End.**