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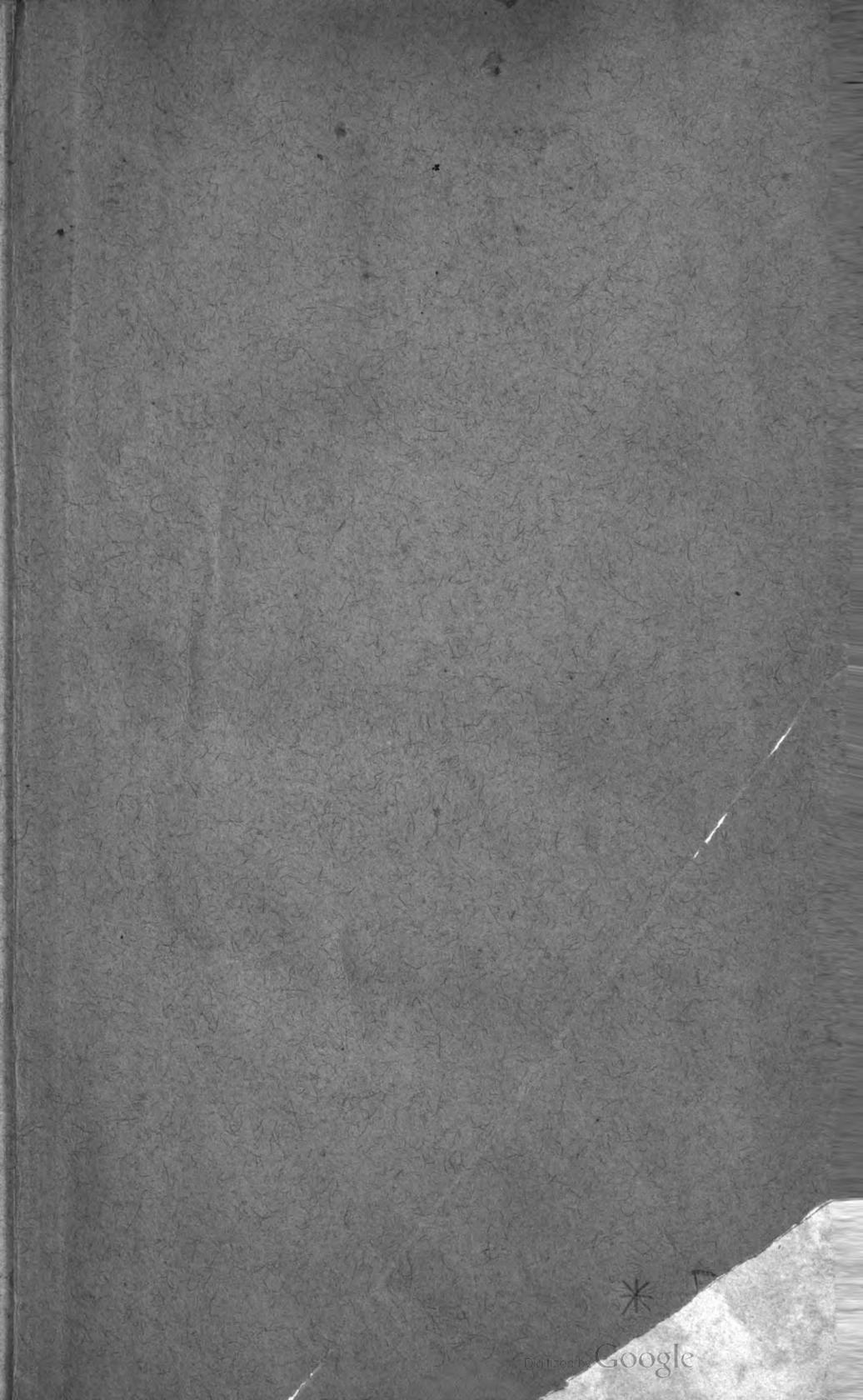
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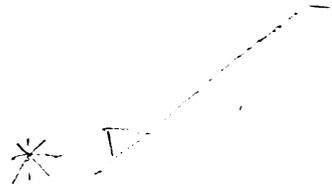


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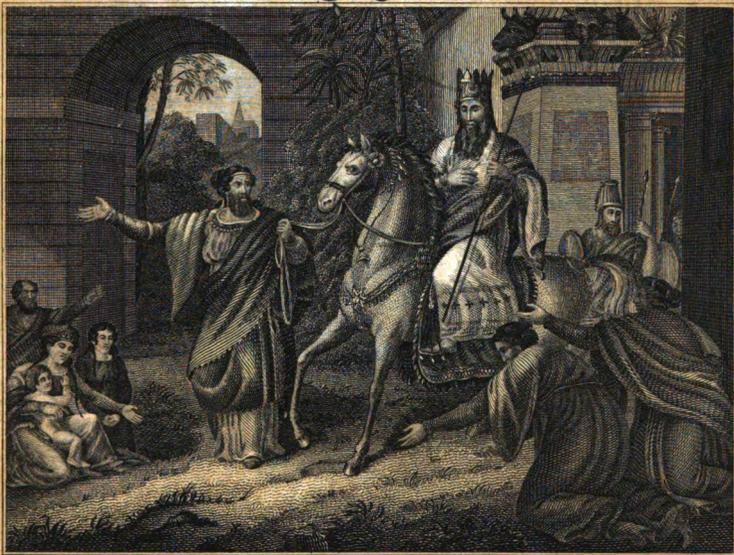
W^m WHISTON, M.A.

Revised & Illustrated with Notes
by the Rev^d

SAM^l BURDER, A.M.

IN FOUR VOLUMES

Vol. 2.



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THE
GENUINE WORKS
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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,

THE
JEWISH HISTORIAN:

CONTAINING
TWENTY BOOKS OF THE JEWISH ANTIQUITIES,
SEVEN BOOKS OF THE JEWISH WAR,

AND
THE LIFE OF JOSEPHUS.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GREEK, ACCORDING TO
HAVERCAMP'S ACCURATE EDITION.

TOGETHER WITH

EXPLANATORY NOTES & OBSERVATIONS,
PARALLEL TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE; THE TRUE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SEVERAL
HISTORIES; AN ACCOUNT OF THE JEWISH COINS, WEIGHTS, AND
MEASURES; AND A COMPLETE INDEX.

EMBELLISHED WITH SUPERB ENGRAVINGS.

BY THE LATE

WILLIAM WHISTON, M. A.

Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge, &c. &c.

REVISED, AND ILLUSTRATED WITH NOTES,

BY THE REV. SAMUEL BURDER, A. M.

Of Clare Hall, Cambridge; Lecturer of the United Parishes of Christ Church,
Newgate Street, and St. Leonard, Foster Lane, London; Chaplain to his Royal
Highness the Duke of Kent; and Author of Oriental Customs, &c. &c.

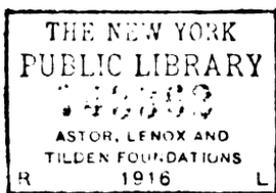
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THE
ANTIQUITIES

OF
The Jews.

BOOK VIII.

*Containing an Interval of One Hundred and Sixty-Three
Years.*

FROM THE DEATH OF DAVID TO THE DEATH OF AHAB.

CHAP. I.

OF SOLOMON'S CONDUCT AFTER HE HAD RECEIVED THE KINGDOM.

WE have already treated of David, and his virtue, and of the benefits that 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. 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 made joyful acclamations to him, as is usual at the beginning of a reign; and wished that all his affairs might come to a blessed conclusion; and that he might arrive at a great age, and at the most happy state of affairs possible.

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

* About 12 or 14 years old.

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 favour from his brother to him, and to persuade him to bestow on him in marriage Abishag; who had slept by his father, but was still a virgin. So Bathsheba promised to afford him her assistance, and to bring this marriage about; because the king would be willing to gratify him in such a thing; and because she would press him to it very earnestly. Accordingly he went away in great hopes of succeeding in this affair. So Solomon's mother went presently to her son, to speak about what she had promised, upon Adonijah's supplication to her. And when her son came forward to meet her, and embraced her; and when he had brought her into the house where his royal throne was, he sat thereon, and bade them set another throne on the right hand for his mother. When Bathsheba was set down, she said, "O son! grant me one request that I desire of thee, and do not do any thing to me that is disagreeable or ungrateful; which thou wilt do if thou deniest me." And when Solomon desired her to lay her commands upon him, because it was agreeable to his duty, to grant her every thing she should ask; and complained that she did not at first begin her discourse, with a firm expectation of obtaining what she desired, but had some suspicion of a denial; she intreated him to grant, that his brother Adonijah might marry Abishag.

But the king was greatly offended at these words, and sent away his mother, saying, that Adonijah aimed at great things; and that he wondered 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 he had potent friends, Joab the captain of the host, and Abiathar the priest. So he called for Benaiah, 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 hardships which thou hast endured with my father, and because of the ark which thou hast borne along with him; but I inflict the following punishment upon thee, because thou wast among Adonijah's followers, and wast of his party. Do not thou continue here, nor come any more into my sight; but go to thine own town, and live on thine own fields, and there abide all thy life; for thou hast offended so greatly, that it is not just thou shouldst retain thy dignity any longer." For the aforementioned cause therefore it was, that the house of Ithamar was deprived of the sacerdotal dignity, as God had foretold to Eli, the grandfather of Abiathar. So it was 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, (of which family Eli was the first that received it,) were these that follow: Bukki, the son of Abishua, the high-priest; his son was Joatham;† Joatham's son was Meraioth; Meraioth's son was Arophœus;‡ Arophœus's son was Ahitub; and Ahitub's son was Zadok; who was first made high-priest in the reign of David.

Now when Joab, the captain of his host, had 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 favour to Adonijah, he fled to the altar, and supposed he might procure safety thereby to himself; because of the king's piety towards God. But when some told the king what Joab's supposal was, he sent Benaiah, and commanded him to raise him up from the altar, and bring him to the judgment seat, in order to make his defence. However Joab said he would not leave the altar, but would die there, rather than in another place. And when Benaiah had reported his answer to the king, Solomon commanded him to cut off his head there,§ and let him take that as a pun-

* 1 Kings ii. 25. † Zerachiah, 1 Chron. vi. 6. ‡ Amariah, 1 Chron. vi. 7.

|| This execution upon Joab, as a murderer, by slaying him, even when he had taken sanctuary at God's altar, is perfectly agreeable to the laws of Moses, which enjoins, that "If a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour to slay him with guile, thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may die." Exod. xxi. 14.

§ It was formerly very customary among princes, to employ their officers, or

ishment for those two captains of his 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 Benaiah had done what he was commanded to do he was himself appointed to be captain of the whole army. The king also made Zadok high-priest, in the room of Abiathar,* whom he had removed.

But as to Shimei, Solomon commanded that he should build him a house, and stay at Jerusalem, and attend upon him; and should not have authority to go over the brook Cedron; and that if he disobeyed that command, death should be his punishment. He also threatened him so terribly, that he compelled him to take an oath, that he would obey. Accordingly, Shimei said, that he had reason to thank Solomon for giving him such an injunction, and added an oath that he would do as he bade him: and, leaving his own country, he made his abode in Jerusalem.† But three years afterwards,‡ when he heard that two

greatest confidants, in such like executions. Among the Romans, the soldiers were always the persons who carried to prison, to torture, or to execution, such as were found guilty of any offence; and this Tertullian makes an argument to dissuade Christians from engaging in their wars, lest thereby they should be obliged to imprison, punish, or execute malefactors. In Dan. ii. 24, we read, that Nebuchadnezzar sent Arioch, who was chief commander of his troops, to destroy the wise men of Babylon, because they could not interpret his dream; and therefore we need less wonder, that we find Solomon employing Benaiah, the captain of his guard, on the like office. But whether he did not first drag Joab from the altar before he slew him, for fear of polluting the holy place with blood, or whether Solomon did not rather think fit to have him killed even at the altar, and let all men see, that no place, though never so sacred, should secure any man from the hand of justice, commentators have not agreed. *Cabnet's and Patrick's Commentary.* B.

* 1 Kings ii. 35.

† Shimei, as we read, was a very powerful man. When he came to meet king David, and to beg pardon for his offence, he had a thousand of his own tribe to accompany him, 2 Sam. xix. 17, and therefore Solomon might think proper to confine him to the city of Jerusalem, that, being removed from the place where his family and interest lay, to one where he was but a stranger, and sufficiently odious for his former ill treatment of the late king, he might be incapable of raising any tumults or seditions; and that, being in this public theatre, all his words and actions might be narrowly observed, which, considering his busy and wicked temper, might give Solomon a fair advantage against him, and, as the manner of some is, the very prohibition itself might probably inflame his desire to transgress it. *Pool's Annotations.* B.

‡ About an. 1052.

of his servants were run away from him, and were in Gath, he went for his servants in haste; and when he was come back with them, the king perceived it, and was much displeased that he had contemned his commands, and what was more, had no regard to the oaths he had sworn to God. So he called him, and said, "Didst not thou swear never to leave, nor to go out of this city to another? Thou shalt not therefore escape punishment for thy perjury, but I will punish thee, thou wicked wretch! both for this crime, and for those wherewith thou didst abuse my father, when he was in his flight; that thou mayest know that wicked men gain nothing at last; although they be not punished immediately upon their unjust practices; but that in all the time wherein they think themselves secure, because they have yet suffered nothing, their punishment increases, and is heavier upon them; and that to a greater degree than if they had been punished immediately upon the commission of their crimes." So Benaiah, on the king's command, slew Shimei.

CHAP. II.

OF SOLOMON'S MARRIAGE; HIS WISDOM AND RICHES; AND THE ASSISTANCE HE OBTAINED FROM HIRAM TOWARDS THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

SOLOMON having settled himself firmly in his kingdom, and having brought his enemies to punishment; married the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt.* He also built the walls of Jerusalem† much larger and stronger than those which had been before; and thenceforward he managed public affairs very peaceably. Nor was his youth any hindrance in the exercise of justice, the observance of the law, or the remembrance of what charges his father had given him at his death: but he discharged every duty with greater accuracy than might have

* 1 Kings iii. 1.

† This building the walls of Jerusalem soon after David's death, illustrates the conclusion of the fifty-first Psalm, where David prays: Build thou the walls of Jerusalem; they being, it seems, unfinished or imperfect at that time. See VIII. 6, and 1 Kings ix. 15.

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 brazen altar that was built by Moses. Accordingly he offered there a thousand burnt-offerings. And when he had done this, he thought he had payed great honour to God. For as he was asleep that very night, God appeared to him, and commanded him to ask of him some gifts which he was ready to bestow on him, as a reward for his piety. So Solomon asked of God what was most excellent, and of the greatest worth in itself: what God would bestow with the greatest joy; and what it was most profitable for man to receive. For he did not desire either gold, silver, or any other riches, as a young man might naturally have done; for these are the things that generally are esteemed by most men, as alone of the greatest worth, and of 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 according to truth 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, understanding and wisdom; and this in such a degree, as no other mortal man, neither kings nor ordinary persons ever had. 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 leaped out of his bed; and when he had worshipped him he returned to Jerusalem; and after he had offered great sacrifices before the tabernacle, he feasted all his own family.†

* Although both the Hebrew and the Septuagint say 1 Kings iii. 4, 5, and 2 Chron. i. 3, that the place whither Solomon now went, to the tabernacle or great brazen altar, was Gibeon, and not Hebron, as Josephus's copy had it; yet is Josephus's copy, confirmed by the vow of Absalom, which was according to our common copies, to be performed not at Gibeon, but at Hebron. 2 Sam. xv. 7, 12. And since Gibeah or Gibeon denotes a hill or an elevation, as Josephus elsewhere truly observes, VI. 8, the original text perhaps meant an elevated place at Hebron. See the very same difference between Gibeon in our copies, Jeremiah xli. 12, and Hebron, in Josephus's, x. 9, which probably requires the very same reconciliation also.

† 1 Kings iii. 15.

In those days a cause came before him in judgment, which it was very difficult to find an end of. And I think it necessary to explain the fact about which the contest was, that such as peruse my writings may know what difficult cause Solomon was to determine; and those that are concerned in such matters may take this sagacity of the king's 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 on the third day this woman overlaid her son, and killed it; and then took my son out of my bosom, and removed him to herself; and as I was asleep, she laid her dead son in my arms. Now when, in the morning, I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own; but saw this woman's dead child lying by me; for I examined it attentively, and found it so to be. Hence it was that I demanded my son; and when I could not obtain him, I have recourse, my lord, to thy assistance. For since we were alone, and there was nobody there that could convict her, or affright her, she cares for nothing; but perseveres in an obstinate denial of the fact.

When this woman had spoken, the king asked the other, what she had to say in contradiction to that story? And when she had 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

* These two women are said in the text to be harlots; but the Hebrew word, as we took notice in the case of *Rahab*, may equally signify a hostess, or one who kept a house of public entertainment; and that it is so to be taken here we have these reasons to presume: that as all public prostitution was severely forbidden by the law, Deut. xxiii. 17, women of this infamous character durst not have presented themselves before so just and so wise a king: that women of this lewd behaviour seldom do become mothers of children, and when they chance to have any, are not so solicitous for their preservation, but rather rejoice when they have got rid of them. There is no reason to suppose then, that these women were common harlots; and yet it is generally thought, that they were both unmarried persons, and guilty of fornication, because no mention is made of their husbands, whose office it was, if they had any, to contest the matter for their wives. *Pool's Annotations*, and *Calmel's Commentary*. B.

devise what judgment could be given, and the whole court were blind in their understanding, and could not tell how to find out this riddle; the king invented the following method of discovering it. He bade them bring in both the dead and the living child; and commanded one of his guards to fetch a sword, and to cut both the children into two pieces, that each of the women might have half the 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 the real mother of the living child cried out,* that he should not do so, but deliver that 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 even desirous that the first woman should be tormented. When the

* Solomon knew at once that the only sign that would discover the truth, would be her affection, and compassion, and tenderness for her child; and therefore in order to distinguish between the two, his business was to make trial of this; and if we suppose, that when he commanded the child to be divided, he spake with a sedate countenance, and seeming earnestness, as the true mother's petition to the king makes it apparent that he did, then we may suppose farther, not only the two women, but all the people present, with horror and admiration, expecting the execution of the thing; which, when it ended in so just a decision, quite contrary to what they looked for, raised joy in every breast, and gave a more advantageous commendation to the judge: and yet Abarbanel, the Jewish commentator, thinks, that all this was no great proof of Solomon's extraordinary wisdom, nor could it beget that fear or reverence which the text says, 1 Kings iii. 28, it procured to his person. His opinion therefore is, that Solomon made a discovery of the truth antecedent to this experiment, that by observing the countenance, the manner of speech, and all the motions of the women, he discerned the secret of their hearts, and penetrated to the bottom of the business; and that his commanding the child to be divided afterwards, was only to notify to the company, what he before had discovered. However this be, it may not be improper, upon this occasion, to mention an instance or two out of profane history, of a singular address, though much inferior to this, in discovering such secrets as seemed to be past finding out. To this purpose, Suetonius, in his life of Claudian, chap. 15, tells us, how that emperor discovered a woman to be the mother of a young man, whom she would not own for her son, by commanding her to be married to him; for the horror of committing incest obliged her to declare the truth: and, in like manner, Diodorus Siculus relates, how Ariopharnes, king of the Thracians, being appointed to arbitrate between three men, who all pretended to be sons of the king of the Cimmerians, and claimed the succession, found out the true son and heir, by ordering them to shoot each man his arrow into the dead king's body, which one of them refusing to do, was deemed the true claimant. *Pool's Annotations, Patrick's and Calmet's Commentaries.* B.

king understood that both their words proceeded from the truth of their passions, he adjudged the child to her who cried out for its preservation; for that she was the real mother; and he condemned the other as a wicked woman, who had not only killed her own child, but was willing to see her friend's child destroyed also. Now the multitude looked on this determination as a great demonstration of the king's sagacity and wisdom; and after that day attended to him, as to one that had a divine mind.*

Now the captains† of Solomon's armies, and officers appointed over the whole country, were these. Over the lot of Ephraim was Ures; over the toparchy of Bethlehem was Dioclerus. Abinadab, who married Solomon's daughter, had the region of Dora, and the sea coast under him. The great plain was under Benaiah the son of Achilus, who also governed all the country as far as Jordan. Gabaris ruled over Gilead, and Gaulanitis; and had under him the sixty great and fenced cities of Og. 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 had Shaphat, mount Tabor and Carmel, and the lower Galilee, as far as the river Jordan; one man was appointed over all this country. Shimei was intrusted with the lot of Benjamin; and Gabares had the country beyond Jordan; over whom there was again one governor appointed. Now the people of the Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, received a wonderful increase, when they betook themselves to husbandry, and the cultivation of their grounds. For as they enjoyed peace, and had besides an unbounded 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.

The king had also other rulers, who were over the land of

* 1 Kings iii. 28.

† Mr. Reland has treated of these prefects of provinces, and of their provinces, more exactly than any other: and has compared our copies of 1 Kings iv, with Josephus very carefully; to whom I refer the learned reader. *Palästina*, tom. I. lib. I. chap. 29. Only we must note, that Josephus has but ten prefects, and that his names are different from these in our copies.

Syria, and of the Philistines, which reached from the river Euphrates to Egypt; and these collected his tributes of the nations. Now these contributed to the king's table, and to his supper every day thirty cori of fine flour,* and sixty of meal; as also ten fat oxen, twenty oxen out of the pastures, and a hundred fat lambs; all these were besides what were taken by hunting, harts, buffaloes, birds, and fishes, which were brought to the king by foreigners every day. Solomon had also so great a number of chariots, that the stalls of his horses for these chariots were forty thousand;† and besides these he had twelve thousand horsemen: one half of which waited upon the king in Jerusalem, and were dispersed abroad, and dwelt in the royal villages. But the same officers 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.

Now the sagacity and wisdom which God had bestowed on Solomon was so great, that he exceeded the ancients: inso-much 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 distinguished himself in wisdom above those who were most eminent among the Hebrews at that time for shrewdness. Those I mean were Ethan, Heman, Chalcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol. He also composed books of Odes and Songs, in number a thousand and five; and of Parables and Similitudes three thousand. For he spake a parable

* It may not be amiss to compare the daily furniture of Solomon's table, here set down, and 1 Kings iv. 22, 23, with the like daily furniture of Nehemiah, the governor's table, after the Jews were come back from Babylon; and to remember withal, that Nehemiah was now building the walls of Jerusalem, and maintained more than usual above one hundred and fifty considerable men every day; and that, because the nation was then very poor, at his own charges also; without laying any burden upon the people. "Now that which was prepared for me daily was one ox, and six choice sheep. Also fowls were prepared for me. And once in ten days a store of all sorts of wine; and yet for all this I required not the bread of the governor, because the bondage was heavy upon this people." Nehem. v. 18. See the whole context, v. 14, 19. Nor did the governor's usual allowance of forty shekels of silver a day, v. 15, amount to 5*l.* a day; nor to 1800*l.* a year. Nor does it indeed appear that under the judges, or under Samuel the prophet, there was any such public allowance to these governors at all. Those great charges upon the public for maintaining courts came in with kings, as God had foretold. 1 Sam. viii. 11—18.

† Four thousand, 2 Chron. ix. 25, which I suppose to be the true number.

upon every sort of tree, from the hyssop to the cedar: and in like manner also about beasts, about all sorts of living creatures,* whether upon the earth, or in the seas, or in the air. For he was not unacquainted with any of their natures; nor omitted inquiries about them; 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 useful science to men. He composed such incantations also by which distempers are alleviated: and left behind him the manner of using exorcisms, by which they drive away demons; so that they never return, and this method of cure is of great force until this day. For I have seen a certain man of my own country, whose name was Eleazar, releasing the people that were demoniacal in the presence

* The several books which treated of the nature and virtue of animals, as well as plants, are supposed to have been lost in the Babylonish captivity; but Eusebius, as he is quoted by Anastatius, informs us, that King Hezekiah, seeing the abuse which his subjects made of Solomon's works, by placing too much confidence in remedies which he prescribed, and the natural secrets which he discovered, thought proper to suppress them all. Notwithstanding this, since his time, many books, concerning the secrets of magic, medicine, and enchantments, have appeared under the name of this prince; and several pieces have been quoted, such as The Instructions of Solomon to his son Rehoboam; The Testament of Solomon; The Books of the Throne of Solomon; The Books of Magic, composed by the demons, under the name of Solomon; The Clavicula, or key of Solomon; The Ring of Solomon; the Contradiction of Solomon, &c. which were most of them very wicked and pernicious tracts, to which the authors prefixed this great name to give them credit and sanction. It is somewhat strange, however, that Josephus should inform us, that Solomon composed books of enchantments, and several manners of exorcisms, or of driving away devils, so that they could return no more; and that he should farther assure us, that himself had seen experiments of it by one Eleazar, a Jew, who, in the presence of Vespasian, his sons, and the officers of his army, cured several that were possessed. Jewish Antiq. lib. 8. c. 2. *Calmel's Dictionary*, under the word *Solomon*. B.

† Some pretended fragments of these books of conjurations of Solomon are still extant in Fabricius's *Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Test.* page 1054. Though I entirely differ from Josephus, in this opinion, that such books and arts of Solomon were parts of that wisdom which was imparted to him by God in his younger days. They must rather have belonged to such profane but curious arts as we find mentioned, Acts xix. 13, 20, and had been derived from the idolatry and superstition of heathen wives and concubines, in his old age; when he had forsaken God, and God had forsaken him, and given him up to demoniacal delusions. Nor does Josephus's strange account of the root Baara, Of the war, VII. 6, seem to be other than that of its magical use in such conjurations. As for the following history it confirms what Christ says, Matt. xii. 27, If I by Beelzebub cast out demons, by whom do your sons cast them out?

of Vespasian, and his sons, and his captains, and the multitude of his soldiers: and the manner of the cure 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 drew out the demon through his nostrils: and when the man fell down, he adjured him to return into him no more; making still mention of Solomon, and reciting the incantations which he composed. And when Eleazar would demonstrate to the spectators, that he had such a power, he set a little way off a cup or bason full of water, and commanded the demon, as he went out of the man, to overturn it: and thereby let the spectators know that he had left the man. And when this was done, the skill and wisdom of Solomon was shewn very manifestly. For which reason it is that all men may know the vastness of Solomon's abilities, and how he was beloved of God, and that the extraordinary virtues of every kind with which this king was endowed may not be unknown to any people under the sun; for this reason, I say, it is that we have proceeded to speak so largely of these matters.

Now Hiram, king of Tyre, when he heard that Solomon succeeded to his father's kingdom, was very glad, for he was a friend of David's. So he sent ambassadors to him, and congratulated him on the present happy state of affairs. Upon which Solomon sent him an epistle, the contents of which were as follows:

SOLOMON TO KING HIRAM.

"KNOW* thou that my father would have 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 give thanks to God for the peace I at present enjoy; and on that account I am at leisure, and de-

* These epistles of Solomon and Hiram are those in 1 Kings v. 3—9, and as enlarged in 2 Chron. ii. 2—16, but here given us by Josephus in his own words. They are also extant in Eusebius's *Præparat. Evangel.* IX. 33, but greatly disguised by Eupolemus, from whom Eusebius had those copies. Which Eupolemus, for a heathen, knew a considerable deal of Jewish affairs; though in a very imperfect manner. Nor are his other accounts of Jewish history to be compared with the more accurate ones in Josephus.

sign to build a house to God. For God foretold to my father that such a building should be erected by me. Wherefore I desire thee to send some of thy subjects with mine to mount Lebanon, to cut down timber; for the Sidonians are more skilful than our people in cutting of wood. As for wages to the hewers of wood, I will pay whatever price thou shalt determine."

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

KING HIRAM TO KING SOLOMON.

"It is fit to bless God, that he hath committed thy father's government to thee, who art a wise man, and endowed with all virtues. As for myself, I rejoice at the condition thou art in; and will be subservient to thee in all that thou sendest to me about. For when my subjects have cut down many and large trees of cedar, and cypress wood, I will send them to sea, and will order my subjects to make floats of them, and to sail 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 an island."*

* What Josephus here puts into his copy of Hiram's epistle to Solomon, and repeats afterwards, chap. v. that Tyre was now an island, is not in any of the three other copies, that in the Kings, that in the Chronicles, or that in Eusebius, out of Eupolemus. Nor is it any other, I suppose, than his own conjectural paraphrase. For when I, many years ago, inquired into this matter, I found the state of this famous city, and of the island whereupon it stood, to have been different at very different times; insomuch that the accurate Mr. Reland, who much laboured at it, was not able to clear the difficulties thereto relating. See his *Palestina*, tom. ii. page 1046—1056. The result of my inquiries into this matter is in my *Essay on the Old Test.* Append. page 226, 227, and with the addition of some later improvements, stands thus:—that the best testimonies hereto relating imply, that Palætyras, or oldest Tyre, was no other than that most ancient smaller fort or city Tyre, situate on the continent, and mentioned Josh. xix. 29, out of which the Canaanite or Phœnician inhabitants were driven into a large island, that lay not far off in the sea, by Joshua; that this island was then joined to the continent at the present remains of Palætyrus, by a neck of land, over against Solomon's cisterns, still so called; and the city's fresh water probably was carried along in pipes by that neck of land, and that this island was therefore, in strictness, no other than a peninsula; having villages in its fields, Ezek. xxvi. 6, and a wall about it, Amos i. 10, and the city was not of so great reputation as Sidon for some ages; that it was

The copies of these epistles remain at this day, and are preserved not only in our books but among the Tyrians also; inso-much that if any one would know the certainty about them, he may desire of the keepers of the public records of Tyre to shew him them, and he will find what is there set down to agree with what we have said. I have said so much out of a desire that my readers may know, that we speak nothing but the truth; and do not compose a history out of some plausible relations, which deceive men and please them at the same time; nor attempt to avoid examination; nor desire men to believe us immediately. Nor are we at liberty to depart from speaking the truth, which is the proper commendation of an historian, and yet be blameless. But we insist upon no admission of what we say, unless we be able to maintain its truth by demonstration and the strongest vouchers.

Now king Solomon, as soon as this epistle of the king of Tyre was brought him, commended the readiness and good will he declared therein; and repayed him in what he desired, and sent him annually twenty thousand cori of wheat; and as many baths of oil. Now the bath is equal to seventy-two sextaries.

attacked both by sea and land by Salmanassar, as Josephus informs us out of Menander, IX. 14, and came to be the metropolis of Phœnicia, and was afterwards taken and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, according to the numerous Scripture Prophecies thereto relating, Isa. xxiii. Jer. xxv. 22.—xxvii. 3.—xlvi. 4, Ezek. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii, and that there were remains of that destruction in heathen authors also, extant in the days of Josephus, though now lost, X. 11, that seventy years after that destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, this city was in some measure revived and rebuilt, Isa. xxiii. 17, 18, but that, as the prophet Ezekiel had foretold, Isa. xxvi. 3, 4, 5, 14, xxvii. 34, the sea arose higher than before, till at last it overflowed, not only the neck of land, but the main island or peninsula itself, and destroyed that old and famous city for ever; that, however there still remained an adjoining smaller island, once connected to old Tyre itself by Hiram, which was afterward inhabited; to which Alexander the Great, with incredible pains, raised a new bank or causeway, and that it plainly appears from Mr. Maundrell, a most authentic eye witness, that the old large and famous city, on the original large island, is laid now so generally under water, that scarcely more than forty acres of it, or rather of that adjoining small island, remain at this day, so that perhaps not above the hundredth part of the first island and city is now above water. See Reland, page 1049, 1052, Marsh. Chron. page 539, and Maundrell's Travels, page 50. This was foretold in the prophecies of Ezekiel; and according to them, as Mr. Maundrell distinctly observes, these poor remains of Old Tyre are now become like the top of a rock; a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea. Nor does Ovid pretend that the proper island on which Old Tyre stood is now visible.

He also sent him the same measure of wine. So the friendship between Hiram and Solomon hereby increased more and more; and they swore to continue it for ever. And the king appointed a tribute to be laid on all the people, of thirty thousand labourers; whose work he rendered easy by prudently dividing it amongst them. For he made ten thousand cut timber in mount Lebanon, for one month, and then come home, and rest two months, until the time when the other twenty thousand had finished their task at the appointed time. And so afterwards it came to pass, that the first ten thousand returned to their work every fourth month. And it was Adoram* who was over this tribute. There were also of the strangers left by David, who were to carry the stones and other materials, seventy thousand; and of those that cut the stones, eighty thousand. Of these, three thousand and three hundred were rulers over the rest. He also enjoined them to cut out large stones for the foundations of the temple, and that they should fit and unite them together in the mountain, and so bring them to the city. This was done not only by our own workmen, but by those whom Hiram sent also.

CHAP. III.

OF THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

SOLOMON began to build the temple in the fourth year of his reign,† on the second month, which the Macedonians call

* Adoniram, 1 Kings i. 14.

† It may be asked why Solomon did not begin the building of the temple sooner, and even in the first year of his reign, since his father had left him a plan, and all things necessary for the undertaking! Abarbinel's answer is,—That Solomon would not make use of what his father had prepared, but was resolved to build this temple all at his proper cost and charge. He therefore put into the treasure of the Lord's house all that David had dedicated to the work; and, to gather together as much gold and silver as was necessary to defray so vast an expense, four years can be accounted no unreasonable time. Nay, even suppose that he had made use of the treasure which his father had amassed, yet, if the materials that his father had provided, lay at a considerable distance, and were left rude and unfashioned, it would cost all this time to form them into the exact symmetry, wherein the Scripture represents them, before they were brought together, espe-

Artemisius, and the Hebrews, Jar, five hundred and ninety-two years after the Exodus out of Egypt; but one thousand and twenty-two years from Abraham's coming out of Mesopotamia, into Canaan, and after the deluge one thousand* four hundred and forty years; and from Adam the first man who was created, until Solomon built the temple, there had passed in all three† thousand one hundred and two years. Now that year on which the temple began to be built, was already the twelfth 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.

Now, therefore, the king laid the foundation 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 for a sure foundation for that edifice which was to be erected; they were to be so strong, in order to sustain with ease those vast superstructures, and precious ornaments, whose own weight was to be not less than the weight of those 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, its length was the same, and its

cially considering, that the very stones which made the foundation, were very probably vast blocks of marble, or porphyry, 1 Kings v. 17, and all polished in the most exquisite manner. *Patrick's Commentary*, and *Pool's Annotations*. B.

* 1989.

† 3545.

‡ Of the temple of Solomon, here described by Josephus, in this and the following parts of this chapter, see my description of the temples belonging to this work, chap. 13. In which yet, after all my pains, some difficulties still remain not fully accounted for; especially as to the description and contents of the ten lavers. Of which, somewhat more presently, as also of a few other difficulties not there always taken notice of.

|| The temple itself was indeed but a small edifice but the many courts and offices that were about it made the whole a vast pile, and the exquisiteness of the art, and the fewness of the artists that could be employed about it, made a longer time requisite. It must be owned however, that, considering all things, Solomon made an extraordinary despatch; for, if the building of Diana's temple at Ephesus employed all Asia for the space of two hundred years, and no less than three hundred and sixty thousand men, for twenty years together, were taken up in erecting one pyramid, (as Pliny, lib. 36. c. 12. affirms,) no reasonable man can wonder, that this temple was seven years and a half in building. *Pool's Annotations*, and *Calmet's Commentary*. B.

breadth twenty. There was another building, erected over it equal to it in its measures. So that the entire altitude of the temple, was a hundred and twenty cubits. Its front was to the east. As to the porch, they built it before the temple. Its length was twenty cubits, and it was so 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. He also built round about the temple thirty small rooms, which might include the whole temple, by their closeness to each other, and by their number, and outward position round it. He also made passages through them, that they might come into one through another. Every one of these rooms* had five cubits in breadth, and the same in length, but in height twenty. Above these were other rooms, and others above them equal both in their measures and number; so that these reached to a height equal to the lower part of the house; for the upper part had no buildings about it. The roof that was over the house was of cedar: and each of these rooms had a roof of its own that was not connected with the other rooms; but for the other parts, there was a covered roof common to them all, and built with very long beams that passed through the rest, and through the whole building; that so the middle walls being strengthened by the same beams of timber, might be thereby made firmer. But as for that part of the roof that was under the beams, it was made of the same materials, and was all made smooth, and had ornaments proper for roofs, and plates of gold nailed upon them. And as he inclosed the walls with boards of cedar, so he fixed on them plates of gold, which had sculptures upon them: so that the whole temple dazzled the eyes of such as entered, by the splendour of the gold that was on every side. Now the whole structure of the temple was made with great skill, of polished stones, and those laid together so very smoothly and harmoniously, that there appeared to

* These small rooms, or side chambers about the lower sixty cubits of the holy house, seem to have been, by Josephus's description, in the three stories one above another, no less than twenty cubits high a piece. Otherwise there must have been a large interval between one, and the other that was over it; and this with double floors, the one of six cubits distance from the floor beneath it, as 1 Kings vi. 5, in the Septuagint, and the other of no less than twenty cubits.

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

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 fifty cubits to be the sanctuary.‡ And when he had cut a door place out of the wall, he put therein doors of cedar, and overlaid them with a great deal of gold, that had sculptures upon it. He also had

* See 1 Kings vi. 7.

† These several parts of the temple the Greeks are very careful to distinguish by different names. What was properly the temple, they called *ἡ ναὸς*; and the courts and other parts of the temple, *τὰ ἄσπυα*. Thus when Zacharias is said to have gone into the temple to burn incense, Luke i. 9, (which was done in the sanctum,) the word is *ναὸς*; but when it is said, that Anna the prophetess departed not from the temple, Luke i. 37, (i. e. lived in that part of the court of the Israelites which was appropriated to religious women,) the Greek word is *ἄσπυα*. And this observation holds good all through the New Testament. *Lamy, De Tabern. lib. v. c. 5. B.*

‡ This temple itself, strictly so called, had two stories. The upper of which was raised quite above these little houses, and their roofs; for their roofs reached no higher than the top of the first story. The second story, which had no building adjoining to its side, made a large room over the sanctuary, and the holy of holies, of equal dimensions with them; and it is no improbable opinion, that this was the upper chamber, in which the Holy Ghost was pleased to descend upon the Apostles in a visible manner. This under room was appropriated to the pious laity as a place for them to come and pay their devotions in; and therefore it seems very likely, that the Apostles were here with other devout persons, while the temple was full of Jews of all nations, who were come to celebrate the feast of the Pentecost, and that thereupon they below, hearing the noise, which was occasioned by the shaking of the place, ran up to see the cause of it, and, to their great surprise, found the Apostles distinguished from the other Jews about them, both by the cloven tongues which sat upon each of them, and by the several different languages that they spake. *Lamy's Introduction, lib. i. c. 4. B.*

veils of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and the brightest and softest linen, with the most curious flowers wrought upon them, which were to be drawn before those doors. 'He dedicated for the most secret place, whose breadth was twenty cubits, and its length the same; two cherubims of solid gold;* the height of each of them was five 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 secret place, and with another the northern; 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 the cherubims. He also laid the floor of the temple with plates of gold. And he added doors to the gate of the temple agreeable to the measure of the height of the wall, but in breadth twenty cubits; and on them fixed gold plates. And, in a word, he left no part of the temple, neither internal nor external, but what was covered with gold. He also had curtains drawn over these doors; in like manner as they were drawn over the inner doors of the most holy place. But the porch of the temple had nothing of that sort.

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; but his father was Ur,† of the stock of the Israelites. This man was skilful in all sorts of work; but his chief skill lay in working of gold and silver, and brass; by whom were made all the mechanical works about the temple, according to the will of Solomon. Moreover, this Hiram made two‡ hollow pillars; whose outsides were of brass, and the

* Josephus says here that the cherubims were of solid gold; and only of five cubits high; while our Hebrew copies 1 Kings vi. 23, 28, say they were of the olive-tree, and the Septuagint of the cypress-tree; and only overlaid with gold; and both agree they were ten cubits high. I suppose the number is here falsely transcribed, and that Josephus wrote ten cubits also.

† Josephus, in almost all his present copies, has *Ουρις* instead of *Τυρις*; i. e. Ur, instead of a Tyrian in our other copies: 1 Kings vii. 14. 2 Chron. ii. 14, which words in the Greek are so alike, that it is not improbable Josephus also wrote *Τυρις*; and that he here agreed with the other copies.

‡ As for these two famous pillars, Jachin and Booz, their height could be no more than 18 cubits; as here and 1 Kings vii. 15. 2 Kings xxv. 17. Jer. lii. 21. Those 35 cubits in 2 Chron. iii. 15, being contrary to all rules of architecture. It

thickness of the brass was four fingers' breadth; and the height of the pillars was eighteen cubits, and their circumference twelve cubits. But there was cast with each of their chapiters lily-work that stood upon the pillar, and it was elevated five cubits; round about which there was net-work interwoven with small palms, made of brass, and covered with 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 on the right hand, and called it Jachin, and the other at the left hand, and called it Booz.

Solomon also cast a brazen sea,* whose figure was that of a hemisphere; this brazen vessel was called a sea for its largeness; for the laver was ten cubits in diameter, and cast of the thickness of a palm. Its middle part rested on a short pillar, that had ten spirals round it; and that pillar was a cubit in diameter. There stood round about it twelve oxen, that looked to the four winds of heaven; three to each wind; having their hinder parts depressed, that so the vessel might rest upon them; which itself was also depressed round about inwardly. Now this sea contained three thousand baths.

He also made ten brazen bases, for so many quadrangular lavers; the length of every one of these bases was five cubits,

is supposed that a circumference of 12 cubits, or a diameter of almost 4 cubits, is also not agreeable to the rules of architecture. But the contrary is shewn from Vitruvius; and this proportion of 6 to 1, which is that of the pillars, including the chapter, was the oldest and strongest of all proportions in architecture. See the description of the temples, chap. xiii.

* It is not to be doubted, but that Solomon made all the utensils and ornaments of the temple proportionably, both in number and richness, to that of the edifice; and yet Josephus seems to have carried his account beyond all credibility, when he tells us, that there were 10,000 tables besides those of the shew-bread; 10,000 candlesticks besides those in the holy place; 80,000 cups for drink-offerings; 100,000 basons of gold, and double that number of silver: when he tells us that Solomon caused to be made 1000 ornaments for the sole use of the high-priest, 10,000 linen robes and girdles for that of the common priests, and 200,000 more for the Levites and musicians, when he tells of 200,000 trumpets made according to Solomon's direction, with 200,000 more, made in the fashion that Moses had appointed, and 400,000 musical instruments of a mixed metal, between gold and silver, called by the ancients electrum. Concerning all which we can only say, that the text is either silent, or contradicts this prodigious account. *Universal History*, lib. i. c. 7. B.

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; and they were parted into three parts; every interval had a border fitted to support the laver; upon which was engraven, in one place a lion, and in another place a bull, and an eagle. The small pillars had the same animals engraven, that were on the sides. The whole work was elevated, and stood upon four cast wheels; which had also naves and felloes, and were a foot and a half in diameter. Any one that saw 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 felloes, would wonder at them. However, their structure was this. Certain shoulders of hands stretched out held the corners above; upon which rested a short spiral pillar, that lay under the hollow part of the laver, resting upon the forefeet of the eagle, and the lion; which were adapted to them: insomuch that those who viewed them would think that they were of one piece.—Between these were engravings of palm trees. This was the construction of the ten bases. He also made ten large round vessels, which were the lavers themselves; each of which contained forty† baths;‡ for it had its height four cubits, and its edges were as much distant from each other. He also placed these lavers upon the ten bases that were called Mechonoth;

* Four cubits, Heb. and Septuagint, 1 Kings vii. 27.

† The round or cylindrical lavers of 4 cubits in diameter, and 4 in height, both in our copies: 1 Kings vii. 38, 39, and here in Josephus, must have contained a great deal more than the 40 baths, which are always assigned them. Where the error lies is hard to say. If for *χοαι*, congii, or baths, we take homers, which were but a tenth part of the bath: or if, in Josephus, we take their diameters only one third of their height, by reading instead of *τετρεις, το τριτον τουστων*, the measures would pretty well agree. But both these conjectures are uncertain and unsupported. Perhaps Josephus honestly followed his copies here; though they had been corrupted, and he was not able to restore the true reading. In the meantime these 40 baths are probably the quantity contained in each laver: since they went upon wheels, and were to be drawn by the Levites about the court of the priests, for the washings they were designed for, and had they held much more they would have been too heavy to have been so drawn.

‡ Cori, or Congii.

and he set five of the lavers on the left* side of the temple, which was that side towards the north wind; and as many on the right side, towards the south, but looking towards the east. The same eastern way he also set the sea. Now he appointed the sea for washing the hands and the feet of the priests, when they entered into the temple, and were to ascend the altar; but the lavers to cleanse the feet and entrails of the beasts that were to be burnt-offerings.

He also made a brazen altar, whose length was twenty cubits, its breadth the same, and its height ten, for the burnt-offerings. He also made all its vessels of brass; the pots, and the shovels, and the basons, and besides these the snuffers, and the tongs; and all its other vessels he made of such brass as was in splendour and beauty like gold. The king also dedicated a great number of tables; but one was large and made of gold; upon which they set the loaves of God, and he made ten thousand more that resembled them, but were done after another manner; upon which lay the vials, and the cups; those of gold were twenty thousand, those of silver were forty thousand. He also made ten thousand candlesticks, according to the command of Moses; one of which he dedicated for the temple, that it might burn in the day-time, according to the law, and one table with loaves upon it, on the north side of the temple, over against the candlestick: for this he set on the south side; but the golden altar stood between them. All these vessels were contained in that part of the holy house which was forty cubits long; and were before the veil of that most secret place, where-in the ark was to be set.

The king also made eighty thousand pouring vessels, and a hundred thousand golden vials, and twice as many silver vials. Of golden dishes, to offer kneaded fine flour at the altar, there were eighty thousand, and twice as many silver. Of large ba-

* Here Josephus gives us a key to his own language, of right and left hand in the tabernacle and temple: that by the right hand he means what is against our left, when we suppose ourselves going up from the east gate of the courts, towards the tabernacle or temple themselves: and so *vice versa*. Whence it follows that the pillar Jachin, on the right hand of the temple was on the south, against our left hand, and Booz on the north against our right hand.

† Of these prodigious and extravagant numbers, see the description of the temple, chap. 13.

sons also, wherein they mixed fine flour with oil, sixty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. Of the measures like those which Moses called the hin, and the assaron,* there were twenty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. The other censers, in which they carried fire from the great altar, to the little one within the temple, were fifty thousand. The sacerdotal garments, which belonged to the high-priest, with the long robes, the oracle, and the precious stones, were a thousand. But the crown, upon which Moses wrote the name of God, was only one; and hath remained to this day.† He also made ten thousand sacerdotal garments of fine linen, with purple girdles, for every priest: and two hundred thousand trumpets, according to the command of Moses. Also two hundred thousand garments of fine linen for the singers, that were Levites. And he made musical instruments, and such as were invented for singing of hymns, called Nablæ and Cinyræ, (psalteries and harps,) which were made of electrum, (the finest brass,) forty thousand.

Solomon made all these things for the honour of God, with great variety and magnificence; sparing no cost, but using all possible liberality in adorning the temple: and these things he dedicated to the treasure of God. He also placed a partition round about the temple which in our own tongue we call Gison; but it is called *Θρυκός* by the Greeks: and he raised it up to the height of three cubits: and it was for the exclusion of the multitude from coming into the temple, and shewing that it was a place that was free and open only for the priests.‡ He also built beyond this court a temple, whose figure was that of a quadrangle, and erected for it great and broad cloisters: this was entered 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 dis-

* A tenth deal.

† Of the golden plate on the high-priest's forehead that was in being in the days of Josephus, and a century or two at least later. See the note on III. 7.

‡ When Josephus here speaks of the court of the priests, as inclosed, and kept distinct from the rest of the temple, he does not mean to exclude the Levites, their brethren; who all ministered to the priests in that court, and ordinarily not elsewhere.

tinguished 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 be looked on, when you bended down to see them, without pain; and had elevated the ground four hundred cubits, he made it to be on a level with the top of the mountain, on which the temple was built; and by this means the outermost temple, which was exposed to the air, was even* with the temple itself. He encompassed this also with a double row of cloisters; which stood on high upon 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.

OF SOLOMON'S REMOVAL OF THE ARK INTO THE TEMPLE; HIS SUPPLICATION TO GOD, AND PUBLIC SACRIFICES.

WHEN king Solomon had finished these large and beautiful buildings, and had laid up his donations in the temple, and all this in the interval of seven years; † and had given a demonstra-

* When Josephus here says, that the floor of the outermost temple, or court of the Gentiles, was with vast labour raised to be even, or of equal height with the floor of the inner, or court of the priests; he must mean this in a gross estimation only; for he and all others agree, that the inner temple, or court of the priests, was a few cubits more elevated than the middle court, the court of Israel; and that much more was the court of the priests elevated several cubits above the outermost court; since the court of Israel was lower than the one, and higher than the other.

† The Septuagint says, that they prepared timber and stones to build the temple for three years: 1 Kings v. 18. And although neither our Hebrew copy, nor Josephus, directly name the number of years; yet do they both say the building itself did not begin till Solomon's fourth year; and both speak of the preparation of materials beforehand: 1 Kings v. 18. Antiq. VIII. 5, and Josephus there intimates, that it was for a considerable time beforehand also. There is no reason therefore to alter the Septuagint's number; but we are to suppose three years to have been

tion of his riches and alacrity therein; insomuch that any one who saw it would have thought it must have been an immense time ere it could have been finished, and would have been surprised that so much should be finished in so short time: he wrote to the rulers and elders of the Hebrews; and ordered all the people to gather themselves together to Jerusalem,* both to see the temple which he had built, and to remove the ark of God into it. And when this invitation was every where carried abroad, it was the seventh month before they came together; which month is by our countrymen called Thisri; but by the Macedonians Hyperberetæus.† The feast of tabernacles happened at the same time, which was celebrated by the Hebrews as a most holy and eminent feast. So they carried the ark,‡ and the tabernacle|| which Moses had pitched, and all the ves-

the just time of the preparation. as I have done in my computation of the expenses in building that temple. See its description, chap. 13, where the whole time is ten years and a half.

* 1 Kings viii. 1.

† This feast was appointed in commemoration of the children of Israel's dwelling in booths, whilst they were in the wilderness, and of the tabernacle, which at that time was built where God promised to meet them, to dwell among them, and to sanctify the place with his glory; and might therefore be well reckoned a very proper season for the dedication of the temple, which was to succeed in the tabernacle's place. *Bedford's Scripture Chronology*, lib. vi. c. 2. B.

‡ The sacred history tells us, that in this ark there was nothing, save the two tables of stone, which Moses put there at Horeb, 1 Kings viii. 9, and yet the author to the Hebrews affirms, that in this ark was the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, as well as the tables of the covenant, Heb. ix. 4. Now, to reconcile this, some imagine, that before the ark had any fixed and settled place, (which is the time the apostle refers to,) all these things were included in it, though it was chiefly intended for nothing but the tables of the covenant; but that, when it was placed in the temple, nothing was left in it but these two tables; all the other things were deposited in the treasury of the temple where the book of the law (as we read in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14) was found in the days of king Josias. Others however pretend, that in the time of the Apostle, i. e. towards the end of the Jewish commonwealth, Aaron's rod, and the pot of manna were really kept in the ark, though in the days of Solomon, they were not. But this answer would be more solid and satisfactory, if he knew for certain, that, in the time of the Apostle, the ark of the covenant was really in the sanctuary of the temple, which Herod built; whereas Josephus (*De Bello Jud.* lib. vi. c. 6) tells us expressly, that, when the Romans destroyed the temple, there was nothing found in the Holy of Holies. *Calmet's Commentary*. B.

|| But the question is, what tabernacle, whether that which Moses made, and was then at Gibeon, 2 Chron. i. 3, or that which was made by David, and was then at Jerusalem? To end this dispute, some have imagined, that both these taber-

sels that were for ministration to the sacrifices of God,* and removed them to the temple. The king himself, and all the people of the Levites, went before, rendering the ground moist 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 circumambient air was so full of these odours, that it met, in a most agreeable manner, persons at a

nacles were at this time carried into the temple, and laid up there, that all danger of superstition and idolatry might thereby be avoided, and that no worship might be performed any where, but only at the house which was dedicated to God's service: but it is observed by others, that the convenience which David made for the reception of the ark, was never called the tabernacle of the covenant; it was no more than a plain tent, set up in some large room of the royal palace, until a more proper receptacle could be provided for it; but the tabernacle that was at Gibeon, was the same that sojourned so long in the wilderness. The tent was the same, the curtains the same, and the altar the same, that was made by Moses; or at least if there was any alteration in it, (as things of this nature could hardly subsist so very long without some repair,) the reparation was always made according to the original model, and with as little deviation as possible. It is not to be doubted, then, but that the Mosaic tabernacle is the tabernacle here intended, which, for the prevention of schism, and to make the temple the centre of devotion, was now taken down, and reposed in the treasury or storehouse, where it continued until the time that Jerusalem was taken by the Chaldeans, when Jeremiah, as Josephus informs us, (*Jewish Antiq. lib. viii. c. 2*) was admonished by God, to take it, and the ark, and the altar of incense, and hide them in some secret place, (from whence it is doubted, whether they have ever yet been removed,) for fear of profanation. *Patrick's and Calmet's Commentaries. B.*

* This solemn removal of the ark from Mount Sion to Mount Moriah, at the distance of almost three quarters of a mile, confutes that notion of the modern Jews, and of many Christians, also, as if those two were one and the same mountain; for which there is, I think, very little foundation.

† The number of sacrifices which upon this occasion are said to be offered, was two and twenty thousand oxen, and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep, *1 Kings viii. 63*, but we must not suppose, that these were offered all on one day, much less on one altar. The continuance of this meeting was for fourteen days, seven in the feast of tabernacles, and seven in that of the dedication; and because the brazen altar, before the door of the temple, was not sufficient to receive all these sacrifices, Solomon, by a special license from God, ordered other altars to be erected in the court of the priests, and perhaps in other places which were to serve only during this present solemnity, when such a vast number of sacrifices were to be offered; for at other times, no other altar was allowed but this brazen one, which Moses had made. It is no bad observation however of Josephus, (*lib. viii. c. 2.*) that during the oblation of so many sacrifices, the Levites took care to perfume the air with the fragrancy of incense, and sweet odours, to such a degree, that the people were sensible of it at a distance; otherwise the burning of so many beasts at one time must have occasioned an offensive smell. *Patrick's Commentary. B.*

great distance; and was an indication of God's presence, and of his habitation with them in this newly built and consecrated place. For they did not grow weary either of singing hymns, or of dancing, until they came to the temple. And in this manner did they carry the ark. But when they should transfer it into the most sacred place, the rest of the multitude went away; and only those priests that carried it set it between the two cherubims; which embracing it with their wings, (for so were they framed by the artificer,) covered it as under a tent, or a cupola. Now the ark contained nothing but those two tables of stone that preserved the ten commandments, which God delivered to Moses in Mount Sinai; and which were engraven upon them. But they set the candlestick, and the table, and the golden altar in the temple, before the most secret place, in the very same places wherein they stood till that time in the tabernacle. So they offered up the daily sacrifices. But for the brazen altar, Solomon set it before the temple, over against the door: that when the door was opened, it might be exposed to sight, and the sacred solemnities, and the richness of the sacrifices might be thence seen. And all the rest of the vessels they gathered together, and put them within the temple.

Now as soon as the priests had put all things in order about the ark, and were gone out, a thick cloud came down and spread itself, after a gentle manner, into the temple:* such a cloud it was, as was diffused and temperate; not such a rough one as we see full of rain in the winter season.† This cloud so dark-

* 1 Kings viii. 10.

† When Moses had finished the tabernacle, according to the pattern which God had shewed him, and set it all up, it is said, that a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle, so that Moses was not able to enter into the tent of the congregation, because the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle, Exod. xl. 34, 35. And therefore, when the temple was finished, and the ark brought into the sanctuary, God gave the like indication of his presence, and residence there. Hereby he testified his acceptance of the building, and furnishing of the temple, as a service done to his name; and hereby he declared, that as the glory of the ark (that sacred symbol of his presence) had been long eclipsed by its frequent removes, and mean habitations; so now his pleasure was that it should be looked upon with the same esteem and veneration as when Moses conducted it into the tabernacle. For this cloud, we must know, was not a heavy, thick, opaque body, such as is engendered in the air, and arises from vapours and exhalations, but a cloud that was dark and luminous at the same time, whose darkness was awful and majestic, and whose

ened the place, that one priest could not discern another: but it afforded to the minds of all a visible image, and glorious appearance of God's having descended into this temple, and of his having pitched his tabernacle therein. So these men were intent upon this thought. But Solomon rose up, (for he was sitting before) 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 thyself out of thine own works; we know it to be the heaven, the air, 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 sacrifice, and perform sacred operations, we may send our prayers up into the air, and may constantly believe that thou art present, and art not remote from what is thine own. For neither when thou seest and hearest all things, nor now, when it pleases thee to dwell here, dost thou leave off 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, whether by night or by day." When he had thus solemnly addressed himself to God, he turned his discourse to the multitude, and strongly represented the power and providence of God to them. How he had shewn all things that were to come to pass to David his father; as many of those things had already come to pass; and the rest would certainly come to pass hereafter. And how he had given him his name, and told to David what he should be called before he was born; and foretold that when he should be king, after his father's death, he should build him a temple; which since they saw accomplished according to his prediction, he required them to bless God; and by believing him, from what they had seen accom-

internal part was bright and refulgent. darting its rays upon occasion, and exhibiting its light through its obscurity: so that, according to its different phasis, or position, it became to the Israelites a pillar of a cloud by day, to screen them from the heat, and at night a pillar of fire, to give them light, *Exod. xiii. 21.* Whatever it was that constituted this strange appearance, it is certain this mixture of light and darkness was looked upon as a symbol of the divine presence; for so the Scripture has informed us, that He who dwelleth in light that is inaccessible, made darkness his secret place, his pavilion round about him, with dark water, and thick clouds to cover him, *Psal. xviii. 11, Calmet's Commentary. B.*

plished, never to despair of any thing that he had promised for the future, in order to their happiness, or suspect that it would not come to pass.

When the king had spoken thus, he looked again towards the temple, and lifting up his right hand to the multitude, he said, "It is not possible by what men can do to return sufficient thanks to God for his benefits bestowed upon them; for the Deity stands in need of nothing; and is above any such requital. But so far as we have been superior, O Lord! to other animals by thee, it becomes us to bless thy majesty; and it is necessary for us to return thee thanks for what thou hast bestowed on our house, and on the Hebrew people. For with what other instruments can we better appease thee, when thou art angry at us, or more properly preserve thy favour, than with our voice? which as we have it from the air, so do we know that by that air it ascends upwards towards thee. I therefore ought myself to return thee thanks thereby, in the first place concerning my father, whom thou hast raised from obscurity unto so great glory; and in the next place concerning myself; since thou hast performed all that thou promisedst unto this very day. And I beseech thee for the time to come to afford us whatsoever thou, O God! hast power to bestow on such as thou didst esteem; and to augment our house for all ages, as thou hast promised to David my father to do, both in his life-time, and at his death; that our kingdom should continue, and that his posterity should successively receive it to ten thousand generations. Do not therefore fail to give us these blessings, and to bestow on my children that virtue in which thou delightest. And besides all this, I humbly beseech thee that thou wilt let some portion of thy Spirit come down and inhabit in this temple; that thou mayest appear to be with us upon earth. As to thyself, the entire heavens, and the immensity of the things that are therein, are but a small habitation for thee; much more is this poor temple. But I intreat thee to keep it, as thine own house, from being destroyed by our enemies for ever; and to take care of it as thine own possession. If this people be found to have sinned, and be thereupon afflicted by thee with any plague, because of their sin; as with dearth, pestilence, or any other affliction which thou usest to inflict on those that transgress any of thy holy laws; and if they fly all of them to this temple, beseeching

thee to deliver them; then do thou hear their prayer, as being within this house, and have mercy upon them, and deliver them from their afflictions. Nay, moreover, this help is what I implore of thee, not for the Hebrews only, when they are in distress; but when any shall come hither from any ends of the world, and shall return from their sins, and implore thy pardon, do thou then pardon them, and hear their prayer. For hereby all shall learn that thou wast pleased with the building of this house; and that we are not ourselves of an unsociable nature, nor behave ourselves like enemies to such as are not of our own people; but are willing that thy assistance should be communicated to all men in common; and that they may have the enjoyment of thy benefits bestowed upon them."

When Solomon had said this, and had cast himself upon the ground, and worshipped a long time, he arose up, and brought sacrifices to the altar; and when he had filled it with unblemished victims, he evidently discovered that God had with pleasure accepted of all that he had sacrificed to him; for there came a fire running out of the air, and rushed with violence upon the altar, in the sight of all; and caught hold of and consumed the sacrifices. Now when this divine appearance was seen, the people supposed it to be a demonstration of God's abode in the temple, and were pleased with it; and fell down upon the ground and worshipped. Upon which the king began to bless God, and exhorted the multitude to do the same; as now having sufficient indication of God's favourable disposition to them; and to pray that they might always have the like indications from him, and that he would preserve in them a mind pure from all wickedness, in righteousness and religious worship, and that they might continue in the observance of those precepts which God had given them by Moses; because by that means the Hebrew nation would be so happy, and indeed the most blessed of all nations among all mankind. He exhorted them also to be mindful, that by what methods they had obtained their present good things, by the same they must preserve them to themselves, and make them greater and more than they were at present. For that it was not sufficient for them to suppose they had received them on account of their piety and righteousness; but that they had no other way of preserving them for the time to come; for it is not so great a

thing for men to acquire somewhat 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, he dissolved the congregation; but not till he had completed his oblations, both for himself, and for the Hebrews; insomuch that he sacrificed twenty-two thousand oxen; and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep. For then it was that the temple did first taste of the victims; and all the Hebrews with their wives and children feasted therein. Nay, besides this, the king then observed splendidly and magnificently the feast of tabernacles, before the temple for fourteen days; and he then feasted together with all the people.

When all these solemnities were performed, and nothing was omitted that concerned the divine worship, the king dismissed them; and they every one went to their own homes; giving thanks to the king for the care he had taken of them, and the works he had done for them; and praying to God to preserve Solomon to be their king for a long time, they also took their journey home with rejoicing, and singing hymns to God. And indeed the pleasure they enjoyed took away the sense of the pains they all underwent in their journey home. So when they had brought the ark into the temple, and had seen its greatness, and had been partakers of the sacrifices that had been offered, and of the festivals that had been solemnized, they returned to their own cities. But a dream that appeared to the king in his sleep informed him, that God had heard his prayers; and that he would not only preserve the temple, but would always abide in it; that is, in case his posterity, and the whole multitude, would be righteous. And for himself, if he continued obedient to the admonitions of his father, God would advance him to an immense degree of dignity and happiness; so that then his posterity should be kings of that country of the tribe of Judah, for ever. But that still, if he should be a betrayer of the ordinances of the law, and forget them, and turn away to the worship of strange gods, he would cut him off by the roots; and would neither suffer any remainder of his family to continue, nor would watch over the people of Israel, nor preserve them any longer from afflictions; but would utterly destroy them with wars and misfortunes; would cast them out of the land which he had

given their fathers, and make them sojourners in strange lands ; and deliver that temple which was now built, to be burnt and spoiled by their enemies, and that city to be utterly overthrown by the hands of their enemies ; and make their miseries proverbial, and such as should hardly be credited for their stupendous magnitude ; till their neighbours, when they should hear of them, should wonder at their calamities, and earnestly inquire for the occasion, why the Hebrews, who had been before advanced by God to such wealth and glory, should be then so hated by him ? and that the answer that should be made by the remainder of the people should be, by confessing their sins, and their transgression of the laws of their country.*

CHAP. V.

OF THE ROYAL PALACE ERECTED BY KING SOLOMON, AND HIS SOLUTION OF THE RIDDLES SENT HIM BY HIRAM.

AFTER the building of the temple, which, we have before said, was finished in seven years, the king laid the foundation of his palace;† which he did not finish under thirteen years. For he was not equally zealous in the building of this palace, as he had been about the temple. For although that was a great work, and required wonderful application ; yet God, for whom it was made, so far co-operated therewith, that it was finished in the aforementioned number of years. But the palace, which was a building much inferior in dignity to the temple, both on account that its materials had not been so long beforehand prepared, and on account that this was only a habitation for kings, and not for God, it was longer in finishing. However, this building was raised so magnificently, as suited the happy state of the country of the Hebrews, and of the king thereof. But it is necessary that I describe the entire structure and disposition of the parts ; that so those who peruse this book

* 1 Kings ix. 1—9.

† 1 Kings vii. 1—12.

may thereby make a conjecture, and as it were, have a prospect of its magnitude.

This house was a large and curious edifice, which Solomon built for hearing causes, and taking cognizance of suits. It was sufficiently capacious to contain a great body of men; who would come together to have their causes determined. It was a hundred cubits long, fifty broad, and thirty high; supported by quadrangular pillars, which were all of cedar; but its roof was according to the Corinthian* order, with folding doors, and their adjoining pillars of equal magnitude, each fluted with three cavities; which building was at once firm and very ornamental. There was also another house so ordered, that its entire breadth was placed in the middle. It was quadrangular, and its breadth was thirty cubits; having a temple over against it, raised upon many pillars; in which temple there was a large and magnificent room, wherein the king sat in judgment. To this was joined another house that was built for his queen. There were other smaller edifices for diet, and for sleep, after public matters were over; and these were all floored with boards of cedar. Some of these Solomon built with stones of ten cubits; and lined the walls with other stones that were of great value; such as are dug out the earth for the ornaments of temples, and to make fine prospects in royal palaces; and which make the mines whence they are dug famous. Now the contexture of the curious workmanship of these stones was in three rows; but the fourth row was adorned with sculptures which represented trees, and all sorts of plants, with the shades

* This mention of the Corinthian ornaments of architecture in Solomon's palace by Josephus, seems to be here set down by way of prolepsis. For although it appears to me, that the Grecian and Roman most ancient orders of architecture were taken from Solomon's temple, as from their original patterns; yet it is not so clear that the last and most ornamental order, the Corinthian, was so ancient. Although what the same Josephus says, Of the War, V. 5, that one of the gates of Herod's temple was built according to the rules of this Corinthian order, is no way improbable; that order being, without dispute, much older than the reign of Herod. However, upon some trial, I confess I have not hitherto been able fully to understand the structure of this palace of Solomon's either as described in our Bibles, or even with the additional help of this description here by Josephus. So I add no more notes about it. Only the reader may easily observe with me, that the measures of this first building in Josephus, 100 cubits long, and 50 cubits broad, are the very same with the area of the court of the tabernacle of Moses; and just half an Egyptian aroura or acre.

that arose from their branches, and leaves that hung down from them. These trees and plants covered the stone that was beneath them, and their leaves were wrought so prodigiously thin and subtile that you would think they were in motion. But the other part up to the roof was plastered over, and, as it were, embroidered with colours and pictures. He built other edifices for pleasure; as also very long cloisters, and those situate in an agreeable part of the palace; and among them a most noble dining-room for feasting, and full of such furniture as so fine a room ought to have for the conveniency of the guests, and where all the vessels were made of gold. Now it is very hard to reckon the magnitude, and the variety of the royal apartments; how many rooms there were of the largest sort, how many of a bigness inferior to those, and how many that were subterraneous and invisible; the curiosity of those that enjoyed the fresh air, and the groves for the most delightful prospect, for the avoiding the heat and the covering of their bodies. In a word, Solomon made the whole building entirely of white stone, and cedar wood, and gold, and silver. He also adorned the roofs and the walls with stones set in gold, and beautified them in the same manner as he had beautified the temple of God with the like stones. He also made himself a large throne of ivory,* constructed as a seat of justice, and having six steps to it. On every one of which stood, on each end of the step, two lions; two other lions standing above also, but at the sitting place of the throne, hands came out, and received the king; and when he sat backward, he rested on a half bullock, that looked towards his back, but still all was fastened together with gold.

When Solomon had completed all this in twenty† years' time, because Hiram, king of Tyre, had contributed a great deal of gold, and more silver, to these buildings; as also cedar wood, and pine wood; he rewarded Hiram with rich presents; corn he sent him also year by year, and wine, and oil; which were the principal things he stood in need of, because he inhabited an island, as we have already said. And besides these, he

* 1 Kings x. 18.

† From an. 1052 to 1032, B. C.

granted him twenty cities of Galilee,* that lay not far from Tyre; which when Hiram went to, and viewed, and did not like the gift, he sent word to Solomon that he did not want such cities as they were. And after that time those cities were called the land of Cabul; which name, if it be interpreted according to the language of the Phœnicians, denotes what does not please. Moreover the king of Tyre sent† sophisms and enigmatical sayings to Solomon, and desired he would return their solutions.

* It is an express injunction which God gives the Israelites, that the land wherein the people had a right by divine lot and himself a right, as being the sole proprietor thereof, was not to be sold or alienated for ever, Lev. xxv. 23. How then, could Solomon, without violating this law, pretend to give Hiram twenty cities in the land of Galilee? Now to this some have replied, that Solomon did not give Hiram a property and perpetual right to those cities, but only assigned him the possession of them for a time, until the debt which he had contracted for the several supplies he had from him, while he was building the temple, was satisfied. Others think that upon supposition that these cities were inhabited by Israelites, Solomon did not give Hiram, (as indeed he could not,) their particular possessions, but only his own royalties over them, (which he might justly do) and all the profits he received from them, which according to the taxes then imposed, 1 Kings xii. 4, were not inconsiderable. But there is no reason for these far-fetched solutions, when the Scripture expressly tells us, that these cities were not in the territories of Israel, nor inhabited at that time by the Israelites, 2 Chron. viii. 2. They were indeed some of them conquered by the king of Egypt, who gave them to Solomon as a portion with his daughter, and others by Solomon himself, who, as Selden observes (*De Jure Nat. et Gen. lib. vi. cap. 16.*) had "a right to dispose of those lands which he had conquered in voluntary war, without the consent of the senate." And this may be one reason why he gave these, rather than other cities, because these were certainly in his own power to give, when others perhaps were not. A learned author upon this subject, has given a quite different turn to the sense of the passage. For his opinion is, that Hiram did not return these cities, because he thought them not good enough, but because he was unwilling to receive so large a remuneration for the few good offices he had done Solomon, and was minded rather that his favours of this kind should be all gratuitous. He therefore makes the word Cabul, (which is the name that Hiram gives to the country where these cities stood,) a title of respect, and not of contempt; for he derives it from the Hebrew Chebes, which signifies a bond or chain, intimating that these two neighbouring kings had mutually bound themselves in a bond of friendship, Solomon by giving, and Hiram by returning the cities now under consideration. This is very pretty: but it is carrying the point of generosity in the king of Tyre a little too high, in my opinion, considering his acceptance of, if not express stipulation for, such a quantity of corn and oil, in lieu of the timber which he sent Solomon, 1 Kings v. 10, 11. *Patrick's and Le Clerc's Commentaries, and Pool's Annotations.* B.

† About an. 1030.

Now so sagacious and understanding was Solomon, that none of these problems were too hard for him; but he conquered them all by his reasonings, and discovered their hidden meaning, and brought it to light. Menander also, one who translated the Tyrian archives out of the dialect of the Phœnicians into the Greek language, makes mention of these two kings, where he says: "When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram received the kingdom from him: who when he had lived fifty-three years, reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank in a large place, and dedicated the golden pillar which is in Jupiter's temple. He also went and cut down materials of timber out of the mountain called Libanus, for the roofs of temples: and when he had pulled down the ancient temples, he both built the temple of Hercules, and that of Astarte; and he first set up the temple of Hercules in the Peritius; he also made an expedition against the Euchii or Titii,* who did not pay their tribute; and when he had subdued them to himself he returned. Under this king there was Abdemon, a youth in age; who always conquered the difficult problems which Solomon king of Jerusalem commanded him to explain." Dios also made mention of him, where he says, "When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram reigned. He raised the eastern parts of the city higher, and made the city itself larger. He also joined the temple of Jupiter, which before stood by itself, to the city, by raising a bank in the middle between them; and he adorned it with donations of gold. Moreover he went up to mount Libanus, and cut down materials of wood for the building of the temples." He says also, that "Solomon, who was then king of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hiram, and desired to 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, he paid a great deal of money for his fine. But that he afterward did solve the proposed riddles by the means of Abdemon, 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 is it which Dios wrote.

* Probably the Tyrians.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE FORTIFICATIONS OF JERUSALEM, THE ERECTION OF THE OTHER CITIES BY SOLOMON; HIS SUBJUGATION OF SOME OF THE CANAANITES, AND HIS ENTERTAINMENT OF THE QUEEN OF EGYPT AND ETHIOPIA.

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 with the dignity of the city;) he both repaired them and made them higher, with great towers upon them; he also built cities which might be 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 an expedition against it, and besieged it, and taken it by force; 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 this reason the king rebuilt it, as a city that was naturally strong, and might be useful in wars, and the mutations of affairs that sometimes happen. Moreover he built two other cities not far from it; Beth-horon was the name of one of them, and Baalath of the other. He also built other cities that lay conveniently for these, in order to the enjoyment of pleasures and delicacies in them; such as were naturally of good temperature of the air, and agreeable for fruits ripe in their proper seasons and well watered with springs. Nay, Solomon went as far as the desert above Syria, and possessed himself of it, and built there a very large city, which was distant two day's journey from the upper Syria, and one day's journey from Euphrates, and six long days' journey from Babylon the great. Now the reason why this city lay so remote from the parts of Syria that are inhabited is this, that below there is no water to be had; and that it is in that place only that there are

† About an. 1025.

springs and pits of water. When he had therefore built this city, and encompassed it with very strong walls, he gave it the name Tadmor;* and that is the name it is called† by at this day among the Syrians; but the Greeks name it Palmyra.

Now Solomon the king was at this time engaged in building these cities. But if any inquire why all the kings of Egypt, from Menes, 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 took it from one Pharaoh that lived after the kings of that interval? I think it necessary to inform them of it; and this in order to cure their ignorance, and to make the occasion of that name manifest. Pharaoh in the Egyptian tongue signifies a‡ king. But I suppose they made use of

* Tadmor, which, by the Greeks, is called Palmyra, is situated in the wilderness of Syria, upon the borders of Arabia Deserta, inclining towards the Euphrates. Josephus places it two days' journey from the upper Syria, one day's journey from the Euphrates, and six days' journey from Babylon: and the reason he gives why Solomon was inclined to build a city in this place, was, because in all the country round about, there was no such thing as a well or fountain, but in this spot only, to be found. If we may guess by the ruins, which later travellers give us the description of, this city was certainly one of the finest and most magnificent in the east; and it is somewhat surprising that history should give us no account, either when or by whom it was reduced to the sad condition wherein it lies at this day. But the true reason for his building this town in so desolate a place was the commodiousness of its situation, to cut off all commerce between the Syrians and Mesopotamians, and to prevent their caballing and conspiring together against him, as they had done against his father David. *Le Clerc's Commentary*. If the reader is desirous to know the present state of this ruined city, he may find it related in the *Philosophical Transactions*, for October, 1695, in a letter from Dr. Halifax to Dr. Bernard; or in *Well's Geography of the Old Testament*, vol. iii. who has borrowed it from thence. B.

† It is a well known and very true observation of Ammianus Marcellinus, near the beginning of his XIVth book; that the Greek and Roman names of places were never among the natives of Syria; which is the reason why most places retain their adopted original names at this day. This is in effect the note of Mr. Maundrell, page 53, and is perfectly agreeable to Josephus's observation here. We have an account of the wonderful remains of this Tadmor or Palmyra, in our *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 318, to which I refer the reader.

‡ This signification of the name of Pharaoh appears to be true. And Mr. Land himself says, "Piouro, in the Coptic tongue, is a king; which the Greeks would pronounce *Φαραω*." What Josephus adds presently, that in his copy, no king of Egypt was called Pharaoh after Solomon's father-in-law, does hardly agree with our copies; which have long afterwards the names of Pharaoh Necho, and Pharaoh Hophra, 2 Kings xxiii. 29, Jer. xliv. 30, besides the frequent mention

other names from their childhood; but when they were made kings, they changed them into the name which in their own tongue denoted their authority. For thus it was also that the kings of Alexandria, who were called formerly by other names when they took the kingdom, were named Ptolemies, from their first king. The Roman emperors also were from their nativity called by other names, but are styled Cæsars: their empire and their dignity imposing that name upon them, and not suffering them to continue those names which their fathers gave them. I suppose also that Herodotus of Halicarnassus, when he said there were *three hundred and thirty kings of Egypt after Menes, who built Memphis, did therefore not tell us their names, because they were in common called Pharaohs. For when after death there was a queen reigned, he calls her by her name, Nicaule:† as thereby declaring, that while the kings were of the male line, and so admitted of the same name, while a woman did not admit the same, he 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 did any longer use that name; and that it was after that time when the 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 prove that our books, and those of the Egyptians, agree together in many things.

King Solomon subdued to himself the remnant of the Canaanites, that had not before submitted to him; those I mean that dwelt in mount Lebanon, and as far as the city Hamath,

of that name in the Prophets. However, Josephus in his own speech to the Jews, Of the War, V. 9, speaks of Nechao, who was also called Pharaoh; as the name of that king of Egypt with whom Abraham was concerned; of which name Nechao yet we have elsewhere no mention, till the days of Josiah, but only of Pharaoh. And indeed it must be confessed that in this chapter we have more mistakes made by Josephus, and those relating to the kings of Egypt, and to that Queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, whom he supposes to have come to see Solomon, than almost any where else in all his Antiquities, and which are particularly taken notice of by Bochart in his Phaleg. II. 26, of the occasions of which mistakes I can give no account.

* Of these 330 kings of Egypt, and that they were in a great measure collateral and not successive, see my Chronological Table.

† Perhaps Nitocris.

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 husbandry. For 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 mean offices of life, rather than those nations. While the Israelites were concerned in warlike affairs, and were in armour, and set over the chariots, and the horses; rather than leading the life of slaves. He also appointed five hundred and fifty rulers over those Canaanites who were reduced to such domestic slavery; who received the care of them from the king, and instructed them in those labours and operations wherein he wanted their assistance.

The king also built many ships* in the Egyptian bay of the Red Sea, in a certain place called Eziongeber; but now called Berenice, and not far from the city 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 go along with his stewards 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.

There was then a woman queen of Egypt|| and Ethiopia; she was inquisitive in philosophy, and one that on other ac-

* About an. 1024.

† What Josephus affirms here, that Ophir, or, as his and the Septuagint copies spell it Sophir, was the same with the Aurea Chersonesus, or rather with the adjoining island of Taprobane, now called Ceylon, is the very probable opinion of the great Bochart, Canaan. I. 46. But it is yet not so certain as to be agreed to by all others. See the note on IX. 1.

‡ Four hundred and twenty, 1 Kings ix. 28.

|| That this queen of Sheba was a queen of Sabæa in South Arabia; and not of Egypt and Ethiopia, as Josephus here asserts, is, I suppose, now generally agreed. And since Sabæa is well known to be a country near the sea in the south of Arabia Felix, which lay south from Judea also; and since our Saviour calls this queen, the Queen of the South; and says, she came from the utmost parts of the earth; Matt. xii. 42. Luke xi. 31, which description agrees better to this Arabia, than to Egypt and Ethiopia, there is little occasion for doubting in this matter. The

counts also was to be admired. When this queen heard of the virtue and prudence of Solomon, she had a great mind to see him ; and the reports that went every 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 of the relators :) so she resolved to come to him, and that especially in order to have a trial of his wisdom, while she proposed questions of very great difficulty, and intreated that he would resolve their hidden meaning. Accordingly she came to Jerusalem with great splendour and rich furniture : for she brought 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 shewed a great desire to please her, and easily comprehending in his mind the meaning of the curious questions she propounded to him, he resolved them sooner than any body could have expected. So she was amazed at the wisdom of Solomon, and discovered that it was more excellent upon trial than what she had heard by report beforehand. In particular she was surprised at the fineness and largeness of his royal palace ; and not less so at the good order of the apartments : for she observed that the king had therein shewn great wisdom. But she was beyond measure astonished at the house which was called the* forest of Lebanon : as also at the magnificence of his daily table, and the circumstances of its preparation and ministration, with the apparel 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 management which the Priests and Levites used about them. When she saw this done every day, she was in the greatest admiration imaginable ; insomuch that she was not able to contain the surprise she was in : but

common mistake, which is much older than Josephus ; nay, as old as the Septuagint version, that Cush signified Ethiopia, beyond Egypt, which Bochart has fully proved to denote Arabia. Phaleg. IV. 2, very probably misled Josephus into his hypothesis.

* Whether Solomon's house of the forest of Lebanon were at Jerusalem, or whether it were not rather at Balbec, between Libanus and Antilibanus, may be doubted. See for the latter interpretation, Authent. Rec. vol. II. page 687, 688.

openly confessed how wonderfully she was affected. For she proceeded to discourse 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 come to our knowledge by report, come with uncertainty as to our belief of them; but as to those good things that to thee appertain, both such as thou possessest, I mean wisdom and prudence, and the happiness thou hast from thy kingdom, certainly the fame which 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 persuade our hearing; but did not so make known 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 see 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, who enjoy thy presence, and hear thy wisdom every day continually. One would therefore bless God who hath so loved this country, and those that inhabit therein, as to make thee king over them."

Now when the queen had thus demonstrated how deeply the king had affected her, she made that disposition known by certain presents. For she gave him twenty* talents of gold, and an immense quantity of spices and precious stones. They say also that we possess the root† of that balsam which our country still bears by this woman'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 shew the greatness of his soul in bestowing upon her what she herself de-

* A hundred and twenty, Hebrew and Septuagint, which I suppose to be the true number.

† Some blame 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 no country bore this precious balsam but Judea. Yet, as my learned friend Mr. Barker suggested to me from Bochart's Pha-

sired of him. So when this queen of Egypt and Ethiopia had obtained what we have already given an account of, and had again communicated to the king what she brought with her, she returned to her own kingdom.*

CHAP. VII.

OF SOLOMON'S IMMENSE RICHES, HIS LOVE OF STRANGE WOMEN, THE SUBSEQUENT REBELLION OF ADER AND JEROBOAM, AND THE DEATH OF SOLOMON.

ABOUT the same time† there were brought to the king from the Aurea Chersonesus, (a country so called,) precious stones and pine-trees: and these trees he made use of for supporting the temple, and the palace; as also for the materials of musical instruments, the harps and the psalteries; that the Levites might make use of them in their hymns to God. The wood which was brought to him at the time, was larger and finer than any that had ever been brought before. But let no one imagine that these pine-trees were like those which are now so named, and which take their denomination from the merchants, who so call them that they may procure them to be admired by those that purchase them. For those we speak of were to the sight like

leg. II. 26, it is not only false that this balsam was peculiar to Judea; but both Egypt and Arabia, and particularly Sabæa had it: which last was that very country whence Josephus, if understood not of Ethiopia, but of Arabia, intimates this queen might bring it first into Judea. This Bochart proves from Agatharchides, Diodorus Siculus, and Artemidorus, in Strabo. Nor are we to suppose, that the queen of Sabæa could well omit such a present as this balsam tree would be esteemed by Solomon, in case it were then almost peculiar to her own country. Nor is the mention of balsam, as carried by merchants, and sent as a present to Judea by Jacob, to the governor of Egypt, Gen. xxxvii. 15, and xliii. 11, to be alleged to the contrary: since what we there render balm; or balsam, denotes rather that turpentine, which we now call turpentine of Chio or Cyprus, the juice of the turpentine-tree, than this precious balsam. This last is also the same word that we elsewhere render, by the like mistake, balm of Gilead. It should be rendered the turpentine of Gilead, Jer. viii. 22.

* 1 Kings x. 13.

† About an. 1020.

the wood of the fig-tree; but were whiter and more shining.* Now we have said thus much, that nobody may be ignorant of the difference between these sorts of wood; nor unacquainted with the nature of the genuine pine-tree.

Now the weight of gold that was brought the king was six hundred and sixty-six talents; not including what was brought by the merchants; nor what the toparchs and kings of Arabia gave him in presents; he also cast two hundred targets of gold, each of them weighing six hundred shekles. He also made three hundred shields, every one weighing three pounds of gold; and he had them carried, and put into that house which was called the forest of Lebanon. He also made cups of gold, and of precious stones, for the entertainment of his guests; and had them adorned in the most curious manner; and he contrived that all his other furniture of vessels should be of gold; for there was nothing then to be sold or bought for silver. For the king had many ships which lay upon the sea at Tarsus; 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 apes; and they finished their voyage, going and returning, in three years' time.

Accordingly there went† a great fame all round the neighbouring countries, which proclaimed the virtue and wisdom of Solomon; insomuch that all the kings were desirous to see him; as not giving credit to what was reported, on account of its being most incredible; they also demonstrated the regard they had

* We never read of ivory till about Solomon's days, who perhaps brought elephants out of India, or at least took care to have a great deal of ivory imported from thence; for, in after ages, we read of ivory beds, and ivory palaces, &c. At this time, however, it was every whit as precious as gold: and therefore we must not suppose that this throne of Solomon's was entirely overlaid with gold, (for then it might as well be made of wood,) but only in particular places, that so the mixture of gold and ivory, which gave a lustre to each other, might make the throne look more beautiful. The like to this, the text says, there was not made in any kingdom, 1 Kings x. 20, and perhaps it was so in those days; but, in after ages, we read, that the throne of the Parthian kings was of gold, encompassed with four golden pillars, beset with precious stones; and that the Persian kings sat in judgment under a golden vine, (and other trees of gold,) the bunches of whose grapes were made of several sorts of precious stones. *Patrick's Commentary.* B.

† About an. 1018.

for him, by the presents they made him. For they sent him vessels of gold and silver, and purple garments, and many sorts of spices, and 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 before from these that were sent him, augmented the number of his chariots by above four hundred; for he had a thousand before;* and augmented the number of his horses 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 were a farther ornament to them, being in the first place young men in the most delightful flower of their age; and eminent for their stature, far taller than other men. They had also very long hair, hanging down, and were clothed in garments of Tyrian purple. They had also dust of gold every day sprinkled on their hair; so that their heads sparkled with the reflection of the sun's beams from the gold. The king himself rode upon a chariot in the midst of these men, who were still in armour, and had their bows fitted to them. He had on a white garment; and used to take his progresses out of the city in the morning. There was a certain place about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which is called Etham;† very pleasant in fine gardens, and abounding with rivulets of water. Thither did he use to go out in the morning, sitting on high in his chariot.

* 1 Kings x. 26.

† Whether these fine gardens and rivulets of Etham, about six miles from Jerusalem, whither Solomon rode so often in state, be not those alluded to, Eccles. ii. 6, 6, where he says, he made him gardens and orchards, and planted trees in them of all kinds of fruits: he made 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 compares his spouse to a garden enclosed, to a spring shut up, to a fountain sealed, chap. iv. 12. (part of which fountains are still extant, as Mr. Maundrell informs us, page 87, 88,) cannot now be certainly determined; but may very probably be conjectured. But whether this Etham has any relation to those rivers of Etham, which Providence once dried up, in a miraculous manner, Psal. lxxiv. 15, in the Septuagint and Constitut. Apost. VIII. 12, page 402, I cannot say.

Now Solomon had a divine sagacity in all things; and was very diligent and studious to have things done after an elegant manner. So he did not neglect the care of the ways; but he laid a causeway of black stone along the roads that led to his royal city of Jerusalem; both to render them easy for travellers, and to manifest the grandeur of his riches and government. He also parted his chariots, and set them in a regular order; that a certain number of them should be in every city; still keeping a few about him: and those cities he called the cities of his chariots. And the king made silver so plentiful in Jerusalem as stones in the street; and so multiplied cedar-trees in the plains of Judea, which did not grow there before, that they were like the multitude of common sycamore trees.* He also ordained the Egyptian merchants that brought him their merchandise, to sell him a chariot, with a pair of horses, for six† hundred drachmæ of silver; and he sent them to the kings of Syria, and to those kings that were beyond Euphrates.

But although Solomon was become the most 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. But he forsook the observance of the laws of his fathers, and came to an end no way suitable to our foregoing history of him. He grew mad in his love of women, and laid no restraint on himself in his lusts. Nor was he satisfied with the women of his own country alone; but he married many wives out of foreign nations;‡ Sidonians and Tyrians, Ammonites and Edo-

* 1 Kings x. 27.]

† Two thousand four hundred shekels, or 285lb.

‡ Notwithstanding the vast multitude of wives that Solomon had, the Scriptures make mention of no more than three children, this son, and two daughters, that are spoken of, 1 Kings iv. 11, 15, and, what is strange, in the beginning of his story, it takes no notice, as usually it does, of his mother's nation, or family, though in the conclusion of it, 1 Kings xiv. 21—31, it twice reminds us, that she was an Ammonitess by birth, and that her name was Naamah. Rehoboam was born in the first year of his father's reign, and was therefore much about forty-one when he entered upon the government; but he was an unskilful and imprudent man, and therefore made a very false step at his first accession to the throne. The author of Ecclesiasticus gives us no advantageous character of him, when he terms him, A man void of understanding, who turned the people away with his counsel, chap. xlvii. 23. Nay, his own son makes but a faint apology for him, when he

mites; and he transgressed the laws of Moses, which prohibited Jews from marrying any but those that were of their own people. He also began to worship their gods,* which he did in order to the gratification of his wives, and out of his affection for them. This very thing our legislator suspected, and so admonished us beforehand, that we should not marry women of other countries, lest we should be entangled with foreign customs, and apostatize from our own; lest we should leave off to honour our own God, and should worship their idols. But Solomon was fallen headlong into unreasonable pleasures, and regarded not those admonitions. For when he had married seven hundred wives,† the daughters of princes and of eminent persons, and three hundred concubines, and these besides the king of Egypt's daughter;‡ he soon was governed by them, till he came to imitate their practices. He was forced to give them 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 reason became weaker by the length of time, it was not sufficient to recall to his mind the institutions

tells the people, that he was young, (young in understanding) and tender-hearted, and could not withstand his enemies, 2 Chron. xiii. 7, and therefore some have imagined, that his father Solomon had him in his thoughts, when he said, in his Preacher, I hated all my labour, which I had taken under the sun, because I was to leave it to a man that should come after me: And who knoweth whether he shall be a wise man or a fool? yet shall he have rule over all my labour, wherein I have laboured: This also is vanity, chap. ii. 18, 19. *Calmet's and Patrick's Commentaries.* B.

* About an. 999, B. C.

† These 700 wives, or the daughters of great men, and the 300 concubines, the daughters of ignoble, make 1000 in all; and are, I suppose, those very 1000 women intimated elsewhere by Solomon himself when he speaks of his not having found one good woman among that very number, Eccles. vii. 28.

‡ Pharaoh's daughter is generally supposed to have been a proselyte to the Jewish religion, and therefore Solomon, in marrying her, incurred no fault; but, in marrying so many women besides, and these of a different religion, he committed two sins against the law; one in multiplying wives, and another, in marrying those of strange nations, who still retained their idolatry. And therefore, the wise son of Sirach, amidst all the encomiums that he heaps upon Solomon, could not forget this heinous iniquity, and terrible flaw in his character.—Thou didst bow thy loins to women, and by thy body, thou wast brought into subjection. Thou didst stain thine honour, and pollute thy seed, so that thou broughtest wrath upon thy children, and wast grieved for thy folly, Eccles. xlvii. 19, 20. *Patrick's Commentary:* B.

of his own country; so he still more and more contemned his own God, and continued to regard the gods that his marriages had introduced. Nay, before this happened, he sinned, and fell into an error about the observance of the laws, when he made* the images of brazen oxen, that supported the brazen sea, and the images of lions about his own throne; for these he made, although it was not agreeable to piety so to do. And this he did notwithstanding that he had his father as a most excellent and domestic pattern of virtue; and knew what a glorious character he had left behind him, because of his piety towards God. Nor did he imitate David, although God had twice appeared to him in his sleep, and exhorted him so to do. There came therefore a prophet to him, who was sent by God, and told him, that his wicked actions were not concealed from God; and threatened him that he should not long rejoice at 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 Jerusalem, wherein he would have a temple.

When Solomon heard this, he was grieved, and greatly confounded, upon this change of almost all that happiness which had made him to be admired, into so bad a state. Nor had there much time passed after the prophet had foretold what was com-

* Josephus is here certainly too severe upon Solomon; who in making the cherubims, and these twelve brazen oxen, seems to have done no more than imitate the patterns left him by David, which were all given David by divine inspiration. See my Description of the Temples, chap. x. And although God 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 Pharisees and later Rabins, have extended the second commandment, to forbid the very making of any image, though without any intention to have it worshipped; yet do not I suppose that Solomon so understood it, nor that it ought to be so understood. The making any other altar for worship, but that at the tabernacle, was equally forbidden by Moses: Antiq. IV. 3, yet did not the two tribes and a half offend when they made an altar for a memorial only, Josh. xxii. Antiq. V. 1.

ing, before God raised up an enemy against him, whose name was Hadad;* who took the following occasion of his enmity to him. He was a child of the stock of the Edomites, and of the blood royal. And when Joab, the captain of David's host laid waste the land of Edom, and destroyed all that were men grown, and able to bear arms, for six months' time, this Hadad fled away, and came to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who received him kindly, and assigned him a house to dwell in, and a country to supply him with food. And when he was grown up he loved him exceedingly; inasmuch that he gave him his wife's sister, whose name was Tahpenes to wife, by whom he had a son, who was brought up with the king's children. When Hadad heard in Egypt that both David and Joab were dead, he came to Pharaoh, and desired that he would permit him to go to his own country. The king asked what it was that he wanted, and what hardships he had met with, that he was so desirous to leave him? and when he was often troublesome to him, and intreated him to dismiss him, he did not then do it. But at the time when Solomon's affairs began to grow worse,† on account of his aforementioned transgressions, and God's anger against him for the same; Hadad, by Pharaoh's permission, came to Edom, and when he was not able to make the people to forsake Solomon, (for it was kept under by many garrisons, and an innovation was not to be made with safety,) he removed thence and came into Syria. There he met with one Rezon,‡

* Hadad was a young prince of the royal family of Idumea, who fled into Egypt when David conquered that country. For David, having obtained a signal victory under the conduct of Abishai, who, at that time, commanded in chief, sent Joab afterwards with an order to kill all the males that should be found in the land. But Hadad had escaped into Egypt, where, finding favour in the eyes of the king, he married his wife's sister, and there settled. But, after the death of David, he returned into Idumea, and gave Solomon no small molestation. *Calmet's Commentary.* B.

† Since the beginning of Solomon's evil life and adversity was the time when Hadad, (who was born at least twenty or thirty years before Solomon came to the crown, in the days of David,) began to give him disturbance, this implies that Solomon's evil life began early, and continued very long; which the multitude of his wives and concubines does also imply. I suppose he was not fifty years of age.

‡ 1 Kings xi 23.

who had run away from Hadadezer,* king of Zobah, his master, and was become a robber in that country; and joined friendship with him, who had already a band of robbers about him. So he went up and seized upon that part of Syria, and was made king thereof. He also made incursions into the land of Israel, and did in it no small mischief, and spoiled it, and that in the life time of Solomon. And such was the calamity which the Hebrews suffered by Hadad.

There was also one of Solomon's own nation that made an attempt against him, Jeroboam, the son of Nebat; who had an expectation of rising, from a prophecy that had been made to him long before. He was left a child by his father, and brought up by his mother; and when Solomon saw that he was of an active and bold disposition, he made him the curator of the walls which he built round about Jerusalem. And he took such care of those works, that the king approved of his behaviour, and gave him as a reward for the same, the charge over the tribe of Joseph. And when about that time Jeroboam was once going out of Jerusalem, a prophet of the city Shilo, whose name was Ahijah, met him, and saluted him; and when he had taken him a little aside to the place where there was no one present, he rent the garment he had into twelve pieces, and bade Jeroboam take ten of them; saying, "This is the will of God; he will part the dominion 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 thee; because Solomon hath sinned against him, and delivered himself up to women, and to their gods. Seeing, therefore, thou knowest the cause for which God hath changed his mind, and is alienated from Solomon, be thou righteous, and keep the laws; because thou hast proposed to thee the greatest of all rewards for thy piety, and the honour thou shalt pay to God;

* When David made war against Hadadezer, Rezon, one of his generals, escaped from the field of battle, with the troops under his command; and, having lived for a little while by plunder and robbery, at length seized on Damascus, and reigned there. But his reign was not long. For David took Damascus, as well as other parts of Syria, and left it in subjection to his son Solomon, till God was pleased to suffer this Rezon to recover Damascus, and there re-establish himself, to the great disturbance of the latter part of Solomon's reign. *Calmet's Comment.* B.

namely, to be as greatly exalted as thou knowest David to have been."

So Jeroboam was elevated by these words of the prophet, and being a young man* of warm temper, and ambitious of greatness, he could not be quiet. And when he had so great a charge in the government, and called to mind what had been revealed to him by Ahijah, he endeavoured 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 him and kill him. But Jeroboam was informed of it beforehand; and fled to Shishak, king of Egypt; and there abode till the death of Solomon. By which means he gained these two advantages; to suffer no harm from Solomon, and to be preserved for the kingdom. So Solomon died when he was already an old man, having reigned‡ eighty years,|| and lived ninety-four. He was buried in Jerusalem: having been superior to all other kings in happiness, riches, and wisdom; excepting that when he was grown in years, he was deluded by women, and trans-

* This youth of Jeroboam when Solomon built the walls of Jerusalem, not very long after he had finished his twenty year's building of the temple, and his own palace; or not very long after the twenty fourth year of his reign, 1 Kings ix: 24. 2 Chron. viii. 11, and his youth here still mentioned, when Solomon's wickedness was become intolerable; fully confirm my former observation, that such his wickedness began early, and continued very long. See Ecclus. xlvii. 14. Had we this discourse of Josephus's, wherein he intended to enlarge on this part of Solomon's life (which part is only in brief touched upon in our other copies, 1 Kings xi. and is wholly omitted in the books of Chronicles) we had probably been more fully informed of this matter.

† How Solomon came to know what was thus transacted between Ahijah and Jeroboam alone, is a question of no great difficulty. For perhaps the prophet made no scruple to report what he delivered in the name of the Lord; perhaps Jeroboam himself, being puffed up with this assurance, could not contain, but told it to some of his confidants, who spread it abroad; or perhaps his servants, though they heard not the words the prophet spake, yet, seeing him rend the garment into twelve parts, and give ten to him, might speak of this strange and unaccountable action, which Solomon, as soon as he came to hear of it, might easily understand, because the same prophet very likely had told him but just before, that the kingdom should be rent from him, and given to his servant, 1 Kings xiv. 8. *Patrik's Commentary.* B.

‡ From an. 1066 to 976, B. C.

|| That Josephus justly ascribes eighty years to the reign of Solomon, see Essay on the Old Testament, page 31, 32.

gressed the law, concerning which transgressions, and the miseries which befell the Hebrews thereby, I think proper to discourse at another opportunity.*

CHAP. VIII.

OF REHOBOAM'S CONDUCT AFTER HIS FATHER'S DEATH; AND THE REVOLT OF TEN TRIBES UNDER JEROBOAM.

NOW† when Solomon was dead, and his son Rehoboam (who was born of an Ammonite wife, whose name was Naamah) had succeeded him in the kingdom, the rulers of the multitude sent immediately into Egypt, and recalled Jeroboam. And when he was come to the city Shechem, Rehoboam came thither also; for he had resolved to declare himself king of the Israelites, while they were there gathered together. So the rulers of the people, as well as Jeroboam, came to him and said, that he ought to relax, and to be gentler than his father in the servitude he had imposed on them; because they had borne a heavy‡ yoke,|| and that then they should be better affected to him, and be well contented to serve him under his moderate government, and should do it more out of love than fear. But Rehoboam told them, they should come to him again in three days' time, when he would give an answer to their request. This

* This discourse is now wanting.

† An. 976.

‡ Probably in maintaining his court, and, in particular, his numerous wives and concubines.

|| What the particular grievances were that these people desired to have redressed, we may gather from 1 Kings iv. 7, &c. viz. the tribute Solomon exacted for his buildings, the expenses of his family, and the maintenance of his chariots and horses, which being for the honour of the nation, ought to have been borne more contentedly by a people enjoying such a large share of peace and plenty, and from a prince who had brought in such vast riches to his subjects, as made silver to be of no value at all in his days, chap. x. 21, but people are more sensible of their pressures than of their enjoyments, and feel the least burdens when they are most at ease. It is observable, however, that among all their complaints, they take no notice of Solomon's idolatry, or the strange worship which he had introduced, though this, one would think, should have been reckoned among the greatest of their grievances. *Patrick's Commentary. B.*

delay gave occasion to a present suspicion; since he had not given them a favourable answer immediately. However they thought that his consultation about it afforded some hope of success.

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 with good will: it being most agreeable to subjects, that their kings should be almost upon a level with them. But Rehoboam rejected this good and profitable advice: (it was such at least at that time, when he was to be made king:) God himself, I suppose, causing what was most advantageous to be contemned by him. So he called for the young men who were brought up with him,* and told them what advice the elders had given him, and bade them speak what they thought he ought to do. So 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 little finger should be thicker than his father's loins; and, if they had met with hard usage from his father, they should experience much rougher treatment from him: and if his father had chastised them with whips, they must expect that he would do it with scorpions.† The king was pleased with this advice; and thought it

* It was a common custom among the kings of the east, to have their sons educated among other young lords that were of the same age, which, as it created a generous spirit of emulation, and both endeared the prince to the nobles and the nobles to the prince, could not but tend greatly to the benefit of the public. Sesostris, the most famous prince that ever Egypt produced, is said to have been educated this way. And by the gallant youths that were his cotemporaries and fellow pupils, it was, that he afterwards did so many surprising actions. The same custom was in use among the Persians, as we may learn from the life of Cyrus; and of Alexander the Great we are told, that his father Philip had trained him up in his youth, among those young nobleman who became his great captains in the conquest of all Asia. So that Solomon's method and design, in the education of his son, was wise and well concerted, though it failed of success. *Calmét's Commentary.* B.

† That by scorpions is not here meant the small animals so called, which were never used in corrections; but either a shrub with sharp prickles, like the stings

agreeable to the dignity of his government to give them such an answer. Accordingly when the multitude was assembled 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 they should hear somewhat of a kind nature, but he passed by his friends, and answered as the young men had given him counsel.* Now this was done according to the will of God; that what Ahijah had foretold might come to pass.

By these words the people were struck, as it were by an iron hammer; and were so grieved as if they had already felt the effects of them; and they had great indignation at the king: and all cried out aloud, and said, "We will have no longer any relation to David, or his posterity,† after this day; and will only leave to Rehoboam the temple which his father built." Nay they were so bitter, and retained their wrath so long, that when he sent Adoram, who was over the tribute, that he might pacify them, and 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 the multitude had killed his servant: and feared lest he should undergo the last of punishments in earnest. So he got immediately into his chariot,‡ and fled to Jerusalem. There the tribe of Judah and that of Benjamin ordained him for their king: but the rest of the multitude forsook the sons of David, from that day; and appointed Jeroboam to be the ruler of their public affairs. Upon this, Rehoboam assembled a great congregation of those two tribes that had submitted to him, and was ready to take a hundred and eighty thousand chosen men

of scorpions, such as is our furze-bush; or else some terrible sort of whip of the like nature. See Hudson's and Spenheim's Notes here, and Mr. Barker's parallel observations.

* 1 Kings xii. 13.

† 1 Kings xii. 16.

‡ This is the first time that we read of a king's riding in a chariot. Saul, David, and Solomon, rode in none: but after the division of the kingdom, mention is frequently made of the use of them, both by the kings of Judah and Israel. *Patrick's Commentary.* B.

out of the army, and 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 by the prophet Shemaiah to go to war.* For that it was not just, that brethren of the same country should fight against one another. He also said, 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 Israel; and afterwards what are therewith connected, the actions of Rehoboam, the king of the two tribes. By this means we shall preserve the order of the history unbroken.

When Jeroboam had built him a palace in the city of Shechem, he dwelt there. He also built him another at a city called Penuel. And now the feast of tabernacles was approaching in a little time, Jeroboam considered, that if he should permit the multitude to go to worship God at Jerusalem, and there to celebrate the festival, they would probably repent of what they had done, and be enticed by the temple, and by the worship of God there performed; and would leave him, and return to their first king; and if so, he should run the risk of losing his own life. So he 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 the fountains|| of the lesser Jordan; and he put the heifers into both the little temples, in the aforementioned cities. And when he had called the ten tribes together

* This prophet was very well known in the reign of Rehoboam. He is supposed to have wrote the annals of that prince; and of what authority he was in Judah, we may gather from this passage, where he is said to have prevailed with the king, and a hundred and four score thousand men, to lay down their arms, and return home. merely by declaring, that the division which had happened was the appointment and order of God. *Calmet's Commentary. B.*

† 1 Kings xii. 24.

‡ 1 Kings xii. 29.

|| Whether these fountains of the lesser Jordan were near a place called Dan, and the fountains of the greater near a place called Jor, before their conjunction; or whether there was only one fountain, arising at the lake Phiala; at first sinking under the ground; then rising near the mountain Paneum, and thence running through the lake Semochonites to the sea of Galilee, and so far called the lesser Jordan, is hardly certain even in Josephus himself; though the latter account be the most probable. See *Reland's Palestine*, tom. I. lib. I. c. 41, 43. However the northern idolatrous calf, set up by Jeroboam, was where little Jordan fell into great Jordan; near a place called Daphna, as Josephus elsewhere informs us: *Of the War, IV. 1.* See the note there.

over whom he ruled, he made a speech to the people in these words: "I suppose, my countrymen, you know that every place hath God in it: nor is there any determinate place in which he is: but he every where hears 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: I have also made two golden heifers, dedicated to the same God; and the one I have consecrated in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan; to the end that those of you who dwell nearest those cities may go to them and worship God there. And I will ordain for you certain priests and Levites from among yourselves; that you may have no want of the tribe of Levi, or of the sons of Aaron. But let him that is desirous 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 caused them to revolt from the worship of their forefathers, and to transgress their laws. This was the beginning of miseries to the Hebrews; and the cause why they were overcome in war by foreigners, and so fell into captivity. But we shall relate those things in their proper places hereafter.

When this feast of tabernacles was just† approaching, Jeroboam‡ was desirous to celebrate it himself in Bethel; as did the two tribes in Jerusalem. Accordingly he built an altar before the heifer, and undertook to be high-priest himself. So

* Lev. viii. 14, 22.

† An. 975.

‡ As the Jews had their feast of tabernacles on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, so Jeroboam had a feast on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, which he instituted of his own accord. Some suppose, indeed, that as this feast was appointed by God to be observed after the gathering in of the fruits, which might be sooner ripe in Jerusalem, than in the northern parts of the country, so Jeroboam might pretend, that the eighth would be a better time for it than the seventh, because then they would every where be gathered. Others imagine, that he might have this farther design in the alteration of this month, viz. that the people of Judah, when their own feast was over a month before at Jerusalem, might have an opportunity to come to his, if their curiosity led them. But the plain cast is, that he did every thing he could in opposition to the established religion, and his chief intention was to alienate the people from Jerusalem. *Bedford's Scripture Chronology*, lib. VI. c. 2. B.

he went up to the altar, with his own priests about him. But when he was going to offer the sacrifices, and the burnt-offerings, in the sight of all the people, a prophet,* whose name was Jadon, was sent by God, and came to him from Jerusalem; who stood in the midst of the multitude, and in the hearing of the king, and directing his discourse to the altar, said thus. "God foretells that there shall be a certain man of the family of David, Josiah by name, who shall slay upon thee those false priests that shall live at that time, and upon thee shall burn the bones of those deceivers of the people, those impostors and wicked wretches. However, that this people may believe these things shall come to pass, I foretell a sign to them, that shall also be fulfilled. This altar shall be broken 'to pieces immediately; and all the fat of the sacrifices that is upon it shall be poured upon the ground." When the prophet had said this, Jeroboam, in a passion, stretched out his hand, and bade them lay hold of him. But that hand which he stretched out was enfeebled, and he was not able to pull it in again to him: for it was become withered, and hung down as if it were dead. The altar also was broken to pieces, and all that was upon it was poured out: 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 intreated him to pray unto God, that he would restore his right hand. Accordingly the prophet did pray to God to grant him that request. So the king having his hand recovered to its natural state, rejoiced at it; and invited the prophet to sup with him. But Jadon said, he could not endure to come into his house, nor to taste of bread or water in

* Who this prophet was, commentators are not agreed. The Jews would generally have it to have been Iddo; but unless we may suppose that what is here related fell out in the latter end of Jeroboam's reign, Iddo could not be the person; because Iddo was alive in the days of Abijah, son of Rehoboam, whereas the prophet here spoken of died, in a manner, as soon as he had delivered this prophecy. Others therefore have thought, that this prophet who came to rebuke Jeroboam was Ahijah, the same who had foretold him of his exaltation to the crown of Israel. But besides that Ahijah was alive after the time that this prophet was slain, Ahijah was certainly a native of Shiloh, and lived in Shiloh, which is the tribe of Ephraim, and part of Jeroboam's dominions: whereas it is expressly said of this prophet, that he came from Judah. So that there is no foundation, so much as for a conjecture, what the name of this man of God was. *Patrick's and Calmet's Commentaries.* B. 1

that 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 said, he was to return by another way. So 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.

OF JADON'S RETURN TO BETHEL AT THE INSTIGATION OF A FALSE PROPHET, AND HIS AWFUL END; THE EFFECT OF THE LYING PROPHET'S ARGUMENTS ON THE MIND OF JEROBOAM, &C.

NOW there was a certain wicked man in that city, who was a false prophet, whom Jeroboam had in great esteem: but he was deceived by him, and his flattering words. This man was then 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 prophet should be in better

* Why this prophet was forbid to eat or drink with the people of Bethel, the reason is obvious, because he was to have no familiarity with idolaters; but why he should not return by the same way that he went, is not so very evident. There is a passage in Isaiah concerning Sennacherib, which helps, as some think, to elucidate this matter where God tells him, that he would turn him back by the same way that he came, Isaiah xxxvii. 29, 34, i. e. he should return home without doing any thing. All his threats and all his great projects should have no effect against Jerusalem. And in like manner, when God commanded the prophet not to return by the same way, it was as much as if he had said, "See that thou be constant, and steadfast in executing the charge committed to thee; let nothing hinder or divert thee, but take abundant care, that thou do thy business effectually." But this construction is a little too much strained; nor can I see, why we may not say, that God enjoined his prophet not to return by the same way, lest Jeroboam, or any other of the inhabitants of Bethel, either to satisfy their curiosity upon an occasion so uncommon, or to do him some mischief for his severe denunciations against their altar and way of worship, might send men after him to bring him back. *Calmet's* and *Le Clerc's Commentaries*. B.

esteem with the king than himself, and obtain greater honour from him; and he gave order to his sons to saddle his ass immediately, 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 thick and shady oak, 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 replied, "Certainly God had not forbidden 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 mine house, and make thee my guest." Now Jadon gave credit to this lying prophet, and returned back with him. But when they were at dinner, and were merry together, God appeared to Jadon, and said, that he should suffer punishment for transgressing his commands: and he told him what that punishment should be; for he said, that on his return "he should meet with a lion, by which he should be torn to pieces, and be deprived of burial in the sepulchres of his fathers." Which things came to pass, as I suppose, according to the will of God: that so Jeroboam might not give heed to the words of Jadon, as of one that had been convicted of lying. However, as Jadon was again going to Jerusalem, a lion assaulted him, and pulled him off the beast he rode on, and slew him: yet did he not at all hurt the ass; but sat 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 sons, and brought the body unto the city, and made a funeral for him, at great expenses. He also charged his sons to bury himself with him, and said, "that all which he had foretold against that city, and the altar, and priests, and false prophets, would prove true;* and that if he were buried with him he should receive no injurious treatment after his death; the bones not being then to be distinguished asunder." But when he had performed those fu-

* 1 Kings xiii. 32.

neral rites to the prophet, and had given that charge to his sons, as he was a wicked and impious man, he went to Jeroboam and said to him:—"Wherefore is it now that thou art disturbed at the words of this silly fellow?" And when the king related what had happened about the altar and about his own hand; and gave him the names of a divine man, and an excellent prophet; he endeavoured by a wicked trick, to weaken that his opinion, and by using plausible words concerning what had happened, he aimed to injure the truth that was in them. For he attempted to persuade him, that his hand was enfeebled by the labour it had undergone, in supporting the sacrifices; 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 an 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, nor spake any thing like one. When 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 was to that degree injurious to God, and so great a transgressor; that he sought for nothing else every day but how he might be guilty of some new instances of wickedness; and such as should be more detestable than what he had been so insolent as to do before. And so much shall at present suffice to have said concerning Jeroboam.

* How much a larger and better copy Josephus had in this remarkable history of the true prophet of Judea, and his concern with Jeroboam, and with the false prophet of Bethel, than our other copies have, is evident at first sight. The prophet's very name Jadon, or as the Constitutions call him, Adonias, IV. 6, is wanting in our other copies; and it is there, with no little absurdity, said, that God revealed Jadon the true prophet's death; not to himself, as here, but to the false prophet. Of which see Essay on the Old Test. page 74, 75. Whether the particular account of the arguments made use of, after all, by the false prophet against his own belief, in order to persuade Jeroboam to persevere in his idolatry and wickedness; and which it seems prevailed with him; than which more plausible could not be invented; was intimated in Josephus's copy, or in some other ancient book, cannot now be determined; our other copies say not one word of it.

CHAP. X.

OF REHOBOAM'S IMPIETY, AND HIS PUNISHMENT BY SHISHAK KING OF EGYPT.

REHOBOAM,* the son of Solomon, who, as we said before, was king of the two tribes, built strong and large cities, Beth-lehem, Etam, Tekoa, Bethzur, Shoco, Adullam,† Ipan, Maresha, Ziph, Adoraim, Lachish, Azekah, Zorah, Aijalon, and Hebron. These he built first of all in the tribe of Judah. He also built other cities in the tribe of Benjamin; and walled them about, and put garrisons in them all, and captains, and a great deal of corn, and wine, and oil; and he furnished every one of them plentifully with other provisions that were necessary for sustenance. Moreover he put therein shields and spears, for many thousand men. The priests 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 worship God 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 married a woman of his own kindred, and had by her three children; he married also another of his own kindred, who was the daughter of Absalom by Tamar, whose name was Maachah; and by her he had a son, whom he named Abijah. He had also 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 threescore daughters; but he appointed Abijah, whom he had by Maachah, to be his successor in the kingdom; and intrusted him with the treasures and the strongest cities.

Now I cannot but think, that the greatness of a kingdom,

* An. 974.

† Gath, 2 Chron. xi. 8.

‡ Sixty, 2 Chron. xi. 21.

and its change into prosperity, often becomes the occasion of mischief and of transgression to men. For when Rehoboam saw his kingdom so much increased, he went out of the right way into irreligious practices, and 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 shew that men approve of the actions of their kings, unless they do the same actions with them. Agreeably whereto it now happened to the subjects of Rehoboam; for when he was grown impious,* and a transgressor himself, they endeavoured not to offend him by resolving still to be righteous. But God sent Shishak,† king of Egypt, to punish them for their unjust behaviour 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 thousand men. For he had one thousand two hundred chariots, threescore thousand horsemen, and four hundred thousand footmen. These he brought with him; and they were the greater part of them Libyans and Ethiopians. Now therefore when he fell upon the country of the Hebrews, he took the strongest cities of Rehoboam's kingdom, without fighting;

* An. 971.

† It may seem something strange, that Shishak, who was so nearly allied to Rehoboam, should come up against him, and take his royal city; but Rehoboam, we must remember, was not the son of Pharaoh's daughter, and therefore no relation to Shishak. But even had he been never so nearly related, as kingdoms, we know, never marry, so, it is likely that Jeroboam, who had lived long in Egypt, stirred him up to invade his rival, and thereby he might establish himself in this new kingdom: and for this reason it was, that, when the armies of Egypt had taken the fenced cities of Judah, they returned, without giving Jeroboam, or his dominions, any the least disturbance. *Patrick's Commentary.* B.

‡ That this Shishak was not the same person with the famous Sesostris, as some have very lately, in contradiction to all antiquity, supposed; and that our Josephus did not take him to be the same, as they pretend; but that Sesostris was many centuries earlier than Shishak, see Authent. Records, Part II. page 1024, 1025, 1026, and the authors there cited.

and when he had put garrisons in them, he came last of all to Jerusalem.*

While Rehoboam, and the multitude with him, were shut up in Jerusalem, by the army of Shishak; and when they besought God to give them victory and deliverance, they could not persuade God to espouse their cause; but Shemaiah the prophet told them, that God threatened to forsake them, as they had themselves forsaken his worship. When they heard this, they were in great consternation; and, seeing no way of deliverance, they all earnestly set themselves to confess that God might justly overlook them, since they had been guilty of impiety towards him, and had let his laws lie in confusion. So when God saw them in that disposition, and that they acknowledged their sins, he told the prophet he would not destroy them; but that he would make them servants to the Egyptians; that they might learn whether they would suffer less by serving men or God. So when Shishak had taken the city without fighting, because Rehoboam was afraid, and received him into it; he spoiled the temple, and emptied the treasures of God, and those of the king, and carried off innumerable thousands 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 Zobah, and had dedicated to God. And when he had thus done, he returned to his own kingdom. Now Herodotus of Halicarnassus mentions this expedition; having only mistaken the king's name, and in saying that, he made war upon many other nations also, and brought Syria of Palestine into subjection; and took the men that were therein prisoners, without fighting. Now it is manifest that he intended to declare our nation was subdued by him; for he saith, that he left behind him pillars in the land of those that delivered themselves up to him, without fighting, and engraved upon them symbols of their effeminacy. Now our king Rehoboam delivered up our city without fighting. He says withal, that "The Ethiopians† learned the rite of circumcision from the Egypt-

* 1 Kings xiv. 25.

† Herodotus, as here quoted by Josephus, and as this passage still stands in his present copies, Book II. chap. 104, affirms, that "the Phœnicians and Syrians in

tians, with this addition; that the Phœnicians and Syrians that live in Palestine confess that they learned it of the Egyptians." Yet is it 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 Rehoboam 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 famous warlike expeditions, and that glory which results from those public actions, he reigned in great quietness, though not without fear; as being always an enemy to Jeroboam. And he died when he had lived fifty-seven years, and reigned seventeen.‡ He was in his disposition a proud, and a foolish man: and lost part of his dominions by not hearkening to his father's friends. He was buried at

Palestine, (which last are generally supposed to denote the Jews,) owned their receiving circumcision from the Egyptians." Whereas it is abundantly evident, that the Jews received their circumcision from the patriarch Abraham, Gen. xvii 9—14. Josh. vii. 22, 23, as I conclude the Egyptian priests themselves did. It is not therefore very unlikely that Herodotus, because the Jews had lived long in Egypt, and came out of it circumcised, did thereupon think they had learned that circumcision in Egypt, and had it not before. Manetho, the famous Egyptian chronologer and historian, who knew the history of his own country much better than 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 of which he alone mentions, Cadytis and Jenysis, proves true. Nor indeed do there appear to have ever been any such cities on their coast. See *Essay on the Old Testament*, Appendix, page 180, *Reland's Palestine*, tom. II. lib. iii. page 668, 669 670, and the note on XI. 2.

* This shews, to what low condition the kingdom of Judah was reduced. These shields were a matter of state and grandeur; and therefore it concerned them, if they were able, to have them of the same value that they were before. And, as they were carried before the king to the house of the Lord, it seemed likewise to be a matter of religion, that their value should not be diminished. Now, in making these three hundred shields we are told, that three pounds of gold went to one shield, 1 Kings x. 17. Thus at four pounds per ounce, or forty-eight pounds sterling to the pound, amounts to no more than 432,000l. and therefore it was a miserable case, that they were reduced from so much wealth to so much poverty, that neither reason of state, nor religion, could raise so small a sum on so great an occasion. *Bedford's Scripture Chronology*, lib. vi. c. 2. B.

† 1 Kings xiv. 27.

‡ From an. 976, to 959, B. C.

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. 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.

OF THE DEATH OF JEROBOAM'S SON; JEROBOAM'S DEFEAT BY ABIJAH; HIS SUBSEQUENT DEATH AND DESTRUCTION OF HIS HOUSE BY BAASHA.

GOD was in no long time ready to return Jeroboam's wicked actions, and the punishment they deserved, upon his head, and upon the heads of all his house. And whereas a son of the king's lay sick at that time, who was called Abijah; † he enjoin-

* An. 959.

† Jeroboam might be for having his wife go to consult the prophet at Shiloh, because this was a secret not to be entrusted with any body else; a secret which if it had been divulged, might have endangered his whole government; because, if once his subjects came to understand, that he himself had no confidence in the calves which he had set up, but in any matter of importance had recourse to the true worshippers of God, it is not to be imagined, what an inducement this would have been for them to forsake these senseless idols, and to return to the worship of the God of Israel, whom they imprudently had forsaken. The queen was then the only person he could have confidence in. As a mother, he knew, that she would be diligent in her inquiry: and as a wife, faithful in her report; but there were sundry reasons why he might desire her to disguise herself. For though Shiloh lay within the confines of Ephraim, yet there is sufficient ground to think, that it was subject to the house of David, and belonged to the kingdom of Judah. It was certainly nearer Jerusalem than Shechem, which Rehoboam had lately fortified, and made his place of residence: and therefore Jeroboam thought it not safe to venture his queen, in a place that was under his rival's government, without her putting on some disguise. He knew too, that the prophet Abijah was greatly offended at him, for the gross idolatry he had introduced: and therefore he thought (as justly he might) that, if the prophet perceived it to be his wife, he would either tell her nothing, or make things much worse than they were. The only way, therefore, to come at the truth, was, (as he thought,) to do what he did: but herein appears his infatuation, that he should not think the person, whom he

ed his wife to lay aside her robes, and to take the garments belonging to a private person, and to go to Ahijah the prophet; for that he was a wonderful man in foretelling future events; it having been he who told him, that he should be king. He also enjoined her, when she came to him, to inquire concerning the child, 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 Ahijah live. But as she was going into his house, his eyes being then dim with age, God appeared to him, and informed him that the wife of Jeroboam was come to him; and what answer he should make to her inquiry. Accordingly as the woman was coming into the house, like a private person, and a stranger, he cried out, "Come in, O 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 coming, and hath given me in command what I shall say to thee." So he said, that she should go away to her husband and speak to him thus: "Since I made thee a great man, when thou wast little, or rather nothing, and rent the kingdom from the house of David, and gave it to thee; and thou hast been unmindful of these benefits, hast left off my worship, hast made thee molten gods and honoured them: I will in like manner cast thee down again, and will destroy all thy house, and make them food for the dogs, and the fowls. For a certain king is rising up, by my appointment, over all this people, who shall leave none of the family of Jeroboam remaining. The multitude also shall themselves partake of the same punishment; and shall be cast out of this good land, and shall be scattered into the places beyond Euphrates; because they have followed the wicked practices of their king, and have worshipped the gods that he made, and forsaken my sacrifices. Do thou, O woman! make haste back to thy husband, and tell him this message. But thou shalt then find thy son dead; for as thou enterest the city he shall depart this life. Yet shall he be buried with the lamentations of all

held capable of resolving him in the fate of his son, able to see through this guile and disguise. *Calmet's Commentary*, and *Pool's Annotations*. B.

the multitude, and be honoured with a general mourning: he is the only innocent person of Jeroboam's family."*

When the prophet had foretold these events, the woman went hastily away with a disordered mind, and greatly grieved at the death of the child. So she was in lamentation as she went along the road, and mourned for the death of her son, that was just at hand. She was indeed in a miserable condition at the unavoidable approach of death, and went apace; but in circumstances very unfortunate because of her son: for the greater haste she made, she would the sooner see her son dead. Yet was she forced to make such haste on account of her husband. Accordingly when she was come back, she found that the child had given up the ghost, as the prophet had said, and she related all the circumstances to the king.

Jeroboam, however, did not lay any of these things to heart; but he brought together a very numerous army, and made a warlike expedition against Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, who had succeeded his father in the kingdom of the two tribes. For he despised him, because of his age. But when he heard of the expedition of Jeroboam, he was not affrighted at it; but proved of a courageous temper of mind, superior both to his youth, and to the hopes of his enemy. So he chose an army out of the two tribes, and met Jeroboam at a place called mount Zemaraim, and pitched his camp near the others, and prepared every thing necessary for the fight. His army consisted of four hundred thousand: but the army of Jeroboam was double that number. Now as the armies stood in array ready for action, and were just going to fight, Abijah stood upon an elevated place, and beckoning with his hand, he desired the multitude, and Jeroboam himself, to hear first what he had to say. And when silence was made, he began to speak to this effect: "God consented that David and his posterity should be your rulers for all time to come; and this you yourselves are not unacquainted with. But I cannot but wonder how you should forsake my father, and join yourselves to his servant, Jeroboam; and are now here with him to fight against those who, by God's own determination, are to reign, and to deprive them of

* 1 Kings xiv. 13.

that dominion which they have still retained; for as to the greater part of it, Jeroboam is unjustly in possession of it. However, I do not suppose he will enjoy it any longer; but when he hath suffered that punishment which God thinks due to him for what is past, he will leave off the transgressions he hath been guilty of, and the injuries he hath offered to him, and which he hath still continued to offer; and hath persuaded you to do the same. Yet, when you were not any further unjustly treated by my father, than that he did not speak to you so as to please you; and this only in compliance with the advice of wicked men, you in anger forsook *him*, as you pretended; but in reality you withdrew yourselves from *God*, and from his laws. Although it had been right for you to have given so young a man not only some disagreeable words; but if his youth and his unskilfulness in affairs had led him into some unfortunate actions; and that for the sake of his father Solomon, and the benefits you received from him. For men ought to excuse the sins of posterity, on account of the benefactions of parents. But you considered nothing of all this then, neither do you consider it now; but come with so great an army against us. And what is it that you depend upon for victory? Is it upon the golden heifers, and the altars you have erected on high places, which are demonstrations of your impiety, and not of religious worship? Or is it the exceeding multitude of your army which gives you such good hopes? yet certainly there is no strength in an army of many thousands when the war is unjust. For we ought to place our surest hope of success against our enemies in righteousness alone, and in piety towards God. Which hope we justly have, since we have kept the laws from the beginning, and have worshipped our own God, who was not made by hands out of corruptible matter; nor was he formed by a wicked king, in order to deceive the multitude; but who is his* own workmanship, and the beginning and end of all things. I therefore give you counsel even now to repent, and to take better advice, and to leave off the prosecution of the

* This is a strange expression in Josephus, that God is his own workmanship, or that he made himself; contrary to common sense, and to Christianity. Constitut. Apost. VI. 11. Perhaps he only means that he was made by none, but was unoriginated. See Cotelerius's note on the forecited place of the Constitutions.

war; to call to mind the laws of your country, and to reflect what it hath been that hath advanced you to so happy a state as you are now in."

This was the speech which Abijah made to the multitude. But while he was still speaking, Jeroboam sent some of his soldiers privately to surround him on certain parts of the camp that were not taken notice of. And when he was thus within the compass of the enemy, his army was affrighted, and their courage failed them. But Abijah encouraged them, and exhorted them to place their hopes on God; for that *he* was not encompassed by the enemy. So they all at once implored the divine assistance while the priests sounded with the trumpets, and 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 them a wonderful and very famous victory; and such a* slaughter was now made of Jeroboam's army, as is never recorded to have happened in any other war; whether it were of the Greeks or of the Barbarians; for they overthrew and slew five hundred thousand of their enemies;† and they took their strongest cities by force, and spoiled them, and besides those they did the same to Bethel and her towns; and Jeshanah and her towns. And after this defeat Jeroboam never recovered himself during the life of Abijah; who yet did not long survive: for he reigned but three years‡ and was buried in Jerusalem, in the sepulchres of his forefathers. He left behind him twenty-two sons, and sixteen daughters; and he had also those children by fourteen wives; and Asa his son succeeded in his kingdom; and the young man's mother was Michaiah. Under

* By this terrible and unparalleled slaughter of 500,000 men of the newly idolatrous and rebellious ten tribes, God's high displeasure and indignation against idolatry and rebellion fully appeared; the remainder were thereby seriously cautioned not to persist in them; and a kind of balance or equilibrium was made between the ten and the two tribes, for the time to come. While otherwise the perpetually idolatrous and rebellious ten tribes would naturally have been too powerful for the two tribes, which were pretty frequently ~~so~~ both from such idolatry and rebellion. Nor is there, by consequence, any reason to doubt the truth of this prodigious number slain, upon so singular an occasion.

† 2 Chron. xiii. 17.

‡ From an. 959 to 957: two years and seven months.

his reign the country of the Israelites enjoyed peace for ten years.

But Jeroboam, the king of the ten tribes, died when he had reigned twenty-two years.* His son Nadab succeeded him in the second year of the reign of Asa; and 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 was slain. 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, and that others of them that died in the field 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.

OF THE AFFAIRS OF ASA, KING OF JERUSALEM; THE DESTRUCTION OF THE HOUSE OF BAASHA, AND THE CONDUCT OF THE SUCCESSORS ON THE THRONE OF ISRAEL.

NOW Asa, the king of Jerusalem, was an excellent character, and had a regard to God; and neither did nor designed any thing but what was consistent with the laws. He made a reformation of his kingdom, and cut off whatsoever was wicked therein, and purified it from every impurity. Now he had an army of chosen men that were armed with targets and spears; out of the tribe of Judah three hundred thousand; and out of the tribe of Benjamin that bare shields and drew bows, two hundred and fifty thousand. But when he had reigned ten

* From an. 975 to 955, at eleven months to a year. See *Chron. of the Old Testament*, page 16—20.

years, Zerah,* king of Ethiopia,† made an expedition against him,‡ with a great army, of nine hundred thousand footmen, one hundred thousand horsemen, and three hundred chariots: and came as far as Mareshab,|| a city that belonged to the tribe of Judah. Now when Zerah had passed so far with his own army, Asa met him, and put his army in array over against him, in a valley called Zepathan, not far from the city. And when he saw the multitude of the Ethiopians, he cried out, and besought God to give them the victory, and that he might kill many thousands of the enemy. “For,” said he, “I depend on nothing else but that assistance which I expect from thee: which is able to make the fewer superior to the more numerous, and the weaker, to the stronger, and thence it is alone that I venture to meet Zerah and fight him.”

While Asa was speaking thus, God gave him a signal 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 them, (for the city of Gerar was already taken;) and to spoiling their camp. So that they carried off much gold and silver, and a great deal of other prey,

* The Scripture takes no notice of what was the cause of this war between Zerah and Asa, nor are interpreters well agreed what the country was from whence this enemy came. The country, in the original, is called Cush, though we translate it Ethiopia. Now there are three countries different from one another, all called by the name of Cush: 1. the land of Cush, upon the river Gihon; 2. Cush upon the eastern shore of the Red Sea; and, 3. Cush, situated above Thebais, and in Upper Egypt. It is very probable, then, that the country here spoken of must not be Ethiopia, properly so called, because we can hardly imagine, how an army of a million of men should be permitted to march through Egypt, (as they must have done to invade Judea,) without some opposition: and therefore the country must be the land of Cush, which lay in Arabia Petrea, upon the east shore of the Red Sea, and, at the extremity to the point of that sea, inclining towards Egypt and Judea. And whereas some have made a doubt, how so small a country could have produced so large an army; it is no hard matter to suppose, that a great part of the army might perhaps have been mercenaries. *Calmel's Commentary* on 2 Chron. xiv. 9; and *Dictionary* under the word *Cush*. And *Well's Geography of the Old Testament*, vol. I. c. 4. B.

† The reader is to remember that Cush is not Ethiopia, but Arabia. See *Bochart Phaleg*. IV. 2.

‡ An. 947,

|| 2 Chron. xiv. 9.

and camels, and cattle, and flocks of sheep. Accordingly when Asa and his army had obtained such a victory, and such wealth from God, they returned to Jerusalem. Now as they were coming, a prophet whose name was Azariah, met them on the road, and bade them stop their journey a little; and began to say to them, that the reason why they had obtained this victory from God was that they had shewn themselves righteous and religious men, and had done every thing according to the will of God; that therefore, if they persevered therein, God would grant that they should always overcome their enemies, and live happily; but if they left off his worship, all things would fall out on the contrary; and the time* should come, wherein no true prophet should be left in their whole multitude; nor a priest who should deliver a true answer from the oracle: but their cities should be overthrown, and their 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, and not to deprive themselves of the favour of God. When the king and the people heard this, they rejoiced; and all in common, and every one in particular, took great care to behave themselves righteously.† The king also sent some to take care, that those in the country observe the laws.

I now return to Baasha, king of the multitude of the Israelites, who slew Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, and retained the government. He dwelt‡ in the city Tirzah; having made that his habitation; and reigned twenty-four years. He became more wicked and impious than Jeroboam or his son: for he did a great deal of mischief to the multitude; and was injurious to God. The prophet Jehu was therefore sent to tell him beforehand, that his whole family should be destroyed, and that God would bring the same miseries on his house, which had brought that of Jeroboam to ruin: because when he had been made king by him, he had not requited his kindness, by governing the multitude righteously and religiously; which things in the first place tended to their own happiness, and in the next

* Here is a very great error in our Hebrew copy in this place, 2 Chron. xvi. 3—6, as applying what follows to times past, and not in times future.

† 2 Chron. xv. 8.

‡ An. 95⁴.

place were pleasing to God; that he had imitated this very wicked king Jeroboam; and although that man's soul had perished, yet did he express to the life his wickedness; and he said, that he should therefore justly experience the like calamity with him; since he had been guilty of the like wickedness. But Baasha, though he heard beforehand what miseries would befall him and his whole family for their insolent behaviour, yet did not he leave off his wicked practices for the time to come; nor did he care to appear to be other than worse and worse till he died; nor did he even then repent of his past actions, nor endeavour to obtain pardon of God for them; but did as those do, who have rewards proposed to them, when they have once in earnest set about their work, they do not leave off their labours. For thus did Baasha grow worse when the prophet foretold to him what would come to pass: as if the threatened perdition of his family, and the destruction of his house were good things; and as if he were a combatant for wickedness, he every day took more and more pains for it. And at last he took his army, and assaulted a certain considerable city called Ramah, which was forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem; and when he had taken it, he fortified it; having previously determined to leave a garrison in it, that they might thence make excursions, and do mischief to the kingdom of Asa.

Hereupon Asa was afraid of the attempts the enemy might make upon him; and, considering with himself how many mischiefs this army that was left in Ramah might do to the country over which he reigned, he sent ambassadors* to the king of the Damascens, with gold and silver, desiring his assistance, and putting him in mind that they had a friendship together,† from the times of their forefathers. So he gladly received that sum of money; and made a league with him, and brake the friendship he had with Baasha, and sent the commanders of his own forces unto the cities that were under Baasha's dominion; and ordered them to do them mischief. So they went and burnt some of them, and spoiled others: Ijon, Dan, and Abelmaim,‡ and many others.

* About an. 937.

† See 1 Kings xix. 15—xx. 34.

‡ This Abelmaim, or in Josephus's copy, Abellane, that belonged to the land of

Now when the king of Israel heard this, he left off building and fortifying Ramah, and returned to assist his own people under the distresses they were in. But Asa made use of the materials that were prepared for building that city, for erecting in the same place two strong cities; the one of which was called Geba, and the other Mizpah. So that after this, Baasha had no leisure to make expeditions against Asa, for he was prevented by death, and was buried in the city Tirzah.* Elah, his son, took the kingdom; but when he had reigned two years, he was treacherously slain by Zimri, the captain of half his army: for when he was at a feast of Arza, 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.

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 impiety, in the same manner as we have already described the destruction of the house of Jeroboam. But the army that was besieging Gibbethon, when they heard what had befallen the king, and that when Zimri† had killed him he had gained the kingdom, they bestowed the government on Omri their general, who drew off his army from Gibbethon, and came to Tirzah, where the royal palace was, and assaulted the city, and took it by force. But when Zimri saw that the city had none to defend it, he fled into the inmost part of the palace, and set it on fire,

Israel, and bordered on the country of Damascus, is supposed both by Hudson and Spanheim to be the same with Abel or Abila, whence came Abilene, Luke iii. 1. This may be that city so denominated from Abel the righteous, there buried, concerning the shedding of whose blood within the compass of the land of Israel, I understand our Saviour's words, about the fatal war and overthrow of Judea by Titus, and his Roman army, "That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the land, from the blood of righteous Abel, to the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation." Matt. xxiii. 35, 36. Luke xi. 51. See Authent. Rec. P. II. page 884, 885.

* 1 Kings xv. 6.

† About an. 930.

and burnt himself with it;* when he had reigned only seven days. Hereupon the people of Israel were presently divided; and part of them would have Tibni to be king, and part Omri; but when those who were for Omri's ruling had beaten Tibni, Omri reigned over all the multitude.

Now it was in the thirtieth† year of the reign of Asa, that Omri reigned for twelve years: six of these years he reigned in the city Tirzah, and the rest in the city called Samareon, but named by the Greeks Samaria. But he himself called it Semareon, from Semer, who sold him the mountain whereon he built it. Now Omri was no way different from those kings that reigned before him; but only that he grew worse than they. For they all sought how they might turn people away from God, by their daily wicked practices. And on that account it was that God made one of them to be slain by another; and that no one person of their families should remain. This Omri also died at Samaria, and Ahab his son succeeded him.‡

Now by these events we may learn what concern God hath for the affairs of mankind; and how he loves good men, and hates the wicked and destroys them root and branch. For many of these kings of Israel, they and their families, were miserably destroyed, and taken away one by another, in a short time, for their transgressions. But Asa, who was king of Jerusalem, and of the two tribes, attained, by God's blessing, a long and a felicitous old age, for his piety and his righteousness; and died happily, when he had reigned forty-one years. And when he was dead,|| his son Jehoshaphat succeeded him

* 1 Kings xvi. 18.

† The thirty-first, Heb. and Septuagint.

‡ An. 919.

|| The words in the text are these,—They laid him on the bed, which was filled with sweet odours, and divers kinds of spices, prepared by the apothecaries' art: and they made a great burning for him. 2 Chron. xvi. 26. But then the question is, whether the body itself was burnt, or only some spices and odoriferous drugs to prevent any bad smell that might attend the corpse. The Greeks and Romans indeed, when they burnt any dead bodies, threw frankincense, myrrh, cassia, and other fragrant things into the fire, and this in such abundance, that Pliny, (Nat. Hist. cap. 18,) represents it as a piece of profaneness, to bestow such heaps of frankincense upon a dead body, when they offered it so sparingly to their gods. The Jews, however, (say the maintainers of this side of the question,) were accustomed to inter, and not to burn their dead, though they might possibly learn

in the government.* He was born of Asa's wife Azubah. And all men allowed that he followed the works of David his forefather, and this both in courage and piety. But we are not obliged now to speak any more of the affairs of this king.

CHAP. XIII.

OF THE IMPIETY OF AHAB KING OF ISRAEL; THE ACTIONS OF THE PROPHET ELIJAH; AND THE MURDER OF NABOTH.

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 for the worse, and in his most gross wickedness. He imitated them in their wicked courses, and in their injurious behaviour towards God; and most especially he imitated the transgression of Jeroboam. For he worshipped the heifers that he had made; and he contrived other absurd objects of worship. He also married Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians and Sidonians; of whom he learnt to worship her own gods. This woman was active and bold; and fell into so great a degree of impurity and madness, that she built a temple to the god of the Tyrians, which they call Belus, and planted a grove of all sorts of trees; she also appointed priests and false prophets to this god. The king also himself had many such about him; and so exceeded in madness and wickedness all the kings that went before him.

from the Egyptians the usage of burning many spices at their funerals, as we find they did at the funeral of Zedekiah king of Judah, *Jer.* xxxiv. 5, but notwithstanding this, some very able commentators are of opinion, that all these spices and perfumes were burnt along with Asa's body; and they remark, that among his other offences, the sacred history takes no notice of this vanity of his, in ordering his body to be disposed of according to the manner of the Gentiles, and not of his own people. Though therefore they suppose that Asa was the first who introduced this custom; yet, in after ages, it became very frequent, and was thought the more honourable ceremony of the two, *2 Chron.* xxi. 19. *Ibid.* xvi. 14. *Amos* vi. 10. *Patrick's and Calmet's Commentaries* on *2 Chron.* xvi. 14. B.

* *An.* 916.

Now there was a prophet* of God, of Thesbon,† 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 confirm-

* About an. 910.

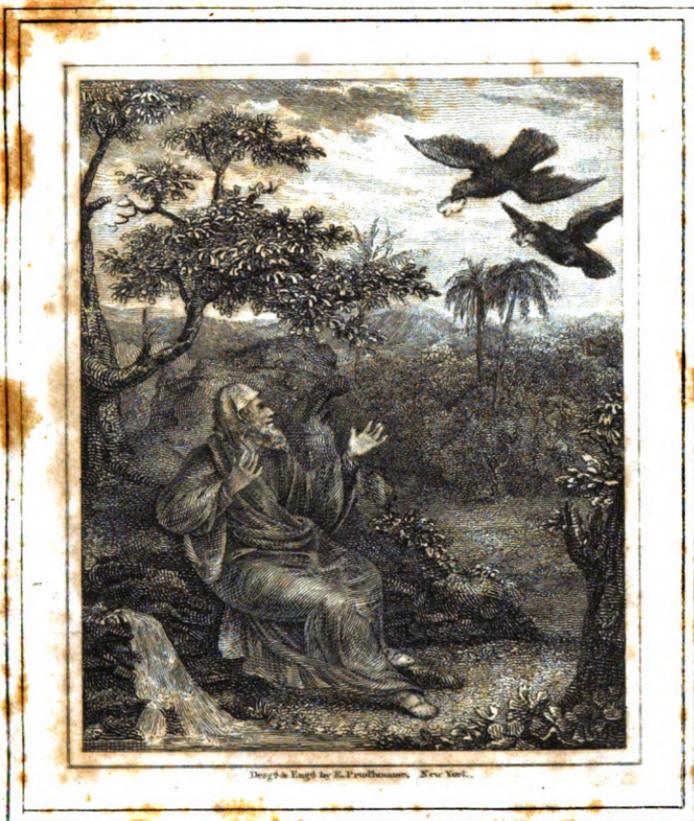
† Thesbe was a town on the other side of Jordan, in the tribe of Gad, and in the land of Gilead, where this prophet was born, or at least inhabited for some time. Since the Scripture makes no mention either of the quality of his parents, the manner of his education, or his call to the prophetic office, some Jewish doctors have been of opinion that he was an angel sent from heaven, in the midst of the general corruption of the world, to preserve the true worship of God. Others pretend, that he was a priest descended from the tribe of Aaron; that his father's name was Sabaca, and his birth altogether miraculous: whilst others again will needs have it, that he was Phineas, the son of Aaron, who, after having lived a long while concealed, appeared again in the world under the name of Elijah. But where the Scripture is silent, all particulars of this kind are of small authority. This, however, may be said with safety of him, that he was one of the chief, if not the prince of the prophets of his age; a man of great and elevated soul, of a generous and undaunted spirit, a zealous defender of the cause of God, and a just avenger of the violation of his honour. *Calmel's Commentary.* B.

‡ St. James's words are these:—Elias was a man subject to the like passions as we are; and he prayed earnestly, that it might not rain, and it rained not on the earth for the space of three years and six months. Our blessed Saviour makes mention of the like compass of time, Luke iv. 25, and yet neither of these are contradictory to what the sacred history tells us, viz. That the word of the Lord came to Elijah in the third year, 1 Kings xviii. 1. For we must remember, that as Egypt had usually no rain, but was watered by the river Nile; so the land of Canaan had generally none, except twice a year, which they called the early and latter rain. The former of these was in the month Nisan, which answers to our March; and the other in the month Marheshvan, which answers to our October. Now, at the beginning of the drought, Ahab might very probably impute the want of rain to natural causes; but when, after six months, neither the former nor the latter rain fell in their season, he then began to be enraged at Elijah, as the cause of the national judgment, and forced him, at God's command, to save his life by flight; and from that time the three years in the historian are to be computed, though from the first notice which Elijah gave Ahab of this approaching calamity, to the expiration of it, were certainly three years and a half. This calamity is said to have been procured by Elijah's prayers: but we must not therefore imagine that his prayers were spiteful and malicious, but necessary rather, and charitable to the offenders; that by the sharp and long affliction which they produced, God's honour, and the truth of his word and threatenings (which was now universally contemned) might be vindicated; and that the Israelites (whose present impunity hardened them in their idolatry) might hereby be awakened to see their wickedness, their dependence upon God, and the necessity of their returning to his religion and worship. *Bedford's Scripture Chronology*, lib. vi. c. 2. and *Pool's Annotations.* B.

|| 1 Kings xvii. 1.

ed this by an oath, he departed into the southern parts, and made his abode by a brook, out of which he had water to drink; as for his food, ravens brought it to him every day. But when that river was dried up, for want of rain, he came to Zarephath, a city between Sidon and Tyre; and this at the command of God. For God told him that he should there find a woman who was a widow, that should give him sustenance. So when he was not far off the city, he saw a woman gathering of sticks. So God informed him that this was the person who was to give him sustenance; so he came and saluted her, and desired her to bring him some water to drink. But as she was going so to do, he called to her, and asked her to bring him a loaf of bread also. She affirmed upon oath, that she had at home nothing more than one handful of meal, and a little oil; and that she was going to gather some sticks that she might knead it, and make bread for herself and her son; after which she said, they must perish by the famine, for they had nothing for themselves any longer. Hereupon he said, "Go on with good courage, and hope for better things: but first of all make me a little cake and bring it to me; for I foretell to thee, that this vessel of meal, and this cruse of oil, shall not fail, until God send rain." When the prophet had said this, she came to him, and made the cakes; of which she had part for herself, and gave the rest to her son, and to the prophet also. Nor did any thing of this fail, until the drought ceased.* Now Menander mentions this drought, in his account of the acts of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians: where he says, "Under him there was a want of rain from the month Hyperberetœus, till the month Hyperberetœus of the year following. But when he made supplications, there came great thunders. This Ethbaal built the city Botrys in Phœnicia, and the city Auza in Lybia." By these words he designed this want of rain that was in the days of Ahab; for at that time it was that Ethbaal also reigned over the Tyrians, as Menander wrote.

* The woman had sufficient reason to believe that Elijah was a prophet, or person sent from God, when she saw the miraculous increase of the meal and oil; but upon his not curing her son when he lay sick, but rather suffering him to die, her faith began to droop; whereas, upon seeing him revive, her faith revived with him; and through the joy of having him restored to her again, she accounted this latter miracle much greater than the former. *Le Clerc's Commentary.* B.



ELIJAH FED BY RAVENS

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Now the son of this woman, who sustained the prophet, fell into a distemper, till he gave up the ghost, and appeared to be dead.* The mother, therefore came to the prophet, weeping and beating her breast, and uttering such expressions as her passions dictated to her, and complained to him, that he had come 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 restore 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 so well in rewarding the woman who had sustained him, by taking away her son; and he prayed that he would send again the soul of the child into him, and bring him to life again. Accordingly God took pity on the mother, and was willing to 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, she was then clearly satisfied that God did converse with him.†

After‡ a little|| while Elijah came to king Ahab, according to God's will, to inform him that rain was coming. Now the

* Some of the Hebrew doctors (and herein they are followed by some Christians) are of opinion, that this widow's son was the prophet Jonas; that after his restoration, his mother gave him to Elijah; that after he attended on the prophet, as long as he lived; and on a certain occasion was despatched by him to Nineveh, as every one knows. But besides that these traditions are destitute of any real proof, Jonah was a Hebrew as he himself declares, chap. i. 9, and a native of Gath-hepher, as we read, 2 Kings xiv. 25, whereas the widow's son was a native of Zerephtha, a town belonging to the kingdom of Sidon, and by birth a stranger to the race of Israel. *Calmel's Commentary*. B.

† See 1 Kings xvii. 17—24.

‡ Josephus, in his present copies, says, that a little while after the recovery of the widow's son at Sarepta, God sent rain upon the earth; whereas, in our other copies, it is after many days, 1 Kings xviii. 1. Several years are also intimated there, as belonging to this drought and famine. Nay we have the express mention of the third year; which I suppose was reckoned from the recovery of the widow's son, and the ceasing of this drought in Phœnicia, which, as Menander informs us here, lasted one whole year. And both our Saviour and St. James affirm, that this drought lasted in all three years and six months, as their copies of the Old Testament then informed them, Luke iv. 25, James v. 17. I suspect, therefore, that Josephus's original reading was, No small time afterward.

|| About an. 907.

famine had seized upon the whole country; and there was a great want of what was necessary for sustenance; insomuch that it was not only men that wanted it, but the earth itself also; which did not produce enough for the horses, and the other beasts, of what 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 herbage could be found for them he 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 bade Obadiah accompany him. So it was resolved they should make a progress, and divide the ways between them; and Obadiah and the king went the one way, and the other another. Now it had happened, that at the same time when Queen Jezebel slew the prophets, that this Obadiah had concealed a hundred prophets, and had fed them with bread and water.‡ But when Obadiah was alone, and absent from the king, the prophet Elijah met him, and asked him who he was? And when he had learned it from him, he worshipped him. Elijah then bade him go to the king, and tell him, that he was 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 art thou so ignorant as not to know, that the king

* There are some Jewish doctors who think that this Obadiah was the same with him whose writings we have among the twelve minor prophets. They pretend that he was married to that woman of Shunem, where Elisha used to lodge; that he was a disciple of the prophet Elijah, and the last of the three captains whom king Ahaziah sent to apprehend him; and that for this reason he had compassion on him, though he had destroyed the others that came before him, with fire from heaven, 2 Kings i. 9. &c. but all these things are pure apocrypha. Obadiah himself, in his discourse with Elijah, sufficiently tells us who he was, viz. a person truly religious, who worshipped God alone, had a singular affection for his servants; enough, one would think, to have made Abab discard, if not persecute him, had he not found him so highly useful in the management of his domestic affairs, as to connive at his not worshipping Baal, or the calves; especially as we read nothing of his going up to Jerusalem, which was a defect that God might perhaps think proper to dispense with. *Calmet's and Patrick's Commentaries. B.*

† Josephus here seems to mean, that this drought affected all the habitable earth.

‡ 1 Kings xviii. 4.

hath left no place untouched, into which he hath not sent persons to bring thee back, in order if they could take thee, to have put thee to death?" He also acknowledged he was afraid lest God should appear to him again, and he should go away into another place; and that when the king should send him for Elijah, and he should not be able to find him, he should be put to death. He desired him, therefore, to take care of his preservation, and told him how diligently he had provided for those of his own profession, and had saved a hundred prophets, when Jezebel slew the rest of them, and had kept them concealed; and that they had been sustained by him. But Elijah bade him fear nothing, but go to the king, assuring him upon oath, that he would certainly shew himself to Ahab that very day.

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 the Hebrews, and was the occasion of the drought that they lay under?" but Elijah, without any flattery, said, that Ahab was himself the man, and his house, which brought such sad afflictions upon them; and that by introducing strange gods into their country, and worshipping them; and by leaving their own, who was the only true God; and having no manner of regard to him. However, he bade him go his way, and gather together all the people 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 men whom Ahab sent for ran away to the aforementioned mountain, the prophet Elijah stood in the midst of them, and said: "How long will ye live thus in uncertainty of mind and opinion?" he also exhorted them, that in case they esteemed their own God to be the true and the only Deity, they would follow him and his commandments; but in case they esteemed him to be nothing, but had an opinion of the strange gods, and that they ought to worship them, his counsel was that they should follow them. And when the multitude made no answer to what he said, Elijah desired, that for a trial of the power of the strange gods, and of their own God, he, who was his only prophet, while they had four hundred, might take a heifer, and kill it, as a sacrifice, and lay it on pieces of wood, and not kindle any

fire; and that they should do the same things, and call upon their own gods to set* the woodⁿ on fire: for if that were done, they would thence learn the nature of the true God.† This proposal pleased the people. So Elijah bade the prophets choose out a heifer first, and kill it, and to call on their gods. But when there appeared no effect of the prayer, or invocation of the prophets upon their sacrifice, 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 custom of their country, and he was about to offer his sacrifice, he bade the prophets go away, but desired the people to 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 the people of the Hebrews; and built an altar with them, and dug a very deep trench. And when he had laid the pieces of wood upon the altar, and upon them had laid the pieces of the sacrifice, he ordered them to fill four barrels of 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 intreat him to manifest his power to a people that had been in an error a long time. Upon which words a fire came on a sudden from heaven in the sight of the multitude, and fell upon the altar, and consumed the sacrifice.

* This was the ancient way of God's declaring himself pleased with sacrifices. See Gen. xv. 17.

† This is not the first time wherein God had declared his approbation of his worshippers, by sending down fire to consume the sacrifices, Lev. ix. 24, and Judges vi. 21. and though perhaps it may be possible for evil spirits, who may have great knowledge how to manage meteors and exhalations to their purposes, to make fire descend from the clouds; yet, since they can do nothing without a divine permission, it is absurd to think, that in a matter of competition between him and false gods, he should give evil spirits any license to rival him in his miracles. *Le Clerc's Commentary B.*

‡ Mr. Spanheim takes notice here, that in the worship of Mithra, the god of the Persians, the priests cut themselves in the same manner as did these priests in their invocations of Baal, the god of the Phœnicians.

|| A strange method one would think to obtain the favour of their gods! And yet, if we look into antiquity we shall find, that nothing was more common in the religious rites of several nations than this barbarous custom. To this purpose we

till the very water was set on fire, and the place was become dry.

Now when the Israelites saw this, they fell down upon the ground, and worshipped one God, and called him the only great and the only true God: but they called the others mere names, framed by the wild opinions of men. So they caught their prophets; and, at the command of Elijah, slew them. Elijah also said to the king, that he should go to dinner, without any farther concern; for that in a little time he would see God send them rain. Accordingly Ahab went his way; but Elijah went up to the highest top of Mount Carmel, and sat down upon the ground, 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 any where, he should give him notice of it; for till that time the air had been clear. When the servant had gone up, and had said many times that he saw nothing; at the seventh time of his going up he said, that he saw a small black thing in the sky, not larger than a man's foot. When Elijah heard that, he sent to Ahab, and desired him to go away to the city before the storm of rain came down. So he came to the city Jezreel. And in a little time the air was all obscured, and covered with clouds; and a vehement storm of wind came upon the earth, and with it a great deal of rain. And the prophet was under a divine fury, and ran along with the king's chariot unto Jezreel, a city of Izar.*

may observe, that (as Plutarch, De Superstitione, tells us) the priests of Bellona, when they sacrificed to that goddess, were wont to besmear the victim with their blood; but the Persian Magi (according to Herodotus, lib. vii. c. 191.) used to appease tempests, and allay the winds, by making incisions in their flesh; that they who carried about the Syrian goddess, (as Apuleius, lib. viii. relates,) among other mad pranks, were every now and then, cutting and slashing themselves with knives, till the blood gushed out: and that even to this day some modern travellers tell us, that in Turkey, Persia, and several parts of the Indies, there are a kind of fanatics, who think they do a very meritorious thing, and what is highly acceptable to the Deity, in cutting and mangling their own flesh. "Dii autem nullo debent colli genere" (says Seneca, as he is quoted by St. Austin De Civ. Dei. vi. c. 10.) "si et hoc volunt. Tantus est perturbatæ mentis, et sedius suis pulsæ furor, ut sic dii placeant, quemadmodum ne homines quidem sæviunt terribi, et in fabulas traditæ crudelitatis," &c. *Calmet's* and *Le Clerc's Commentaries*. B.

* For Izar, we may here read with Hudson and Cocceius, Isachar, i. e. of the

When Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, understood what signs Elijah had wrought, and how he had slain the prophets, she was angry, and sent messengers to him; and by them threatened to kill him,* as he had destroyed her prophets. At this Elijah was affrighted, and fled to the city called Beersheba; which is situate at the utmost limits of the country belonging to the tribe of Judah, towards the land of Edom. And there he left his servant, and went away into the desert.† He prayed also that he might die: for that he was not better than his fathers; nor therefore need be very desirous to live when they were dead; and he lay and slept under a certain tree. And when somebody awakened him, and he was risen up, he found food set by him, and water. So when he had eaten, and renewed his strength by that food, he came to the mountain called Sinai;‡

tribe of Isachar, for to that tribe did Jezreel belong: and presently, chap. xv. we may read for Izar, with one MS. nearly, and the Scripture, Jezreel; for that was the city meant in the history of Naboth.

* This certainly was the effect of her blind rage, and not of any prudence in her; for prudence would have advised her to conceal her resentment, until she had been ready to put her design in execution; whereas this sending him word was giving him notice of his danger, and admonishing him to avoid it. But, since he had the confidence to come where she was, she might think perhaps, that he was as courageous as she was furious; that upon this notice he would scorn to fly; and she too, in her pride, might scorn to kill him secretly or surreptitiously, resolving to make him a public sacrifice. *Patrick's Commentary, and Pool's Annotations. B.*

† 1 Kings xix. 3, 4.

‡ Elijah being now come to the same place, where God had delivered the law to his servant Moses, God was minded to communicate the like favour to his servant the prophet, viz. to unveil his Majesty to him, and give him some signal of his immediate presence: but there is something very remarkable in the words of the text: And behold the Lord passed by, and a strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks, but the Lord was not in the wind; and, after the wind, an earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and, after the earthquake, a fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; and, after the fire, a still small voice, 1 Kings xix. 11, &c. And various are the speculations which this appearance of the divine Majesty hath suggested to interpreters. The generality of them have looked upon this as a figure of the gospel-dispensation, which came, not in such a terrible manner as the law did, with storms, thunders, lightnings, and earthquakes, (Exod. xix. 16.) but with great lenity and sweetness, wherein God speaks to us by his Son, who makes use of no other but gentle arguments and soft persuasions. But, if we take this to be a symbolical admonition to Elijah, according to the circumstances he was then in, we may reasonably suppose, that herein God intended to shew him, that though he had all the elements ready armed at his command to destroy idolaters, if he pleased to make use of them, yet he had rather attain his

where it is related that Moses received his laws from God. And finding there a certain hollow cave, he entered into it, and continued to make his abode in it. But when a certain voice came to him, and asked, "Why he came thither, and had left the city?" he said, that because he had slain the prophets of the foreign gods; and had persuaded the people that he alone, whom they had worshipped from the beginning was God, he was sought for by the king's wife to be punished for so doing. And when he had heard another voice, telling him that he should come out the next day into the open air, and should thereby know what he was to do, he came out of the cave the next day accordingly. He then both heard an earthquake, and saw the bright splendour of a fire; and after a silence, a divine voice exhorted him not to be disturbed with the circumstances he was in; for that none of his enemies should have power over him. The voice also commanded him to return home, and to ordain Jehu, the son of Nimshi, to be king over their own multitude; and Hazael, of Damascus, to be over the Syrians; and Elisha, of the city Abel, to be a prophet in his stead. And that of the impious multitude, some should be slain by Hazael, and others by Jehu. So Elijah, upon hearing this charge, returned into the land of the Hebrews: And when he found Elisha, the son of Shaphat, ploughing, and certain others with him driving twelve yoke of oxen, he came to him, and cast his own garment upon him. Upon which Elisha began to prophecy; and leaving his oxen, he followed Elijah. And when he desired leave to salute his parents, Elijah gave him leave so to do: and when he had bidden them adieu, he followed him, and became the disciple and the servant of Elijah all the days of his life. And thus have I related the affairs in which this prophet was concerned.

Now* there was one Naboth,† of the city Izar, who had a field

end by patience, and tenderness, and long-suffering, (signified by that small still voice, wherein the Deity exhibited himself,) and consequently, that the prophet should hereby be incited to imitate him, bridling that passionate zeal to which his natural complexion did but too much incline him. *Le Clerc's, Calmet's and Patrick's Commentaries.* B.

* About an. 899.

† The account of Ahab's coveting Naboth's vineyard, as Abarbinel observes, is immediately set after his treatment of Benhadad, to shew his extreme great wickedness in sparing him, as Saul did Agag king of the Amalekites, and killing Na-

adjoining to that of the king's. The king would have persuaded him to sell him that field, which lay so near to his own lands, at what price he pleased: that he might join them together, and make them one farm; and if he would not accept of money for it, he gave him leave to choose any of his other fields in its stead. But Naboth said he would not do so; but would keep the possession of that land of his own, which he had by inheritance from his father.* Upon this the king was grieved, as if he had received an injury, when he could not get another man's possession; and would neither wash himself, nor take any food. And when Jezebel asked him, what was it that troubled him? and why he would neither wash himself, nor eat? he related to her the perverseness of Naboth; and how when he had made use of gentle words to him, and such as were beneath the royal authority, he had been affronted, and had not obtained what he desired. However, she persuaded him not to be cast down at this accident; but to leave off his grief, and return to the usual care of his body; for that she would take care to have Naboth punished. And she immediately sent letters to the rulers of the Jezreelites in Ahab's name; and commanded them to fast,† and

both, that he might get possession of his vineyard. For this was a high aggravation of his crime, that he basely murdered a just Israelite, and let an impious enemy escape. *Patrick's Commentary.* B.

* As it is natural to all men to love and value the ancient possessions that have been in their family; so the law of Moses prohibited the alienation of lands from one tribe or family to another, unless a man was reduced to poverty, in which case he might sell it to the jubilee; but then it was to revert to him again, Lev. xxv. 15, 25, 28. Now as Naboth was in no need to sell his vineyard, so he considered with himself, that, if merely to do the king a pleasure, he should part with it out of his hands, especially to be made a garden, and so annexed to the palace, neither he nor his posterity, should ever be able to recover it again; so that, in this act, he should both offend God, and injure his posterity, which he, being a pious and religious man, durst not adventure to do. *Pool's Annotations.* B.

† It was always a customary thing, upon the approach of any great calamity, or the apprehension of any national judgment, to proclaim a fast; and Jezebel ordered such a fast to be observed in Jezreel, the better to conceal her design against Naboth. For, by this means she intimated to the Jezreelites, that they had some accursed thing among them, which was ready to draw down the vengeance of God upon their city; and that therefore it was their business to inquire into all those sins which provoked God to anger against them, and to purge them out effectually. As therefore these days of fasting were employed in punishing offenders, doing justice, and imploring God's pardon, they gave the elders of the city an occasion to convene an assembly, and the false witnesses a fair opportunity to accuse Naboth before them. *Le Clerc's and Patrick's Commentaries.* B.

to assemble a congregation, and to set Naboth at the head of them, because he was of an illustrious family; and to have three bold men ready to bear 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 accused, he was stoned by the multitude and slain. When Jezebel heard that, she went to the king, and desired him to take possession of Naboth's vineyard on free cost. So Ahab was glad of 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 Naboth, to speak to Ahab, and say to him 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 him to be thus caught in his sin,) Elijah said, that in the very place in which the dead body of Naboth was eaten up by the dogs, both his own blood, and that of his wife, should be shed; and that all his family should perish, because he had been so insolently wicked, and had slain a citizen unjustly, and contrary to the laws of his country. Hereupon Ahab began to be sorry for the things he had done, and to repent of them; and he put on sackcloth, and went barefoot,† and would not touch any food: he also confessed his sins, and endeavoured thus to appease God. But God said to the prophet, while Ahab

* By the law of Moses it was death to blaspheme God, Lev. xxiv. 16, and by custom it was death to revile the king, Exod. xxii. 28. Now, in order to make safe work, the evidences, as they were instructed, accused Naboth of both these crimes, that the people might be the better satisfied to see him stoned. There is this difference, however, to be observed between these two crimes, that, if a man had only blasphemed God, he was to be tried by the great court of Jerusalem, as the Hebrew doctors tell us, and his goods came to his heirs; whereas, when a man was executed for treason against the king, his estate went to the exchequer, and was forfeited to him against whom the offence was committed; and for this reason it was, that they accused Naboth of this crime likewise, that his estate might be confiscated; and Ahab, by that means, got possession of his vineyard. *Patrick's Commentary*. B.

† "The Jews weep to this day," says Jerom, here recited by Reland, "and roll themselves upon sackcloth, in ashes barefoot, upon such occasions." To which Spanheim adds, "that after the same manner Berenice, when life was in danger, stood at the tribunal of Florus barefoot." Of the War, II. 15. See the like of David. 2 Sam. xv. 50. *Antiq.* VII.

was living he would put off the punishment of his family, because he repented of those insolent crimes he had been guilty of; but that still he would fulfil his threatening under his son:* and this message the prophet delivered to the king.

CHAP. XIV.

OF THE EXPEDITION OF HADAD, KING OF DAMASCUS AND SYRIA, AGAINST AHAB.

WHEN the affairs of Ahab were in this situation, the son of Benhadad, who was king of the Syrians and Damascus, got together an army out of all his country, and procured thirty-two kings beyond Euphrates to be his auxiliaries. So he made an expedition against Ahab. But because Ahab's army was not like that of Benhadad's, he did not set it in array to fight him; but having shut up every thing that was in the country in the strongest cities he had, he abode in Samaria himself; for the walls about it were very strong, and it appeared not easily to be taken in other respects also. So the king of Syria took his army with him, and came to Samaria, and placed his army round about the city, and besieged it. He also sent a herald to Ahab, and desired he would admit the ambassadors he would send him; by whom he would let him know his pleasure. So upon the king of Israel's permission for him to send, those ambassadors came, and by their king's command spake thus: that Ahab's riches, and his children, and his wives, were Benhadad's: and if he would make an agreement, and give him leave to take as much of what he had as he pleased, he would withdraw his army, and leave off the siege. Upon this Ahab made the ambassadors to go back, and tell their king, that both he himself, and all that he had, were his possessions. And when these ambassadors had told this to Benhadad, he sent to him again, and desired, since he confessed that all he had was his, that he would admit those servants of his which he would send the next day: and he commanded him to deliver to those whom he should send, whatever upon their search-

* 1 Kings xxi. 29.

ing his palace, and the houses of his friends, and kindred, they should find to be excellent in its kind: but that what did not please them they should leave him. At this second ambasage, Ahab was surprised, and gathered together the multitude to a congregation, and said: "For myself, I am ready, for your safety and peace, to give up my own wives and children to the enemy, and to yield to him/all my own possessions: for that was what the Syrian king required at his first ambasage. But now he desires to send his servants to search all your houses; and in them to leave nothing that is excellent in its kind; seeking an occasion of fighting against me; as knowing that I would not spare what is mine own for your sakes; but taking a handle from the disagreeable terms he offers concerning you, to bring a war upon us. However, I will do what you shall resolve is fit to be done." Hereupon the multitude advised him to hearken to none of Benhadad's proposals, but to despise him, and to be in readiness to fight. Accordingly he dismissed the ambassadors with this answer, that he still continued in the mind to comply with what terms their master at first desired, for the safety of the citizens; but as for his second desires, he could not submit to them.

When Benhadad heard this, he had indignation, and sent ambassadors a third time; threatening that his army should raise a bank higher than those walls, in confidence of whose strength Ahab despised him, and that by only each man of his army taking a handful of earth. Hereby making a shew of the great number of his forces, and aiming to affright him. Ahab, however, answered, that he ought not to vaunt himself when he had only put on his armour, but when he should have conquered his enemies in the battle.* So the ambassadors came back, and found Benhadad at supper with his thirty-two kings, and informed him of Ahab's answer; in consequence of which he immediately gave orders to make lines round the city, and raise a bulwark; and to prosecute the siege all manner of ways. Now as this was doing, Ahab was in great agony, and all his people with him. But he took courage, and was freed from his fears, upon a certain prophet's coming to him, and saying

* 1 Kings xx. 11.

that God had promised to subdue so many thousands of his enemies under him. And when he had inquired by whose means the victory was to be obtained; he said, "By the sons of the princes; but under thy conduct, as their leader; by reason of their unskilfulness in war." Hereupon he called for the sons of the princes, and found them to be two hundred and thirty-two persons; and when he was informed that the king of Syria had betaken himself to feasting and repose, he opened the gates, and sent out the princes' sons. Now when the sentinels told Benhadad of it, he sent some to meet them, and commanded that if these men were come out for fighting, they should bind them, and bring them to him; and that if they came out peaceably, they should do the same. Now Ahab had another army ready within the walls. But the sons of the princes fell upon the out-guard, and slew many of them, and pursued the rest of them to the camp. And when the king of Israel saw that these had the upper hand, he sent out all the rest of his army; which falling suddenly upon the Syrians, beat them: for they did not think they would have come out. On which account it was that they assaulted them when they were naked,* and intoxicated; insomuch that they left all their armour behind them when they fled out of the camp; and the king himself escaped with difficulty, by fleeing away on horseback. But Ahab went a great way in pursuit of the Syrians: and when he had spoiled their camp, which contained a great deal of wealth, and a large quantity of gold and silver, he took Benhadad's chariots and horses, and returned to the city. But as the prophet told him he ought to have his army ready, because the Syrian king

* Mr. Reland notes here very truly, that the word naked does not always signify entirely naked; but sometimes without men's usual armour, without their usual robes or upper garments. As when Virgil bids the husbandmen plough and sow naked. When Josephus says, IV. 3, that God had given the Jews the security of armour, when they were naked: and when he here says that Ahab fell on the Syrians when they were naked and intoxicated. When, XI. 5, he says, that Nehemiah commanded those Jews that were building the walls of Jerusalem, to take care to have their armour on upon occasion, that the enemy might not fall upon them naked. I may add, that the case seemeth to be the same in the Scripture, when it says, that Saul lay down naked among the prophets, 1 Sam. xix. 24. When it says, that Isaiah walked naked and barefoot, Isaiah xx. 2, 3, and when it says, that Peter, before he girt his fisher's coat about him, was naked, John xxi. 7. Nor were the naked soldiers others than those levis armaturæ, who were free from

would make another expedition against him the next year, Ahab was busy in making provision for it accordingly.

When Benhadad had saved himself,* and as much of the army as he could out of the battle; he consulted with his friends how he might make another expedition against the Israelites. Now those friends advised him, not to fight with them on the hills; because their God was potent in such places; and thence it had come to pass that they had lately been beaten. But they said, that if they joined battle with them in the plain, they should beat them. They also gave him this farther 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 in 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 management of his army.

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 called Aphek, he pitched his camp in the great plain. Ahab also went to meet him with his army, and encamped over against him: although his army were a very small one, if it were compared with his enemies. But the prophet came again to him, and told him, that God would give him the victory; that he might demonstrate his own power to be not only on the mountains, but on the plains also: which it seems was contrary to the opinion of the Syrians. So they lay quiet in the camp seven days; but on the last of those days, when the enemy came out and put themselves in array, in order to fight, Ahab also brought out his army: and when the battle was joined, and they fought stoutly, he put the enemy to flight, and

the heavy armour of the rest. And the like may be supposed in several other places. What is said to David also gives light to this; who was reproached by Michael for dancing before the ark, and uncovering himself in the eyes of the handmaids, as one of the vain fellows shamefully uncovereth himself, 2 Sam. vi. 14, 20, yet is it there expressly said, verse 14, that David, was girded with a linen ephod: i. e. he had laid aside his robe of state, and put on only the sacerdotal, Levitical, or sacred garments, proper for such a solemnity. See also Antiq. V. 3, VI. 2, and XVII. 10.

* About an. 898.

pursued them, and pressed upon them, and slew them. Nay, they were destroyed by their own chariots, and by one another. And even the few who escaped to their own city Aphek, were also killed by the walls falling upon them, being in number twenty-seven thousand.* Now there was slain in this battle a hundred thousand more. But Benhadad, the king of the Syrians, fled away, with certain others of his most faithful servants, and hid himself in a cellar under ground. And when these told him that the kings of Israel were humane and merciful men; and that they might make use of the usual manner of supplication, and obtain deliverance from Ahab, in case he would give them leave to go to him, he gave them leave accordingly. So they came to Ahab, clothed in sackcloth, and 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 ever be a servant to him for that favour. Ahab replied, he was glad he was alive, and not hurt in the battle. And he further promised him the same honour and kindness that a man would shew to his brother. So they received assurances upon oath from him, that when he came to him he should receive no harm; and then went and brought him out of the cellar wherein he was hid, and brought him to Ahab, as he sat in his chariot. So Benhadad worshipped him. And Ahab gave him his hand, and made him come to him in his chariot, and kissed him, and bade him, be of good cheer, and not

* Josephus's number, two myriads and seven thousand, agrees here with that in our other copies; as those that were slain by the falling down of the walls of Aphek. But I suspected at first that this number in Josephus's present copies could not be his original number, because he calls them a few: which could hardly be said of so many as 27,000, and because of the improbability of the fall of a particular wall killing so many. Yet when I consider that Josephus's next words, how the rest which were slain in the battle were ten other myriads; that 27,000 are but a few in comparison of 100,000; and that it was not a wall, as in our English version, but the wall, or the entire walls of the city that fell down, as in all the originals, I lay aside that suspicion; and firmly believe that Josephus himself hath, with the rest, given us the just number, 27,000. The Aphek is by Josephus justly called the Syrians' city: as probably one of them which our Bible, and Josephus speak of presently; and which this Benhadad's predecessors had taken from the Israelites, and was now to be restored.

† This manner of supplication for men's lives among the Syrians, with ropes or halters about their heads or necks, is, I suppose, no strange thing in later ages, even in our own country.

to expect that any mischief should be done to him. So Benhadad returned him thanks, and professed that he would remember his kindness 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 covenants by oaths, and Ahab made him many presents, and sent him back to his own kingdom. And this was the conclusion of the war that Benhadad made against Ahab and the Israelites.

But a certain prophet whose name was Micaiah,* came to one 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, and be destroyed by him. When that sad accident had befallen the man, 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 told him, that he had been a soldier of his, and 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 to be Micaiah the prophet: who 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; that he would

* It is here very remarkable, that in Josephus's copy this prophet, whose denunciation of a disobedient person's slaughter by a lion had lately come to pass, was no other than Micaiah, the son of Imlah; who as he now denounced God's judgments on disobedient Ahab, seems directly to have been that very prophet, whom the same Ahab in 1 Kings xxii. 8—18, complains of, as one whom he hated; because he did not prophecy good concerning him, but evil; and who, in that chapter, openly repeats his denunciations against him; all which came to pass accordingly. Nor is there reason to doubt but this and the former were the very same prophet. The other ancient Jews agreeing herein with Josephus; as bishop Patrick assures us, on 1 Kings xx. 28. This is one of those very many instances, in which the excellency of Josephus's Temple copy, above all our other copies, most evidently appears.

so bring it about, that he should die by the other's means, and his people by the other's army.* Ahab was very angry at the prophet, and gave command 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.†

CHAP. XV.

OF JEHOSHAPHAT, KING OF JERUSALEM; ALSO OF AHAB'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SYRIANS, AND HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH.

I NOW return to Jehoshaphat, king of Jerusalem; who augmented his kingdom,‡ and set garrisons in the cities of the country belonging to his subjects; and put no less garrisons into those cities which were taken out of the tribe of Ephraim, by his grandfather Abijah, when Jeroboam reigned over the ten tribes, than he did in the other. But then he had God favourable and assisting to him; as being both righteous and religious, and seeking to do somewhat every day that should be agreeable and acceptable to God. The neighbouring kings also honoured him with presents, till the riches that he had acquired were immensely great, and the glory he had gained was of a most exalted nature.

Now, in the third year of his reign, he called together the rulers of the country, and the priests; and commanded them to go round the land, and teach all the people that were under him, city by city, the laws of Moses; and to keep them, and to

* What is most remarkable in this history, and in many histories on other occasions in the Old Testament, is that during the Jewish theocracy, God acted entirely as the supreme king of Israel, and the supreme general of their armies, and always expected that the Israelites should be in such absolute subjection to him, their supreme and heavenly king, and general of their armies, as subjects and soldiers are to their earthly kings and generals; and that usually without knowing the particular reasons of their injunctions. See Dr. Harris's *Queries*, 8—22, after his comment on Isa. liii. My *Commentary on the book of Job*, and my *Scripture Politics*, page 4—7, where he will see that the particular Jewish theocracy did not commence till the rest of the idolatrous and wicked world had rejected that general theocracy, which till then extended over all mankind.

† 1 Kings xx. 43.

‡ About an. 914.

be diligent in the worship of God. With this the whole multitude was pleased, that they were not so eagerly set upon, or affected with any thing so much as the observance of the laws. The neighbouring nations also continued to love Jehoshaphat, and to be at peace with him. The Philistines paid their appointed tribute; and the Arabians supplied him 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 he prepared a mighty army of soldiers, and weapons against their enemies. Now the army of men that wore their armour, was three hundred thousand of the tribe of Judah: of whom Adnah was the chief. But John was chief of two hundred thousand.† The same man was chief of the tribe of Benjamin; and had two hundred thousand archers under him. There was another chief, whose name was Jehozabad, who had a hundred and eighty thousand armed men. This multitude was distributed to be ready for the king's service; besides those whom he sent to the best fortified cities.

Jehoshaphat took for his son Jehoram to wife, Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, king of the ten tribes. 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 the war against the king of Syria; that he might recover from him the city of Ramoth in Gilead. For though it had belonged to his father, yet had the king of Syria's father taken it away from him. And upon Jehoshaphat's promise to afford him his assistance; (for indeed his army was not inferior to the other's) and his sending for his army from Jerusalem to Samaria, the two kings went out of the city; and each of them sat on his own throne, and each gave their orders to the respective armies. Now Jehoshaphat bade them call the prophets, if there were any there; and inquire of them concerning this expedition against the king of Syria, whether they would give them counsel to make the expedition at this time. For there was peace at that time be-

* Seven thousand and seven hundred, Hebrew and Septuagint. 2 Chron. xvii. 11.

† Two hundred and eighty thousand, 2 Chron. xvii. 15.

tween Ahab and the king of Syria, which had lasted three years from the time he had taken him captive till that day.

So Ahab called his own prophets, being 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 defeat the king of Syria, and, as formerly, would reduce him under his power. But Jehoshaphat, understanding by their words that they were false prophets, asked Ahab, whether there were not some other prophets belonging to the true God? that they might have surer information concerning futurities. 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 now in prison; and that his name was Micaiah, the son of Imlah. But upon Jehoshaphat's desire that he might be produced, Ahab sent an eunuch, who brought Micaiah to him. Now the eunuch had informed him by the way, that all the other prophets had foretold that the king should gain the victory. But he said, 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 he adjured him upon oath, to speak the truth to him he said that God had shewn to him the Israelites running away, and pursued by the Syrians, and dispersed upon the mountains by them, as are flocks of sheep dispersed when their shepherd is slain. He said farther, that God signified to him,† that those

* 1 Kings xxii. 6.

† Micaiah's answer to Ahab, inquiring of him the success of his intended expedition, is, Go, and prosper; for the Lord shall deliver the city into the hands of the king, 1 Kings xxii. 15, which does not at all contradict the other prophets, had it been spoken in earnest; but we have good reason to believe, that the words were spoken ironically, and in mockery to the promises which the other prophets made Ahab. Accordingly, we may observe by Ahab's reply, that he suspected Micaiah's sincerity, and, either by his gesture or manner of speaking, gathered, that his meaning was to traduce these false prophets for their answers, so that Micaiah's answer is in effect as if he had said,—“Since thou dost not seek to know the truth, but only to please thyself, go to the battle, as all thy prophets advise thee;

Israelites should return in peace to their own home, and that he only should fall in the battle. When Micaiah had thus spoken, Ahab said to Jehoshaphat, "I told thee a little while ago the disposition of the man with regard to me, and that he uses to prophesy evil to me." Upon which Micaiah replied, that he ought to hear all, whatsoever it be that God foretells; and that in particular, they were false prophets who encouraged him to make this war, in hope of victory; whereas he must fight and be killed. But Zedekiah, 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 instanced in what Elijah had said,* who was a better prophet in foretelling futurities than Micaiah; for he foretold that the dogs should lick his blood in the city 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 should be slain at three days' journey distance. "And," said he, "you shall soon know whether he be a true prophet, and hath the power of the Divine Spirit; for I will smite him, and let him then hurt my hand, as Jadon caused the hand of Jeroboam the king to wither, when he would have caught him; for I suppose thou hast certainly heard of that accident." So when, upon his smiting Micaiah, no harm happened to him, Ahab took courage, and readily led his army against the king of Syria. For,

expect the success which they promise thee, and try the truth of their predictions by thy dear bought experience. *Pool's Annotations.* B.

* These reasonings of Zedekiah, the false prophet, in order to persuade Ahab not to believe Micaiah the true prophet, are plausible: but, being omitted in our other copies, we cannot now tell whence Josephus had them; whether from his own temple copy, from some other original author, or from certain ancient notes. That some such plausible objection was now raised against Micaiah, is very likely; otherwise Jehoshaphat, who used to disbelieve all such false prophets, could never have been induced to accompany Ahab in these desperate circumstances.

† There is a great dispute among the learned, as to the accomplishment of this prophecy. At first, it was, no doubt, intended to be literally fulfilled; but upon Ahab's repentance, as we find below, the punishment was transferred from him to his son Joram, in whom it was actually accomplished; for his dead body was cast into the portion of the field of Naboth the Jezreelite, for the dogs to devour, 2 Kings ix. 25. Since Ahab's blood therefore was licked by dogs, not at Jezreel, but

as I suppose, fate* was too hard for him; and made him believe that the false prophets spake truer than the true one; 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 signals; that by them he should overthrow all Syria. 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 order that they should take Micaiah away, and guard him to Amon, the governor of the city; and give him nothing but bread and water.†

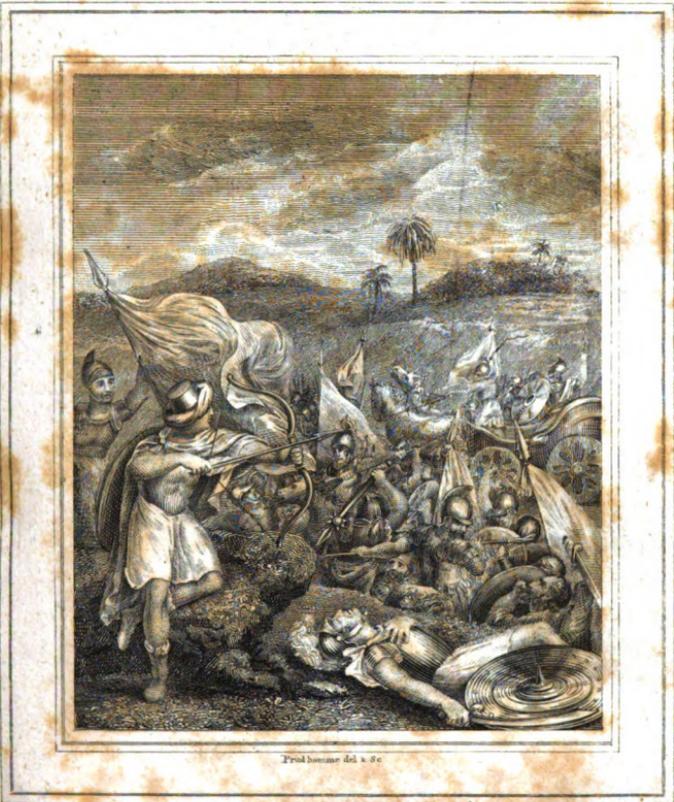
Then Ahab and Jehoshaphat the king of Jerusalem took their forces, and marched to Ramoth, a city of Gilead. And when the king of Syria heard of this expedition, he brought out his army to oppose them; and pitched his camp not far from Ramoth. Now Ahab and Jehoshaphat had agreed, that Ahab should lay aside his royal robes;‡ but that 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, without his robes. For Benhadad, the king of Assyria, 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 Israelites, saw Jehoshaphat stand before the army, and conjectured that he was Ahab, they fell violent-

at Samaria, it seems necessary that we should understand the Hebrew word which our translation renders in the place where, not as denoting the place, but the manner in which the thing was done; and so the sense of the passage will be—That as dogs licked, or in like manner as dogs licked Naboth's blood, even so shall they lick thine; observe what I say, even thine. *Pool's Annotations.* B.

* Or Divine Providence

† 1 Kings xxii. 27.

‡ This reading of Josephus's, and of the Septuagint, that Jehoshaphat put on, not his own, but Ahab's robes, in order to appear to be Ahab, while Ahab was without any robes at all, and hoped thereby to escape his own evil fate, and disprove Micaiah's prophecy against him, is exceeding probable. It gives great light also to this whole history; and shews, that although Ahab hoped Jehoshaphat would be mistaken for him, and run the only risk of being slain in the battle, yet was he entirely disappointed; while still the escape of the good man, Jehoshaphat, and the slaughter of the bad man, Ahab, demonstrated the great distinction that Divine Providence made betwixt them.



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ly upon him, and encompassed him round. But when they were near, and knew that it was not he, they all returned back. And while the fight lasted from the morning light, till late in the evening, and the Syrians were conquerors, they killed nobody; as their king had commanded them. And when they sought to kill Ahab alone, but could not find him, there was a young nobleman belonging to king Benhadad, whose name was Naaman; he drew his bow against the enemy, and wounded the king through his breast-plate, in his lungs. Upon this, Ahab resolved not to make his mischance known to his army, lest they should run away. But he bade the driver of his chariot to turn it back, and carry him out of the battle, because he was mortally wounded.* However, he sat in his chariot, and endured the pain till sunset, and then he fainted away and died.

At the approach of night the Syrian army retired to their camp; and when the herald belonging to the camp gave notice that Ahab was dead, they returned home. And they took the dead body of Ahab to Samaria, and buried it there; but when they had washed his chariot in the fountain of Jezreel, which was bloody with the dead body of the king, they acknowledged that the prophecy of Elijah was true, for the dogs licked his blood, and the harlots continued afterward to wash themselves in that fountain. But still he died at Ramoth, as Micaiah had foretold. And as what things were† foretold should happen to Ahab by the two prophets came to pass, we ought thence to have exalted notions of God; and every where to honour and worship him, and never to suppose that what is pleasant and agreeable is worthy of belief before what is true; and to esteem nothing more advantageous than the gift of prophecy, and that foreknowledge of future events which is derived from it. Since God shews men thereby what they ought to avoid. We may

* 1 Kings xxii. 34.

† We have here a very wise reflection of Josephus's 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 elude what is denounced against them, and to escape the Divine judgments thereby threatened, without repentance, they are ever, by Providence, infatuated to bring about their own destruction. And thereby withal to demonstrate the perfect veracity of that God whose predictions they endeavour to elude.

also, from what happened to this king, consider the power of fate;* that there is no way of avoiding it, even when we know it. It creeps upon human souls, and flatters them with pleasing hopes, till it leads them about to the place whence it will be too hard for them. Accordingly Ahab appears to have been deceived thereby, till he disbelieved those that predicted his defeat; but by giving credit to such as foretold what was grateful to him, he was slain; and his son Ahaziah succeeded him.

* Or Divine Providence.

BOOK IX.

Containing an Interval of One Hundred and Fifty-seven Years.

FROM THE DEATH OF AHAB TO THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES.

CHAP. I.

OF JEHOSEPHAT'S PIOUS CONDUCT; HIS APPOINTMENT OF JUDGES, AND HIS VICTORIES OVER HIS ENEMIES.

WHEN Jehoshaphat wast come to Jerusalem, from the assistance he had afforded Ahab, king of Israel, against the Syrians, the prophet Jehu met him and accused him for assisting an impious prince; and said to him, that God was displeased with him for so doing, but that he delivered him from the enemy, notwithstanding he had sinned, because of his own disposition, which was good. Hereupon the king betook himself to thanksgivings, and sacrifices to God; and soon afterward went over all that country which he ruled round about, and taught the people to observe the laws which God gave them by Moses, and that religious worship that was due to him. He also appointed judges in all 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 birth or riches; but to distribute justice equally to all;* as knowing that God is con-

* The charge or solemn admonition which Jehoshaphat gave the judges, whom he appointed in each city, runs in these words:—Take heed what ye do, for ye

scious of every secret action. When he had instructed them thus, and gone over every city of the two tribes, he returned to Jerusalem. He there also constituted judges out of the priests and 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 of great consequence, they would send them out of the other cities, to these judges, who would be obliged to give righteous sentences concerning such causes, and this with the greater care, because it is proper that the sentences which are given in that city where the temple of God is, and wherein the king dwells, be given with the utmost care and equity. Now he set over them Amariah, the priest, and Zebadiah, of the tribe of Judah. And after this manner it was that the king ordered these affairs.

About the same time the Moabites and Ammonites made an expedition against Jehoshaphat, and took with them a great body of Arabians; and pitched their camp at Engedi, a city situate near the lake Asphaltites, and distant three hundred furlongs from Jerusalem. In that place grew the best kind of palm-trees, and the opobalsamum.† Now Jehoshaphat heard that the enemies had passed over the lake, and had made an irruption into that country which belonged to his kingdom: at which news he was affrighted, and called the people of Jerusalem to a congregation in the temple.‡ And standing over against the temple itself, he called upon God to afford him power to inflict punishment upon those invaders; for that those who built his temple had prayed that he would protect that city, and

judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the judgment: wherefore now, let the fear of the Lord be upon you: Take heed and do it; for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts, 2 Chron. xix. 6, 7. It is a remarkable saying of Cicero, that judges, being sworn to do justice, should remember, when they come to pass sentence, "Deum habere testem: id est ut ego arbitrator mentem suam, qua nihil homini dedit ipse Deus divinus." *De Offic.* lib. 3. c. 13. B.

* These judges constituted by Jehoshaphat, were a kind of Jerusalem Sanhedrim, out of the priests, the Levites, and the principal of the people; both here and 2 Chron. xix. 8, much like the old Christian Judicatures of the bishop, the presbyters, the deacons, and the people.

† Concerning this precious balsam, see the note on VIII. 6.

‡ 2 Chron. xx. 3, 4.

take vengeance on those that were so bold as to come against it. When he had prayed thus, he was affected even to tears; and the whole multitude, together with their wives and children, made their supplications also. Hereupon a certain prophet, Jahaziel by name, came into the midst of the assembly, and cried out, 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 draw his forces out the next day; for that he should find them between Jerusalem, and the ascent of Engedi; at a place called Eminence;* and that he should not engage their forces, but only stand still, and see how God would fight against them. When the prophet 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.

As soon as it was day, and the king was come into that wilderness which was under the city of Tekoa, he said to the multitude, that they ought to give implicit credit to what the prophet had said; and not to set themselves in array for 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 the country from its enemies. This opinion of the king pleased the people, and they did as he desired. 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 man out of so great an army escaped.

* The cliff of Ziz, 2 Chron. xx. 16.

† The words in the text are, The Lord set ambushment against the children of Ammon, Moab, and mount Seir, which were come against Judah, and they were smitten, 2 Chron. xx. 22. And there are two ways wherein the slaughter may be supposed to have happened: either, 1st. By the ministry of God's angels, who might appear in the shape of men, and putting on the appearance of Moabites or Ammonites, might smite some part of the army privately, and they supposing this to be done by their neighbours, might turn about and fall upon them like enemies, and so break forth into mutual slaughters. Or 2d. By some jealousies and animosities among themselves, which by degrees brake forth, first into secret ambushments, which one party laid for another, and then into open hostilities and outrages to their total destruction. So easy a thing it is for God to defeat his enemies, who can, when he pleases, infatuate their designs, or arm their own passions and mistakes against them. *Pool's Annotation on 2 Chron. ix. 22.* B.

And when Jehoshaphat looked upon that valley wherein their enemies had been encamped, and saw it full of dead men, he rejoiced at this surprising assistance of God; who by his own power, and without their labour, had given them the victory. He also permitted his army to take the prey of the enemies' camp, and to spoil their dead bodies; and indeed so they did for three days together, till they were weary; so great was the number of the slain. And on the fourth day, all the people were gathered together unto a certain hollow place, or valley, and blessed God for his power and assistance; from which the place was called the valley of Berachah or Blessing.*

When the king had brought his army back to Jerusalem, he celebrated festivals and offered sacrifices for many days. And indeed after the destruction of his enemies, and when it came to the ears of the foreign nations, they were all greatly affrighted; as supposing that God would openly fight for him hereafter. So Jehoshaphat from that time lived in great glory and splendour, on account of his righteousness and his piety towards God. He was also in friendship with Ahab's son,† who was king of Israel; and he joined with him in the building of ships that were to sail to Pontus and the commercial cities of Thrace;‡ but the ships were destroyed, by being so great and unwieldy; and, being thus disappointed of his profit, he was no longer

* 2 Chron. xx. 26.

† This certainly was a great weakness in him, to make friendship with the son, when he had been so sharply reprov'd for joining with his father Ahab, especially since the son was as great an idolater as his father: but unto this he was betrayed by the affinity that was between them; and though he did not join with him in war, but only in trade, yet God was nevertheless displeas'd with him; which shews how dangerous a thing it is to have too near a familiarity or commerce with idolaters, or any other very wicked men. *Patrick's Commentary.* B.

‡ What are here Pontus and Thrace, as the places whither Jehoshaphat's fleet sail'd, are in our other copies Ophir and Tarshish; and the place whence it sail'd is in them Eziongeber, which lay on the Red Sea, whence it was impossible for any ships to sail to Pontus or Thrace. So that Josephus's copy differed here from our other copies. But so far may we conclude, that Josephus thought one Ophir to be somewhere in the Mediterranean, and not in the South Sea; though perhaps there might be another Ophir in that South Sea also; and fleets might then sail both from Phœnicia and from the Red Sea to fetch the gold of Ophir, I mean all this, unless what our copies call Ophir, Josephus's temple copy called Pontus, as the word is here rendered by him. Which is perhaps the real truth, and clears the whole difficulty.

concerned about shipping. And this is the history of Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem.

CHAP. II.

OF AHAZIAH KING OF ISRAEL; AND OF THE FURTHER ACTS OR THE PROPHET ELIJAH.

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 both his parents; and to Jeroboam, who first of all transgressed, and began to deceive the people. In the second year of his reign the king of Moab revolted from his obedience, and left off paying those tributes which he had before payed to Ahab.

Now it happened that Ahaziah, as he was coming down from the top of his house,† fell down from it, and in his sickness sent to the Fly, which was the god of Ekron;‡ for that was this god's name,|| to inquire about his recovery. But the God of the

* An. 899.

† In the eastern countries the roofs of the houses were flat, and surrounded with a battlement to prevent falling from them, because it was a customary thing for people to walk upon them, in order to take the air. Now, in this battlement, we may suppose that there were some wooden lattices for people to look through, of equal height with the parapet wall, and that Ahaziah negligently leaning on it, as it was rotten and infirm, it broke down, and let him fall into the court or garden belonging to his house. Or there is another way whereby he might fall. In these flat roofs, there was generally an opening which served instead of a sky-light to the house below; and this opening might be done over with lattice-work, which the king, as he was carelessly walking, might chance to step upon, and slip through. Nor is there any absurdity in supposing such lattice-work in a king's palace, when the world was not arrived at that height of art and curiosity that we find it in now. *Pool's Annotations*, and *Calmet's Dissertation sur les edifices des anciens Hebreux*. B.

‡ Ekron was a city and government of the Philistines, which fell by lot to the tribe of Judah, in the first division made by Joshua, Josh. xv. 45, but was afterwards given up to the tribe of Dan, Josh. xix. 43, though it does not appear from history that the Jews ever had a peaceable possession of it. It was situated near the Mediterranean Sea, between Ashdod and Jamnia, in a moist and hot soil, and was therefore very much infested with flies. *Calmet's Dictionary*, and *Patrick's Commentary*. B.

|| The word signifies, The god of flies; but how this idol came to obtain that name, it is not so easy a matter to discover. Several are of opinion, that this god

Hebrews appeared to Elijah the prophet, and commanded him to go and meet the messengers that were sent; and to ask

was called Baal-semin, the lord of heaven, but that the Jews by way of contempt, gave it the name of Baal-zebub, or the lord of a fly, a god that was nothing worth, or, as others say, whose temple was filled with flies; whereas the temple of Jerusalem, notwithstanding all the sacrifices that were daily offered, never once had a fly in it, as their doctors relate. The sacred writings, indeed, when they speak of the gods of the Heathens, very frequently call them, in general, idols, vanity, abominations, &c. but they never change their proper names into such as are of an opprobrious import; neither can we think it likely, that the king of Israel would have called the god of Ekron, for whom he had so high a veneration as to consult him in his sickness, by any appellation of contempt. Whoever considers what troublesome and destructive creatures, especially in some hot countries, flies are known to be; in what vast swarms they sometimes settle, and not only devour all the fruits of the earth, but in many places occasioned a noisome pestilence; may reasonably suppose, that the Heathens had a proper deity to whom they paid their addresses, either for the prevention or removal of their sore plagues. And accordingly we are told by Pliny, (lib. xxix. c. 6.) that when there was a plague in Africa, occasioned by vast quantities of flies, after that the people had sacrificed to the god Achore, (he should have said the god of Ekron, for there is a plain affinity between their names,) the flies all died, and the distemper was extinguished. Now, it was a known maxim of the Heathen theology, that as all plagues were inflicted by some evil dæmon or other, so all evil dæmons were under the restraint of some superior one, who is their prince and ruler. As therefore Pluto was known to be the god of hell, and to have all the mischievous band of spirits under his control, to him the Heathens used to pray, and offer sacrifices, that he might not suffer any of his inferior agents to inflict this heavy judgment upon them. They worshipped him, I say, not to engage him to do them any good, but to prevail with him to do them no harm; and accordingly we may observe, that every thing in their service was dark and gloomy. Their offerings were in the night:

Tum Regi Stygio nocturnas inchoat aras.

Virg. Æn. 6.

Their victims were black:

—————*Hunc casta Sibylla
Nigrantum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet.*

Ibid. Æn. 6.

And the blood let out into a deep ditch:

—————*Cultros in guttera velleris atri
Conjicit, et patulas perfundat sanguine fossas.*

Ovid. Met. l. 7.

Such good reason have we to think, that the Baal-zebub, in Scripture called the prince of the devils, was the very same with the Pluto whom the Heathens made the god of hell, and worshipped in this manner. *Patrick's* and *Le Clerc's Commentaries*, and *Jurieu Hist. des dogmes et cultes*, part iv. c. 3. &c. B.

them, whether the people of Israel had not a God of their own, that their king sent to a foreign god to inquire about his recovery? and to bid them return and tell the king that he would not escape this disease. And when Elijah had performed what God had commanded, and the messengers had heard what he said, they returned to the king immediately. And when the king wondered how they could return so soon, and asked them the reason of it, they said, "A certain man met us,* and forbade us to go on any farther, but to return and tell thee, from the command of the God of Israel, that this disease will have a bad termination."† And when the king desired them to describe the man who said this to them, they replied, "He was a hairy man; and was girt about with a girdle of leather." So the king understood that the man described by the messengers was Elijah. Hereupon 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 to come down, and to come to the king; for so had he enjoined: but that in case he refused they would carry him by force. Elijah replied, "That you may have a trial whether I be a true prophet, I will pray that fire‡

* The description which the messengers give of Elijah is,—That he was a hairy man, and girt with a girdle of leather about his loins, 2 Kings i. 8, where his being a hairy man, may either denote his wearing long hair on his head, and his beard, as the ancient Greek philosophers were wont to do, and as Lucan describes Cato,

*Intensos rigidam in frontem descendere canos
Passus erat, mœstamque genis increscere barbam.*

Or it may denote his habit, which was made of skins, rough, and with their hair on, as the ancient heroes were clothed in the skins of lions, tigers, and bears: as the Evangelists represent the Baptist in a raiment of camel's hair, Matt. iii. 4, as the apostle describes the prophets, wandering about in sheep skins and goat skins, Heb. xi. 37, and as Statius dresses up old Tiresius,

—————longævi vatis opacos
*Tiresiæ vultus, vocemque et vellera nota
Induitur—*

Theb. lib. 2. B.

† 2 Kings i. 6.

‡ It is commonly esteemed a cruel action of Elijah, when he called for fire from heaven, and consumed two captains and a hundred soldiers; and this for no other

may fall from heaven, and destroy both the soldiers and thyself." So he prayed, and a whirlwind of fire fell from heaven, and destroyed the captain and those that were with him. And when the king was informed of the destruction of these men, he was very angry, and sent another captain with the like number of armed men that were sent before. And when this captain also threatened the prophet, that, unless he came down of his own accord, he would take and carry him away; upon his prayer against him the fire from heaven slew this captain as well as the other. And when upon inquiry, the king was informed of what happened to him, he sent out a third captain. But when this captain, who was a wise man, and of a mild disposition, came to the place where Elijah happened to be, he spake civilly to him; and said, he knew that it was without his own consent, and only in submission to the king's command, that he came to him; and that those that came before, did not come willingly, but on the same account. He therefore desired him to have pity on those armed men that were with him, and to come down and follow him to the king. So Elijah accepted of his discreet words and courteous behaviour, and came down and followed him. And when he came to the king he told him, "God hath said, since thou hast despised him as not being God, and so unable to foretell the truth about thy distemper, but hast sent to the god of Ekron to inquire of him; know this that thou shalt die."

crime than obeying the orders of their king, in attempting to seize him. And our Saviour notices it as an instance of greater severity than the spirit of the New Testament allows, Luke ix. 54. But we must consider, that it is not unlikely that these captains and soldiers believed they were sent to fetch the prophet, that he might be put to death, for foretelling the death of the king; and this, while they knew him to be the prophet of the true God, the supreme king of Israel, (for they were still under the theocracy,) which was no less than impiety, rebellion, and treason, in the highest degree. Nor would the command of a subaltern, or inferior captain, contradicting the commands of the general, when the captain and the soldiers both knew it to be so, as I suppose, justify or excuse such gross rebellion and disobedience in soldiers at this day. Accordingly when Saul commanded his guards to slay Ahimelech, and the priests at Nob, they knew it to be an unlawful command, and would not obey it, 1 Sam xxii. 17. From which cases both officers and soldiers may learn, that the commands of their leaders or kings cannot justify or excuse them in doing what is wicked in the sight of God, or in fighting in an unjust cause, when they know it so to be. See the Notes on VII. 13; and VIII. 14.

Accordingly the king died in a very little time,* as Elijah had foretold; and Joram his brother succeeded him in the kingdom, for he died without children. This Joram† was like his father Ahab in wickedness, and reigned twelve years, indulging himself in all sorts of wickedness and impiety towards God; for leaving off his worship, he worshipped foreign gods. But in other respects he was an active man. Now at this time Elijah disappeared from among men; and no one knows of his death to this very day; but he left behind him his disciple Elisha, as we have formerly declared. And indeed, as to Elijah, and as to Enoch, who lived before the deluge, it was written in the sacred books that they disappeared; but so, that nobody knew they died.

CHAP. III.

OF AN EXPEDITION MADE BY JORAM AND JEHOSEPHAT AGAINST THE MOABITES; THE WORKS OF ELISHA, AND THE DEATH OF JEHOSEPHAT.

WHEN Joram had taken upon him‡ the kingdom, he determined to make an expedition against the king of Moab, whose name was Mesha. For as we have said before, he was departed from his obedience to his brother Ahaziah; while he payed to his father Ahab, two|| hundred thousand sheep with their fleeces of wool. When therefore he had gathered his own army together, he sent to Jehoshaphat, and intreated him, that since he had from the beginning been a friend to his father, he

* An. 898.

† Josephus's character of Joram seems much worse than that in our Hebrew and Greek copies; which say, 2 Kings iii. 2, 3, that although he followed the calves of Jeroboam, yet did he not act like his father Ahab, (and his mother Jezabel, because he put away the image of Baal that his father had made.) Where we may note that not only the Alexandrian MS. omits the last branch inclosed in parentheses: but that the following characters, and circumstances, and divine punishment of this Joram in all our copies, favour the worse character in Josephus. See 2 Kings iii. 13, 14, vi. 31, 32, ix. 7, 8, 9, 10, 22—26.

‡ An. 895.

|| One hundred lambs, and one hundred thousand rams, Hebrew and Septuagint.

would assist him in the war that he was entering into against the Moabites, who had departed from their obedience. Jehoshaphat readily promised that he would assist him, and would oblige the king of Edom, who was under his authority, to make the same expedition also. When Joram had received these assurances, he took his army with him, and came to Jerusalem; and when he had been sumptuously entertained by the king of Jerusalem, it was resolved upon by them to make their march against their enemies through the wilderness of Edom. And when they had taken a compass of seven days' journey, they were in distress for want of water for the cattle, and for the army; from the mistake of their roads by the guides that conducted them; insomuch that they were all in an agony, especially Joram; and cried to God, by reason of their sorrow, and desired to know what wickedness had been committed by them, that induced him to deliver three kings together, without fighting, into the hands of the king of Moab? But Jehoshaphat, who was a righteous man, encouraged him, and bade him send to the camp, and know whether any prophet of God was come along with them; that they might by him learn from God what they should do. And when one of the servants of Joram said, he had seen there Elisha, the son of Shaphat, the disciple of Elijah, the three kings went to him, at the intreaty of Jehoshaphat. And when they were come to the prophet's tent, without the camp; they asked him, what would become of the army? and Joram was particularly pressing with him about it. And when he replied to him, that he should not trouble him; but go to his father's and mother's prophets; for they, to be sure, were true prophets; he still desired him to prophecy, and to save them. So he swore by God, that he would not answer him, unless it were on account of Jehoshaphat, who was a holy and righteous man; and when, at his desire, they brought him a man that could play on the psaltery, the Divine Spirit came upon him, as the music played, and he commanded them to dig many trenches in the valley: "For," said he, "though there appear neither cloud, nor wind, nor storm of rain, ye shall see this river full of water, till the army and cattle be saved by drinking of it. Nor will this be all the favour that you shall receive from God; but you shall also overcome your enemies, and take the

best and strongest cities of the Moabites; and you shall cut* down their fruit trees, and lay waste their country, and stop up their fountains and rivers."

Accordingly the next day before sun-rise, a great torrent ran strongly: for God had caused it to rain very plentifully at the distance of three days' journey in Edom. So that the army and the cattle found water in abundance. But when the Moabites heard that the three kings were coming upon them, and made their approach through the wilderness, the king of Moab gathered his army together presently, and commanded them to encamp upon the mountains; that when the enemies should attempt to enter their country, they might not be concealed from them. But at the rising of the sun when they saw the water in the torrent; for it was not far from the land of Moab, and that it was of the colour of blood; (for at such a time the water especially looks red, by the shining of the sun upon it;) they formed a false notion of the state of their enemies, as if they had slain one another for thirst, and that the river ran with their blood. However, supposing that this was the case, they desired their king would send them out to spoil their enemies. Whereupon they all went in haste, as to an advantage already gained; and came to the enemy's camp; as supposing them destroyed already. But their hope deceived them; for as their enemies stood round about them, some of them were cut in pieces, and others were dispersed, and fled to their own country. And when the kings came to 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 cut down the best of their trees, and stopped up their fountains of water, and overthrew their walls to the foundations. But the king of Moab, when he was pursued, endured a siege; and seeing his city in danger of being overthrown by force, he made a sally with seven hun-

* This practice of cutting down, or plucking up by the roots the fruit trees, was forbidden in ordinary wars, by the law of Moses, Deut. xx. 19, 20, and only allowed by God in this particular case, when the Moabites were to be punished and cut off in an extraordinary manner for their wickedness. See Jer. xlviii. 11, 12, 13, and many similar prophecies against them. Nothing could therefore justify this practice, but a particular commission from God, by his prophet; as in the present case; which was ever a sufficient warrant for breaking any such ritual or ceremonial law.

dred men, 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 away, he returned to the city, and committed an action expressive of despair, and the utmost distress: for he took his eldest son, who was to reign after him, and lifting him up upon the wall, that he might be visible to all the enemies, he offered him as a whole burnt-offering to God. When the kings saw this, they commiserated the distress that had occasioned it; and were so affected, that they raised the siege, and every one returned to his own house. So Jehoshaphat came to Jerusalem, and continued in peace there, and survived this expedition but a little time, and then died; having lived in all sixty years, and reigned twenty-five.* He was buried in a magnificent manner in Jerusalem; for he had imitated the actions of David.

CHAP. IV.

OF JEHORAM, THE SUCCESSOR OF JEHOSHAPHAT; OF JORAM KING OF ISRAEL, AND THE WONDERS PERFORMED BY THE PROPHET ELISHA.

JEHOSHAPHAT had a considerable number of children, but he appointed his eldest son Jehoram, to be his successor; † who had the same name with his mother's brother, that was king of Israel, and the son of Ahab. Now when the king of Israel was come out of the land of Moab to Samaria, he had with him Elisha the prophet, whose acts I have a mind to go over particularly, for they were illustrious and worthy to be related; as we have them set down in the sacred books.

For they say that the widow ‡ of Obadiah, Ahab's steward

* From an. 919 to 894, B. C.

† 1 Kings xxii. 50.

‡ That this woman who cried to Elisha, and who, in our Bible, is styled the wife of one of the prophets. 2 Kings iv. 1, was no other than the widow of Obadiah, the good steward of Ahab, as Josephus affirms, is confirmed, as Dr. Hudson informs us, by the Chaldee Paraphrast, and by the Rabbins, and others besides. Nor is that unlikely, which Josephus here adds that these debts were contracted by her husband for the support of those hundred of the Lord's prophets whom he

came to him, and said, he was not ignorant how her husband had preserved the prophets, that were to be slain by Jezebel, the wife of Ahab; for she said that he hid a hundred of them; and had borrowed money for their maintenance; and that after her husband's death, she and her children were carried away to be made slaves,* by the creditors, and she desired of him to have mercy upon her, on account of what her husband did; and afford her some assistance. And when he asked her what she had in the house? she said, Nothing but a very small quantity of oil in a cruse. So the prophet bade her go away, and borrow a great many empty vessels of her neighbours; and, when she had shut her chamber door, to pour the oil into them all: for that God would fill them. And when the woman had done what she was commanded, and bade her children bring every one of the vessels, and all were filled, she came to the prophet, and told him they were full. Upon which he advised her to go and sell the oil, and pay the creditors what was owing to them: for that there would be some surplus of the price of oil; which she might make use of for the maintenance of her children. And thus did Elisha discharge the woman's debts, and free her from the vexation of her creditors.

maintained by fifty in a cave in the days of Ahab and Jezebel, 1 Kings xviii. 4, which circumstance rendered it highly fit that the prophet Elisha should provide her a remedy, and enable her to redeem herself and her sons from that slavery which insolvent debtors were liable to, by the law of Moses, Lev. xxv. 39, Matt. xviii. 25, and which he did accordingly, with God's help, at the expense of a miracle.

* The Jewish law looked upon children as the proper goods of their parents, who had power to sell them for seven years, as their creditors had to compel them to do it in order to pay their debt; and from the Jews this custom was propagated to the Athenians, and from them to the Romans. The Romans indeed had the most absolute control over their children. By the decree of Romulus they could imprison, beat, kill, or sell them for slaves. But Numa Pompilius first moderated this, and the emperor Dioclesian made a law, that no free person should be sold upon account of debt. The ancient Athenians had the like jurisdiction over their children; but Solon reformed this cruel custom; as indeed it seemed a little hard, that the children of a poor man, who have no manner of inheritance left them, should be compelled into slavery, in order to pay their deceased father's debts: and yet this was the custom, as appears from this passage, wherein the prophet does not pretend to reprove the creditor, but only puts the woman in a method to pay him. *Calmet's and Le Clerc's Commentaries.* B.

Elisha* also sent a hasty message to Joram, and exhorted him to take care of that place; for that therein were some Syrians lying in ambush to kill him. So the king did as the prophet exhorted him, and avoided going a hunting. And when Benhadad missed of the success of his lying in ambush, he was angry with his own servants as if they had betrayed his concealment to Joram, and he sent for them, and said, they were the betrayers of his secret counsels; and he threatened that he

* Dr. Hudson, with very good reason, suspects that there is no small defect in our present copies of Josephus, just before the beginning of this paragraph, and that chiefly as to that distinct account which he had given us reason to expect in the preceding one, and to which he seems to refer, chap. viii. concerning the glorious miracles which Elisha wrought; which indeed in our Bibles are not a few, 2 Kings iv—ix. but of which we have several omitted in Josephus's present copies. Nor does the following incoherence here, which requires Joram to beware of that place, as 2 Kings vi. 10, whereas no certain place had, in his present copies, been mentioned before, at all agree with the foregoing coherence, and context, as it does in our other copies. One of those histories, omitted at present, was evidently in his Bible. I mean that of curing Naaman's leprosy, 2 Kings v. for he plainly alludes to it, III. 11. where he observes, that "There were lepers in many nations, who yet have been in honour; and not only free from reproach, and avoidance; but who have been great captains of armies, and been intrusted with high offices in the commonwealth, and have had the privilege of entering into holy places and temples." But what makes me most to regret the want of that history in our present copies of Josephus, is this, that we have here, as it is commonly understood, one of the greatest difficulties in all the Bible, I mean that in 2 Kings v. 18, 19, where Naaman, after he had been miraculously cured by a prophet of the true God, and had thereupon promised, that he would thenceforth offer neither burnt-offerings nor sacrifices unto other gods, but unto the Lord; adds, "In this thing the Lord pardon thy servant, that when my master goeth into the house of Rimmon to worship there, and he leaneth on my hand, and I bow myself in the house of Rimmon; when I bow down myself in the house of Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing." And Elisha said unto him, "Go in peace." This looks like a prophet's permission for being partaker in idolatry itself, out of compliance with an idolatrous court. The Septuagint in our ordinary copies, plainly understood it so, by using the verb bowing down, in the future tense; although Theodoret cites it as in the past tense. And the great Bochart has shewn, that in the original, it more properly belongs to the times past, Op. page 892, 894, 898, and only contains his desire of pardon for what he had formerly done, while he was a gross idolater; and not of being indulged in any such thing for the time to come. The permission of which seems utterly inconsistent with both the Old and New Testament. It is therefore a great pity that Josephus's copies should be defective in so remarkable a place. Nor is it very unlikely, that what Josephus promised to speak of afterward, V. 1. concerning the curse on the rebuilder of Jericho, but is not now found in his present books, was contained in what is here wanting upon occasion of Elisha's miracle there, 2 Kings ii. 18—22.

would put them to death : since such their practice was evident, because he had intrusted this secret to none but them; and yet it was made known to his enemy. But one that was present said, that he should not mistake himself, nor suspect that they had discovered to his enemy his sending men to kill him ; but that he ought to know that it was Elisha the prophet who discovered all to him, and laid open all his counsels. So he gave order that they should send some to learn in what city Elisha dwelt. Accordingly those that were sent brought word that he was in Dothan. Wherefore Benhadad sent to that city a great army with horses and chariots, to take Elisha. So they encompassed the city round about by night, and kept him therein confined. But when the prophet's servant in the morning perceived this, and that his enemies sought to take Elisha, he came running, and crying after a disordered manner to him, and told him of it. But he encouraged him, and bade him not be afraid, but to despise the enemy, and trust in the assistance of God ; and he besought God to manifest to his servant his power and presence, so far as was possible, in order to the inspiring him with hope and courage. Accordingly God heard the prayer of the prophet, and made the servant see a multitude of chariots and horses encompassing Elisha, till he laid aside his fear, and his courage revived, at the sight of what he supposed was come to their assistance. After this Elisha did farther intreat 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 he went into the midst of his enemies, and 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 these men were so darkened 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 them ; and prayed to God to clear the eyes of these their enemies* and take the mist from before them. Accordingly when they were freed from the obscurity they had been in, they saw themselves in the midst of their enemies.

* 2 Kings vi. 20.

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 shoot at them: Elisha forbade them so to do; and said, that it was just to kill those that were taken in battle; but that these men had done no harm; but, without knowing it, were come thither by the divine power. So that his counsel was to treat them in a hospitable manner at his table; and then send them away, without hurting them. Wherefore Joram obeyed the prophet: and when he had feasted the Syrians in a splendid and magnificent manner, he let them go to Benhadad their king.*

Now when these men were come back, and had shewed Benhadad how strange an accident had befallen them: and how they had experienced the God of Israel's power, he wondered at it: as also at that prophet with whom God was so evidently present. So he determined to make no more secret attempts upon the king of Israel, out of fear of Elisha: but resolved to make open war with them; as supposing he could be too hard for his enemies by the multitude of his army and his power. So he made an expedition with a great army against Joram; who, not thinking himself a match for him, shut himself up in Samaria, and depended on the strength of its walls. But Benhadad supposed he should take the city, if not by his engines of war, yet that he should overcome the Samaritans by famine and the want of necessaries; and brought his army upon them, and besieged the city. And the plenty of necessaries was brought so low with Joram, that, from the extremity of want, an ass's head was sold in Samaria for eighty pieces of silver; and the Hebrews bought a sextary of dove's dung, instead of salt, for five pieces of silver. Now Joram was in fear lest some persons should betray the city to the enemy, by reason of the famine, and went every day round the walls and the guards,

* Upon occasion of this stratagem of Elisha's in Josephus, we may take notice, that although Josephus was one of the greatest lovers of truth in the world, yet, in a just war, he seems to have had no manner of scruple upon him by all such stratagems possible to deceive public enemies. See this Josephus's account of Jeremiah's imposition on the great men of the Jews in somewhat a like case, X. 7. See him also, VII. 9. And see our own Bible, 2 Sam. xvi. 16, &c. and xvii. 1—16, 20.

to see whether any such were concealed among them; and by being thus seen, and by taking such care he deprived them of the opportunity of contriving any such things. One day upon a certain woman's crying out. "Have pity on me, my lord;" he thought that she was about to ask for somewhat to eat; and imprecated God's curse upon her, saying, he had neither threshing-floor, nor wine-press; whence he might give her any thing at her petition. Upon which she said, she did not desire his aid in any such thing; nor troubled him about food: but desired that he would do her justice as to another woman. And when he bade her let him know what she desired, she said, she had made an agreement with another woman, who was her neighbour and her friend; that because the famine was intolerable, they should kill their children, each of them having a son of her own, and live upon them two days, the one day 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 him yesterday; but this other woman will not do the same thing, but hath broken her agreement, and hath concealed her son." This story affected the king so deeply that he rent his garment and cried out with a loud voice; and conceiving great wrath against Elisha the prophet, he resolved to have him slain; because he did not pray to God to provide them some way of escape out of the miseries with which they were surrounded. Accordingly a messenger was immediately despatched to kill the prophet: but Elisha was not unacquainted 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 a murderer, had sent one 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;

* This was threatened as a punishment for disobedience, in Levit. xxvi. 29, and Deut. xxvii. 53, 57.

† 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 xviii. 4. xxi. 19. and he is here called by this name, I suppose, because he had now also himself sent an officer to murder him. Yet is Josephus's account of Joram's coming to himself at last, as repenting of his intended cruelty, much more probable than that in our copies, 2 Kings vi. 33, which rather implies the contrary. See the place which seems to be imperfect in those copies.

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 Elisha came. But Joram repented of his wrath against the prophet; and for fear he that was commanded to kill him should have done it before he came, he made haste to hinder his slaughter. And when he came, he accused him that he did not pray to God for his deliverance from the miseries the people now lay under, but saw them 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 a great plenty of food; and that two seahs* of barley should be sold in the market for a shekel; and a seah† of fine flour should be bought for a shekel. This prediction made Joram, and those that were present, very joyful; for they did not scruple believing what the prophet said, on account of the experience they had of the truth of his former predictions. And the expectation of plenty made the want they were in that day, with the uneasiness that accompanied it, appear a light thing to them. But the captain of the third band, who was a friend of the king's, and on whose hand the king leaned, said, "Thou talkest of incredible things, O prophet! for as it is impossible for God to pour down torrents of barley, or fine flour, out of heaven; so it is impossible that what thou hast said, 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."

What Elisha had thus foretold, came to pass in the following manner: There was a law at Samaria,‡ that those who had the leprosy, and 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 extremity of the famine. And as they

* About a peck.

† Half a peck.

‡ This law of the Jews, for the exclusion of lepers out of the camp in the wilderness, and out of cities in Judea, is a known one. Levit. xiii. 46, and Numb. v. 1—4. Antiq. III. 11. See the examples of its constant obtaining in practice, Numb. xli. 10—14. 2 Kings vii. 3. xv. 5. 2 Chron. xxvi. 21. Antiq. IX. 10.

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 stayed where they were, they should suffer in the same manner; they resolved to deliver themselves up to the enemy; that in case they spared them, they should live; but if they should be killed, that would be an easy death. So when they had confirmed this resolution, they came by night to the enemy's camp. Now God had alarmed and disturbed the Syrians, by bringing the noise of chariots and armour to their ears, as though an army were coming upon them; and had made them suspect that it was coming nearer and nearer. In short, they were in such a dread of this army, that they left their tents, and ran together to Benhadad, and said, that Joram king of Israel 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: (for there came the same noise to his ears, as well as it did to theirs:) so they fell into a great disorder and tumult; and left their horses and beasts in their camp, with immense riches also; and betook themselves to flight. When the aforementioned lepers, therefore, arrived at the camp, they found every thing perfectly quiet and silent. Accordingly they went hastily into one of the tents; and when they saw nobody there, they ate and drank, and carried off garments, and a great quantity of gold, and concealed them beyond the camp. After which they went into another tent, and carried off what was in it, as they did at the former; and this they did for several times, without the least interruption. They now perceived plainly that the enemies were departed; and reproached themselves, that they did not inform Joram, and the citizens of it. So they came to the walls of Samaria, and called aloud to the watchmen, and told them, in what state the enemies were. This was soon communicated to the king, who sent for his friends, and the captain of his host, and said to them, "I suspect that this departure of the king of Syria is designed 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 out of the city to spoil their camp; and he may then fall upon you on a sudden, and may both kill you, and take

the city without fighting. Whence it is that I exhort you to guard the city carefully, and by no means to go out of it, or proudly to despise your enemies, as though they were really gone away." A certain person replied, that he did very wisely to admit such a suspicion; but that he still advised him to send a couple of horsemen, to search all the country, as far as Jordan; that if they were seized by an ambush of the enemy, they might be a security to the army that they may not go out as if they suspected nothing, nor undergo the like misfortune: "And," said he, "those horsemen may be numbered among those that have died by the famine, supposing they be caught and destroyed by the enemy." So the king was pleased with his opinion, and sent such as might search out the truth: who performed their journey over a road that was without any enemies: but found it full of provisions, and of weapons that they had thrown away and left behind them, in order to their being light and expeditious in their flight. When the king heard this, he sent out the multitude to take the spoils of the camp; which were not things of small value; but they took a great quantity of gold and silver, and all kinds of cattle. They also possessed themselves of so many thousand measures of wheat and barley, as they never in the least expected, and were not only freed from their former miseries, but had such plenty, that two seahs of barley were bought for a shekel; and a seah of fine flour for a shekel; according to the prophecy of Elisha. Now a seah is equal to an Italian modius and a half. The captain of the third band was the only man that received no benefit by this plenty. For he was appointed by the king to oversee the gate, that he might prevent the too great crowd of the multitude, and they might not endanger one another in the press; but he suffered himself in that very way, and was trodden* to death; as Elisha had predicted, when he alone disbelieved what he said concerning the plenty of provisions which they should soon have.

When Benhadad had escaped to Damascus, and understood that it was God himself that cast all his army into disorder, and that it did not arise from the invasion of enemies, he was greatly de-

* 2 Kings vii. 20.

jected at having God so greatly for his enemy, and fell into a distemper. Now it happened that Elisha the prophet, at that time was gone out of his own country to Damascus; of which when Benhadad was informed, he sent Hazael, the most faithful of all his servants, to meet him, and to carry him presents, and bade him inquire about his distemper, and whether he should escape the danger that it threatened. So Hazael came to Elisha with forty camels, laden with the best and most precious fruits that the country of Damascus afforded, as well as those which the king's palace supplied. He saluted him kindly, and said, that he was sent to him, by king Benhadad, and brought presents with him in order to inquire concerning his distemper, whether he should recover from it or not? whereupon the prophet bid him tell the king no melancholy news: but still he said he would die. So the king's servant was troubled to hear it. And Elisha wept also, and his tears ran down plentifully at his foresight of what miseries his people would undergo after the death of Benhadad. And when Hazael asked him what was the occasion of the confusion he was in; he said, "Out of commiseration for the multitude of the Israelites; and what terrible miseries they will suffer by thee. For thou wilt slay the strongest of them, and wilt burn the strongest cities, and wilt destroy their pregnant women, and dash their children against the stones." And when Hazael said, "How can it be that I should have power enough to do such things?" the prophet replied, that God had informed him he should be king of Syria. So when Hazael was come to Benhadad, he told him good news concerning his distemper:* but on the next day he spread a wet cloth, in the nature of a net, over him, and took his dominion.† He was an active man, and had the good

* Since Elijah did not live to anoint Hazael, king of Syria, himself as he was empowered to do, 1 Kings xix. 15. Antiq. VIII 13, it was most probably now done, in his name, by his servant and successor Elisha. Nor does it seem to me otherwise, but that Benhadad immediately recovered of his disease, as the prophet foretold; and that Hazael, upon his being anointed to succeed him; though he ought to have staid till he died by the course of nature, or some other way of divine punishment; as did David for many years in the like case; was too impatient, and the very next day smothered or strangled him, in order to come directly to the succession.

† 2 Kings viii. 15.

will of the Syrians, and of the people of Damascus: by whom both Benhadad himself, and Hazael, who ruled after him, are honoured to this day, as gods, by reason of their benefactions, and their building them temples; by which they adorned the city of the Damascens. They also do with great pomp pay their daily worship* to these kings; and value themselves upon their antiquity. Nor do they know that these kings are much later than they imagine; and that they are not yet eleven hundred years old. Now when Joram the king of Israel, heard that Benhadad was dead, he recovered out of the terror he had been in on his account, and was very grateful for the restoration of peace.

CHAP. V.

OF THE WICKEDNESS OF JEHORAM, KING OF JERUSALEM: HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH.

JEHORAM, the king of Jerusalem, had no sooner taken the government upon him, than he betook himself to the slaughter of his brethren, and his father's friends, who were governors under him; and thus began to demonstrate his wickedness.† Nor was he at all better than those kings of Israel who at first transgressed against the laws of their country, and against God's worship. And it was Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, whom he had married, who taught him to be a bad man in other

* What M. Le Clerc pretends here, that it is more probable that Hazael and his son were worshipped by the Syrians, and people of Damascus, till the days of Josephus, than Benhadad and Hazael: because under Benhadad they had greatly suffered; and because it is almost incredible, that both a king and the king's murderer should be worshipped by the same people, is of little force against those records, out of which Josephus drew this history; especially when it is likely that they thought Benhadad died of the distemper he laboured under, and not by Hazael's treachery, and when Selden hath shewn that Benhadad was among the gods of Syria. *De Diis Syris. Synt. I. D. 6.* Besides, the reason that Josephus gives for this adoration, that these two kings had been great benefactors to the inhabitants of Damascus, and had built them temples, is too remote from the political suspicions of Le Clerc. Nor ought such weak suspicions to be deemed of any force against the authentic testimonies of antiquity.

† An. 894. B. C.

respects, and also to worship foreign gods. Now God would not quite root out this family, because of the promise he had made to David. However Jehoram did not leave off the introduction of new sorts of customs to the propagation of impiety, and to the customs of his own country. And when the Edomites about that time had revolted from him, and slain their former king, who was in subjection to his father, and had set up one of their own choosing, Jehoram fell upon the land of Edom, with the horsemen that were about him, and the chariots, by night; and destroyed those that lay near to his own kingdom; but proceeded no farther. However, this expedition did him no service, for they all revolted from him, with those that dwelt in the country of Libnah. He was indeed so mad as to compel the people to go up to the high places of the mountains, and worship foreign gods.

As he was doing thus, and had entirely cast the laws of the Hebrews out of his mind, there was brought him an epistle* from the prophet Elijah; which declared that God would execute great judgments upon him, because he had not imitated his own fathers; but had followed the wicked courses of the kings of Israel, and had compelled the tribe of Judah, and the citizens of Jerusalem to leave the holy worship of their own God, and to worship idols, as Ahab had compelled the Israelites to do: and because he had slain his brethren, and those men that were righteous. The prophet also gave him notice in this epistle, what punishment he should undergo for these crimes; namely, the destruction of his people, with the corruption of his own wives and children, and that he should himself die of a distemper in his bowels, with long torments; his bowels falling out by the violence of the inward decay of the parts; insomuch that though he saw his own misery, he should not be able to help himself; but should die in that manner.

It was not long after this, that an army of the Philistines, and

* This epistle, in some copies of Josephus, is said to come to Joram from Elijah, with this addition, "for he was yet upon earth;" which could not be true of Elijah; who, as all agree, was gone from the earth about four years before, and could only be true of Elisha. Nor perhaps is there any more mystery here, than that the name of Elijah has very anciently crept into the text, instead of Elisha, by the copiers; there being nothing in any copy of that epistle peculiar to Elijah.

of those Arabians who lived near to Ethiopia, fell upon the kingdom of Jehoram, and spoiled the country and the king's house. They also slew his wives, and his sons, one only escaping, whose name was Ahaziah. After this calamity he himself fell into that disease which was foretold by the prophet, and lasted a* great while: (for God inflicted this punishment upon him out of his wrath against him :) and so he died miserably; and saw his own bowels fall out. The people also abused his dead body. I suppose it was because they thought that such his death came upon him by the wrath of God; and that therefore he was not worthy to partake of such a funeral as became kings. Accordingly they neither buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers; nor vouchsafed him any honours, but buried him like a private man; and this when he had lived forty years, and reigned eight.† And the people of Jerusalem delivered the government to his son Ahaziah.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE ANOINTING OF JEHU; THE DEATH OF JORAM AND AHAZIAH; AND THE PUNISHMENT OF THE IDOLATROUS ISRAELITES.

NOW‡ Joram, king of Israel, after the death of Benbadad, hoped that he might take Ramoth, a city of Gilead, from the Syrians. Accordingly he made an expedition against it, with a great army. But as he was besieging it, an arrow was shot at him by one of the Syrians; 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 the Syrians. But Elisha the prophet sent one of the disciples|| to Ramoth§ to

* Two years: 2 Chron. xxi. 19. † From 895 to 887. ‡ An. 886.

|| The Jewish doctors are of opinion, that the prophet whom Elisha sent upon this message, was Jonah; but upon this supposition, he must at this time, have been a very young man, because Jeroboam the Second (in whose reign Jonah prophesied,) did not ascend the throne till about fifty years after this unction of Jehu king of Israel. However this be, it is reasonable to think, that Elisha himself did not go to perform this office, either because he was now grown old, and unfit for such a journey, or because he was a person too well known and not so proper to be employed in an affair that required secrecy. *Calmel's and Patrick's Commentaries.* B.

§ It is supposed by some interpreters, that the city of Ramoth-Gilead was taken

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, and bade him take his journey, as if he fled; 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; and said, that he desired to speak with him about certain matters. And when he had followed him into an inner chamber, the young man took the holy 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, that so their house might utterly 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. And when he had said this, he went hastily out of that chamber, and endeavoured not to be seen by any of the army.

When Jehu† returned to the place where he before sat with

by Joram, before he departed from it to be cured of his wounds. This they gather from the mention made of the inner chamber, 2 Kings ix. 2. the top of the stairs ver. 13. and from that caution which Jehu thinks advisable, Let none go forth or escape out of the city, ver. 15. But these arguments will not do. What we render out of the city, does signify, every whit as properly, from before the city, i. e. out of the camp or army that is besieging the city. But even, if this be not so, the Israelites might, at this time, have the suburbs. or out-buildings belonging to the city, in their possession, where the general might have his head-quarters, and from whence he might give orders to the picket-guard, (as we call it,) that none should be permitted to move. Nor had the town been already in their hands, we cannot see why Joram should have kept all Israel there, ver. 14. i. e. all the military force of Israel, when a strong garrison would have been sufficient. *Pool's Annotations. B.*

* The Jews are of opinion, that none of the kings of Israel were anointed, but those that were of the house of David, and these only, when there was a question about their succession, as Solomon, they say needed not to have been anointed, had it not been for the faction of Adonijah. But in the case of Jehu, in whom the succession of the kingdom of Israel was to be translated out of the right line of the family of Ahab, into another family which had no right to the kingdom, but merely the appointment of God, there was a necessity for his unction, in order both to convey to him a title, and to invest him in the actual possession of the kingdom: for if that (which some imagine from 1 Kings xix. 16) be true, viz. that the prophet Elisha did, before this time, anoint Jehu, that unction did only confer on him a remote right to the kingdom, in the same manner as Samuel's unction did to David, 1 Sam. xvi. 13. *Patrick's Commentary, and Pool's Annotations. B.*

† The officers who were in company with Jehu, might easily perceive by the habit, and air, and manner of speech of the person who accosted Jehu so boldly, and when he had done his business, vanished so suddenly, that he was a prophet;

the captains, they asked him, wherefore this young man came to him? and added withal, that he was mad: he replied, "you guess rightly; for the words he spake were the words of a mad-man." And when they were eager about the matter, and desired 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 spread it under him, and blew with trumpets, and proclaimed Jehu king. So when he had assembled the army, he prepared to set out immediately against Joram, at the city Jezreel; in which city, as we said before, he was healing of the wound which he had received in the siege of Ramoth. It happened also that Ahaziah, king of Jerusalem, was now come to Joram; (for he was his sister's son, as we have said already,) to see how he did after his wound, and this upon account of their kindred. But as Jehu was desirous to make a sudden attack upon Joram and his companions, he desired that none of the soldiers might run away, and tell Joram what had happened; for that this would be an evident demonstration of their kindness to him, and would shew that their real inclinations were to make him king.

So they were pleased with what he did, and guarded the roads,† lest somebody should privately carry intelligence to

but then there might be several reasons which might induce men of the profession to have a contemptible opinion of men of that order. The rigid and obscure course of life which the prophets led, their neglect of themselves, and of the things of this world, might pass with them for a kind of infatuation; and the holy exercises to which they devoted themselves, for no more than a religious frenzy. Besides this, the false prophets which they had seen in the court of Ahab had given just offence; and by their affected gestures, and studied contortions, (whereby they thought to recommend their crude enthusiasm,) made themselves justly ridiculous and contemptible. And therefore it is no wonder that these officers, at first sight, should censure a true, as they thought they had reason to judge of the false prophet, with whom they had been acquainted; especially when we find some leading men in the tribe of Judah treating the prophets of the Lord (as in the case of Ezekiel, chap. xxiii. 30, 31. and of Jeremiah, xxix. 26.) as fools and madmen; and some great names in the Heathen world, looking upon all pretenders to inspiration in no better light; according to that noted passage in Cicero: *Quid habet auctoritatis furor iste, quem divinum vocatis, ut quæ sapiens non videt, ea videat insanus, et is, qui humanos sensus amiserit, divinos assecutus sit?* *De Divinat.* lib. 2. B.

* Spanheim here observes, that this putting off men's garments, and spreading it under a king, was an eastern custom, which he has elsewhere explained.

† An. 855.

those that were at Jezreel. Now Jehu took his choice horsemen, and sat upon his chariot, and went on for Jezreel. And when he was come near, the watchman,* whom Joram had set there to observe such as came to the city, saw Jehu marching on, and told Joram that he saw a troop of horsemen. He accordingly 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 messenger came up to Jehu, he asked him, in what condition the army was? for that the king wanted to know it. But Jehu told him not 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. And as soon as the watchman told this also to Joram, he at last got upon his chariot himself, together with Ahaziah, the king of Jerusalem; for, as we said before, he was there, to see how Joram did, after he had been wounded; as being 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 all things were well in the camp? but Jehu reproached him bitterly, and called his mother a witch and a harlot. Upon this the king, fearing what he intended, turned his chariot about as soon as he could, and said to Ahaziah, "We are fought against by deceit and treachery." But Jehu drew his bow and smote him; the arrow going

* In time of peace, as well as war, it was customary to have watchmen set on high and eminent places wherever the king was, to prevent his being surprised. Thus David, at Jerusalem, was informed by the watchman, that his sons were escaped from the slaughter of Absalom, when he thought them all lost, 2 Sam. xiii 34, and therefore Joram, who had an army lying before Ramoth Gilead, had good reason to keep a watchful eye upon every motion that came, especially from that quarter. *Patrick's and Calmet's Commentaries.* B.

† Our copies say, that this driving of the chariots was like the driving of Jehu the son of Nimshi, for he drove furiously, 2 Kings ix. 20, whereas Josephus's copy, as he understood it, was that, on the contrary, Jehu 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 at length to go out with king Ahaziah to meet him; 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.

through his heart. So Joram fell down immediately, and gave up the ghost. Jehu also gave orders to Bidkar, the captain of the third part of his army, to cast the dead body into the field of Naboth; reminding him of the prophecy which Elijah delivered to Ahab his father, when he had slain Naboth; that both he and his family should perish in that place: for that, as they sat behind Ahab's chariot, they heard the prophet say so; and it was now come to pass according to his prophecy. Upon the fall of Joram, Ahaziah was afraid of his own life, and turned his chariot into another road; supposing he should not be seen by Jehu. But he followed after him, and overtook him at a certain acclivity, and drew his bow, and wounded him. So he left his chariot, and got upon his horse, and 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 more unrighteous man than his father.

When Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezebel adorned herself,* and stood upon a tower, and said, "He was a fine servant that had killed his master." And when he looked up to her, he asked who she was, and commanded her to come down to him. At least he ordered the eunuchs† to throw her down from the

* The words in the original import, She put her eyes in paint, i. e. she used stibium or antimony pulverised, to make her eyes and eyebrows look black and large, which, in several countries, was accounted a great beauty. The use of paint has been of ancient date, and the art of blacking the hair, and beautifying the face may be indulged by the vanity of the female sex; but it raises one's indignation to read of a Sardanapalus painting his eyes and eyebrows; of the ancient Greeks running into the same custom; and much more of the martial Romans; but there were fops in all nations then as well as now.

Ille supercilium madida fuligine, tinctum
Obliqua producit acu, pingitque tremantes
Attolens oculos.

Juv. Sat. 2. B.

† According to the custom of the eastern nations, the business of this sort of people was to attend upon queens in their chambers, who, by their great fidelity and obsequiousness, gained generally the esteem, and were admitted to the confidence of those they served, and from thence into places very often of great trust and profit. It is remarked, however, of Jezebel's eunuchs, that they were far from being faithful to her, to let us see how suddenly courtiers are wont to change with the fortune of their masters. *Patrick's Commentary.* B.

tower: and being thrown down,* she sprinkled the walls with her blood, 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. He also bade his servants 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 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, which‡ foretold that she should perish in this manner at Jezreel.

Now Ahab had seventy sons brought up in Samaria. So Jehu sent two epistles,|| the one to them that brought up the children, the other to the rulers of Samaria; desiring them to set up the most valiant of Ahab's sons for king; for that they had abundance of chariots, and horses, and armour, and a

* Some of the Jewish doctors look upon this as a punishment, according to the lex talionis; for as she had done, so she suffered. She had caused Naboth to be stoned, and now she is condemned to be stoned herself. For there were two ways of stoning, either by throwing stones at malefactors till they had knocked them down and killed them; or by throwing them down upon the stones from a high place, and so dashing them to pieces. *Patrick's Commentary.* B.

† She was the daughter of Eth-baal king of Tyre; the wife of Ahab, and mother of Joram, kings of Israel; the mother-in-law of Jehoram king of Judah; and the aunt of Ahaziah, who was likewise king of Judah. *Calmel's Commentary.* B.

‡ See Book VIII. chap. 13.

|| The words in the original, which our translation has followed, are, Jehu wrote letters, and sent to Samaria, unto the rulers of Jezreel, to the elders, and to them that brought up Ahab's children, 2 Kings x. 1. But then the question is, How the rulers of Jezreel came to be at Samaria? Some have imagined indeed a mistake in the transcriber, and that, instead of Jezreel, the word should be Israel, which is no great variation: but why may we not suppose, that, upon hearing how Jehu had slain Joram, the great men of his court might take the children, and, for fear that they should fall into his hands, flee with them into Samaria, as the capital, and strongest place in the kingdom, where they might think of defending themselves against his usurpation, and (as his letters seem to import) of filling, with one of Ahab's family, the vacant throne. It was customary for princes of the blood, in those days, to be brought up in the families of the prime nobility of the nation; and therefore, whatever persons of this quality had these princes under their care, and saw the revolution that was like to happen, they might think it the most advisable way to hasten with them to Samaria, as a place of the most security; or, for this very reason, Joram, when he went against Ramoth Gilead, might have sent them thither, that they might be under cover from any ill accident that might possibly happen in his war with the king of Syria. *Patrick's Commentary and Pool's Annotations.* B.

great army, and fenced cities; and that by so doing they might avenge the murder of their master. 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 afraid; and, considering their utter inability to oppose him who had already subdued two great kings, they returned for answer, that they owned him for their lord, and would do whatsoever he commanded them. So he wrote back, enjoining them to cut off the heads of Ahab's sons, and send them to him. Accordingly the rulers sent for those that brought up the sons of Ahab, and commanded them to cut off their heads, and send them to Jehu. This was accordingly done, and the heads were put in wicker baskets, and sent to Jezreel. And when Jehu, as he was at supper with his friends, was informed that the heads of Ahab's sons were brought, he ordered them to make two heaps of them, one before each of the gates: and in the morning he went out to take a view of them; and when he saw them, he began to say to the people that were present, that he certainly made an expedition against his master Joram, and slew him; but that it was not he that slew all these. And he desired them to take notice, that as to Ahab's family, all things had come to pass according to God's prophecy; and his house was perished, according as Elijah had foretold.* And when he had farther destroyed all the kindred of Ahab that was found in Jezreel, he went to Samaria. And as he was upon the road, he met the relations of Abaziah king of Jerusalem, and asked them whither they were going? They replied, that they came to salute Joram, and their own king Abaziah; for they knew not that he had slain them both. So Jehu gave orders that they should be taken and slain, being in number forty-two persons.

After these, there met him a righteous man, whose name was Jehonadab; and who had been his friend of old. He saluted Jehu, and began to commend him, because he had done every thing according to the will of God, in extirpating the house of Ahab. So Jehu desired him to come up into his chariot, and make his entry with him into Samaria; and told him that he would not spare one wicked man, but would punish the false

* 2 Kings, x. 10.

prophets, and false priests, and those that deceived the multitude, and persuaded them to leave the worship of the Almighty, and to worship foreign gods; and that it was a most excellent and pleasing sight to a righteous man to see the wicked punished. So Jehonadab was persuaded by these arguments, and came into Jehu's chariot, and came to Samaria. And Jehu sought out for all Ahab's kindred, and slew them. And, being desirous that none of the false prophets, nor the priests of Ahab's god might escape punishment, he caught them deceitfully by the following artifice:—He gathered all the people together, and said, that "he would worship twice as many gods as Ahab had worshipped; and desired that his priests and prophets, and servants, might be present; because he would offer costly and great sacrifices to Ahab's god; and that if any of his priests were wanting, they should be punished with death. Now Ahab's god was called Baal: and when he had appointed a day on which he would offer those sacrifices, he sent messengers through all the country of the Israelites, that they might bring the priests of Baal to him. So Jehu commanded to give all the priests vestments; and when they had received them, he went into the house of Baal, with his friend Jehonadab; and gave orders to make search whether there were not any foreigner or stranger among them; for he would have no one of a different religion to mix among their sacred offices. And when they said that there was no stranger there, and they were beginning their sacrifices, he set eighty of his most faithful soldiers without the doors, and bade them slay the false prophets, and vindicate the laws of their country, which had been a long time in disesteem. He also threatened that if any escaped, their own lives should go for them. So they slew them all with the sword; and destroyed the house of Baal,* and by that means purged Samaria of idolatrous worship. Now this Baal was the god of the Tyrians; and Ahab, in order to gratify his father-in-law, Ethbaal, who was the king of Tyre and Sidon, built a temple for him in Samaria; and appointed him prophets, and worshipped him with all sorts of worship. This idol Jehu now demolished, but he still permit-

* 2 Kings x. 27.

ted 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* generations.

CHAP. VII.

OF ATHALIAH'S REIGN OVER JERUSALEM FOR SIX YEARS; HER SUBSEQUENT PUNISHMENT BY JEHOIADA THE HIGH-PRIEST, AND THE ACCESSION OF JEHOASH, SON OF AHAZIAH.

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 endeavoured that none of the house of David might be left alive; but that the family might be exterminated, that no king might arise out of it afterward. And she supposed her sanguinary wishes were completely fulfilled. But one of Ahaziah's sons escaped death after the following manner;—Ahaziah had a sister by the same father, whose name was Jehosheba, and she was married to the high-priest Jehoiada. She went into the king's palace, and found Jehoash, for that was the little child's name, who was not above a year old, among those that were slain, but concealed, with his nurse.† So she took him into a secret bed-chamber, and shut him up there; and she and her husband Jehoiada brought him up privately in the

* This promise was fulfilled, in the persons of Jehoahaz, Jehoash, Jeroboam II. and Zachariah.

† Some interpreters are of opinion, that Joash was not the real son of Ahaziah, (in whom the race of Solomon, in a direct line, was extinct.) but properly the son of Nathan, and only called Ahaziah's, because he succeeded him in the throne; for had he been Ahaziah's true son, and Athaliah's grandson, why might not she have declared him king, and during his minority at least, taken the administration into her own hands? But therefore she exercised her cruelty, as they say, in destroying the princes related to Ahaziah, because she was unwilling to have the kingdom go into another branch of David's family. But notwithstanding these reasons, and the authority of those who produce them, in the second books both of Kings and Chronicles, we find this Jehoash so frequently called the son of Ahaziah, the king's son, &c. without any manner of restriction, that we cannot be persuaded to look out for any other father for him. B.

temple, six years;* during which time Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem, and the two tribes.

Now, on the seventh year, Jehoiada communicated this important matter to five of the captains of hundreds, and persuaded them to assist in the attempts he was making against Athaliah, and to join with him in securing the kingdom to the child. He also received such oaths from them as are proper to secure those that assist one another from the fear of discovery; and he was then of good hope that they should depose Athaliah. Now those men whom Jehoiada the priest had taken to be his partners, went into all the country, and gathered together the priests, and the Levites, and the heads of the tribes out of it, and brought them to Jerusalem to the high-priest. So he demanded the security of an oath of them to keep private whatsoever he should discover to them; which required both their silence and their assistance. So when they had taken an 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, of that house which you know God hath foretold should reign over you for all time to come. I exhort you, therefore, that one third part of you guard him in the temple, and that a fourth† guard keep watch at all the gates, and that the next part of you keep guard at that gate which opens and leads to the king's palace; and let the rest of the multitude be unarmed in the temple; and let no armed person go into the temple, but the priest only." He also ordered 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 might 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 them to; and declared the reality of their resolution by their actions. Jehoiada also opened that armoury which David had made in the temple, and distributed to the captains of hundreds, as also to the priests, and Levites, all the spears,

* 2 Kings xi. 3.

† A third part, Hebrew and Septuagint.

quivers, and other weapons, which it contained; and set them armed in a circle round about the temple, so as to touch one another's hands; 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 shouted "God save the king."*

When Athaliah unexpectedly heard these acclamations, she was 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 priests received her; but as for those that stood round about the temple, as they were ordered by the high-priests to do, they hindered the armed men that followed her from going in. But when Athaliah saw the child standing on a pillar, † with the royal crown upon his head, she rent her clothes, and cried out vehemently, and commanded her guards to kill him that had laid snares for her, and endeavoured to deprive her of the government. But 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 defiled with the punishment of this pernicious woman. And he gave order, that if any one came near to help her, he should be slain also. Wherefore those that had the charge of her slaughter led her to the gate of the king's mules and slew her there.

* 2 Kings xi. 12.

† The words in the text are,—And when she looked, behold the king stood by a pillar, as the manner was, 2 Kings xi. 14. Now there were two famous pillars, which Solomon erected in the porch of the temple, whereof that on the right hand was called Jachin, and that on the left Booz, and were each of them (according to the account we have) eighteen cubits high, 1 Kings vii. 15, 21. Solomon's design in setting up these two pillars, is generally supposed to have been, in order to represent the pillar of the cloud, and the pillar of fire, which went before the Israelites, and conducted them in the wilderness. The pillar on the right hand represented the pillar of the cloud, and that on the left the pillar of fire; and near one of these pillars, in all probability, the royal throne was erected; unless we can suppose, that, what is here called a pillar, was that brazen scaffold, five cubits long, five broad, and five high, which Solomon made at first upon his dedicating the temple, but was afterwards continued for the king, upon any solemn occasion, to appear upon, and where doubtless there was a throne of state. *Camel's Commentary*, and *Bedford's Scripture Chronology*. lib. vi. c. 2. B.

Jehoiada now called together the people, and the armed men into the temple; and made them take an oath, that they would be obedient to the king, and take care of his safety, and of the 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 house of Baal, which Athaliah and her husband Jehoram had built to the dishonour of the God of their fathers, and to the honour of Ahab; and demolished it, and slew Mattan, that had the priesthood. But Jehoiada intrusted the care and custody of the temple to the priests and Levites, according to the appointment of David; and enjoined them to bring their regular burnt-offerings twice a day; and to offer incense according to the law. He also ordained some of the Levites with the porters, to be a guard to the temple; that no one that was defiled might come there.

When Jehoiada had set these things in order, he, with the captains of hundreds, and the rulers, and all the people, took Jehoash out of the temple into the king's palace: and when he had set him upon the king's throne, the people shouted for joy, and kept a festival for many days. But the city was quiet upon the death of Athaliah. Now Jehoash was seven years old when he took the kingdom. His mother's name was Zibiah, of the city Beersheba. And all the time that Jehoiada lived Jehoash* was careful that the laws should be kept, and was 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.

* 2 Kings xii. 2.

CHAP. VIII.

OF HAZAEL'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL, AND THE INHABITANTS OF JERUSALEM; THE DEATH OF JEHU, AND SUCCESSION OF JEHOAHAZ; THE CONDUCT OF JEHOASH, KING OF JUDAH; AND THE ACCESSION OF AMAZIAH.

NOW Hazael, king of Syria, fought against the Israelites, and spoiled the eastern parts of the country beyond Jordan, which belonged to the Reubenites and Gadites, and to the half tribe of Manassites; as also Gilead and Bashan; burning, spoiling, and offering violence to all that he could lay his hands on; and this without interruption from Jehu, who made no haste to defend the country, when it was under this distress. Nay, he was become a contemner of religion, and despiser of holiness, and of the laws; and died when he had reigned over the Israelites twenty-seven* years. He was buried in Samaria, and left the government to his son Jehoahaz.

Meanwhile Jehoash, king of Judah, had an inclination to repair the temple of God. So he called Jehoiada, and bade him send the Levites and priests through all the country to require half a shekel of silver from every head, towards the rebuilding and repairing of the temple, which was brought to decay by Jehoram, and Athaliah, and her sons. But the high-priest did not do this; as concluding that no one would willingly pay that money. But in the twenty-third year of Jehoash's reign, when the king sent for him, and the Levites, and complained that they had not obeyed what he enjoined them; and still commanded them to take care of the rebuilding of the temple, he used this stratagem for collecting the money. He made a wooden chest, and closed it up fast on all sides, but opened one hole in it. He then set it in the temple, beside the altar, and desired 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

* Twenty-eight, Hebrew and Septuagint, from an. 885 to 857.

in jointly large quantities of silver and gold.* And when the scribes and the priests that were over the treasuries, had emptied the chest, and counted the money in the king's presence, they then set it in its former place. And thus did they every day. But when the multitude appeared to have cast in as much as was wanted, the high-priest Jehoiada, and king Joash, sent to hire masons and carpenters: and to buy large pieces of timber, and of the most curious sort. And when they had repaired the temple, they made use of the remaining gold and silver, for bowls, basons, cups, and other vessels; and they went on to make the altar every day rich with sacrifices of great value.

Some time afterwards Jehoiada died when he had lived one hundred and thirty years; having been a righteous, and in every respect a good man: and he was buried in the king's sepulchres at Jerusalem; because he had recovered the kingdom to the family of David. After his death Jehoash betrayed his want of care about God; and the principal men of the people were corrupted with him; and offended against their duty, and what their constitution determined to be most for their good. Hereupon God was displeased with the change that was made in the king, and in 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 they had so violent an inclination to it, that neither could the examples of those that had offered affronts to the laws, and had been so severely punished, they and their entire families; nor could the fear of what the prophets now foretold, 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 prophecy, he stood in the midst of the multitude, and exhorted both them and the king to act righteously; and foretold, that if they would not hearken to his admonitions, they should suffer a heavy punishment. But as Zachariah was ready to die, he ap-

* 2 Kings xii. 9.

† About an. 840.

pealed to God as a witness of what he suffered, for the good counsel he had given them: and how he perished after a most severe and violent manner, for the good deeds his father had done to Jehoash.

However, 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. Hereupon Jehoash was afraid, and emptied all the treasures of God, and of the kings before him, and took down the gifts that had been dedicated in the temple, and sent them to the king of Syria, and procured so much by them that he was not besieged, nor his kingdom quite endangered; but Hazael was induced by the greatness of the sum of money not to bring his army against Jerusalem.* Yet Jehoash fell into a severe distemper, and was set upon by his friends, in order to revenge the death of Zachariah the son of Jehoiada. These laid snares for the king, and slew him. He was buried in Jerusalem, but not in the royal sepulchres of his forefathers, because of his impiety. He lived forty-seven years; and Amaziah his son succeeded him in the kingdom.†

In the twenty-first‡ year of the reign of Jehoash, Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, took the government of the Israelites in Samaria, and held it seventeen years. He did not properly imitate his father; but was guilty of as wicked practices as those that first had God in contempt. But the king of Syria brought him low, and by an expedition against him did so greatly reduce his forces, that there remained no more of so great an army than ten thousand men, and fifty horsemen. He also took away from him many of his great cities, and destroyed his army. And these were the things that the people of Israel suffered according to the prophecy of Elisha, when he foretold that Hazael should kill his master, and reign over the Syrians and Damascens. But when Jehoahaz was under such unavoidable miseries, he had recourse to prayer and supplication to God; and

* 2 Kings xii. 18.

† 2 Kings xii. 21.

‡ The twenty-third, Hebrew and Septuagint.

besought him to deliver him out of the hands of Hazael, and not overlook him, and give him up into his hands. Accordingly God accepted of his repentance; and, being desirous rather to admonish those that might repent, than to determine that they should be utterly destroyed, he granted him deliverance from war and dangers. So the country having obtained peace, returned to its former condition, and flourished as before.

After the death of Jehoahaz,* his son Joash took the kingdom, in the thirty-seventh year of Jehoash, king of the tribe of Judah; and he retained the government sixteen years. He was a good man,† and in his disposition not at all like to his father. Now at this time it was that the king of Israel went to visit Elisha the prophet, who was already very old, and was now fallen into a disease, and when the king found him very near death, he began to weep in his sight, and lament, calling him his father, and his weapons; because it was by this means that he never made use of his weapons against his enemies: but overcame them by his prophecies, without fighting. And that he was now departing this life, and leaving him to the Syrians, who were already armed; and to other enemies that were under their power. So he said it was not safe for him to live any longer; but that it would be well for him to hasten to his end, and depart out of this life with him. As the king was thus be-

* An. 842.

† This character of Joash, the son of Jehoahaz, that he was a good man; and in his disposition not at all like his father, seems a direct contradiction to our ordinary copies; which says, 2 Kings xiii. 11. that he did evil in the sight of the Lord, and that he departed not from all the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin. Which copies are here the truest, it is difficult to determine. If Josephus's be true, this Joash is the single instance of a good king over the ten tribes. If the other be true, we have not one such example. The account that follows, in all copies, of the prophet Elisha's concern for him, and his concern for Elisha, greatly favour Josephus's copies: and suppose 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 appears, even by Josephus's own account, that Amaziah the good king of Judah, while he was a good king was forbidden to make use of the 10,000 auxiliaries he had hired of this Joash, king of Israel: as if he and they were idolaters; IX. 9. 2 Chron. xiv. 5—9, it is most likely, that these different characters of Joash suited the different parts of his reign: and that according to our common copies, he was at first a wicked king; and afterwards was reclaimed, and became a good one, according to Josephus.

moaning himself, Elisha comforted him, and desired him to bend a bow that was brought him; and when the king had fitted the bow for shooting, Elisha took hold of his hands, and and bade him shoot. And when he had shot three arrows, and then left off, Elisha said, "If thou hadst shot more arrows, thou hadst cut the kingdom of Syria up by the roots; but since thou hast been satisfied with shooting three times only, thou shalt fight and beat the Syrians no more times than three; that thou mayest 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 the prophet died. He was a man celebrated for righteousness, and in eminent favour with God: he also performed many wonderful works by prophecy, and such as were gloriously preserved in memory by the Hebrews. He obtained a magnificent funeral: such a one indeed as it was fit a person so beloved of God should have. It also happened that at that time certain robbers cast a man, whom they had slain, into Elisha's grave, and upon the dead corpse coming close to Elisha's body, it revived again.* And thus far have we enlarged about the actions of Elisha the prophet; both such as he did while he was living, and how he had a divine power after his death also.

Now upon the death of Hazael, king of Syria, that kingdom came to Adad his son; 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 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 happened to die, he was buried in Samaria: and the government devolved on his son Jeroboam.

* 2 Kings xiii. 21.

CHAP. IX.

OF AMAZIAH'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE EDMOMITES AND AMALEKITES; HIS DEFEAT IN THE SUBSEQUENT WAR AGAINST JOASH, KING OF ISRAEL; AND THE ACCESSION OF UZZIAH.

IN the second year of the reign of Joash,* over Israel, Amaziah reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem. His mother's name was Jeoadan, who was born at Jerusalem. He was exceeding careful of 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 revenge his father Jehoash; and to punish those that had laid violent hands upon him. So he seized upon them all, and put them to death:† yet did he execute no severity on their children; but acted therein according to the law of Moses, who did not think it just to punish the children for the sins of their fathers.‡ After this he chose an army out of the tribes 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 of his soldiers, for a hundred talents of silver;|| for he had resolved to make an expe-

* An. 840.

† The two murderers (mongrel fellows, whose fathers were Jews, but their mothers aliens) perhaps were of his bed-chamber, and having constant access to the king, might more easily accomplish their design. However, he was so weak and feeble, that he could make no resistance, and had fallen into that contempt and disesteem, that his guards minded not what became of him. *Patrick's Commentary. B.*

‡ Deut. xxiv. 16.

|| If these be reckoned for talents of silver, as they generally are, each talent, at a hundred and twenty-five pounds weight, and each pound weight at four pounds value, the whole will amount to fifty thousand pounds sterling, which will be but ten shillings to each man, officers included. Very low pay! unless we suppose, that this whole sum was given to the king of Israel for the loan of so many men, and that the men were to have no other pay besides; or rather, that they were to have no other pay but the booty which they took from the enemy;

dition against the nations of the Amalekites, Edomites, and Gebalites. But as he was preparing for his expedition, and ready to go out to the war, a prophet gave him counsel to dismiss the army of the Israelites; because they were bad men, and because God foretold that he should be beaten, if he made use of them as auxiliaries; but that he should overcome his enemies, though he had but a few soldiers, when it so pleased God. And when the king grudged at his having already paid the hire of the Israelites, the prophet exhorted him to do what God would have him: because he should thereby obtain much wealth from God. So he dismissed them, and said that he still freely gave them their pay, and went himself with his own army, and made war with the aforementioned nations; and when he had beaten them in battle, he slew of them ten thousand, and took as many prisoners alive, whom he brought to the great rock, which is in Arabia, and threw them down from it headlong. He also brought away a great deal of prey, and vast riches from those nations. But while Amaziah was engaged in this expedition, those Israelites whom he had hired, and then dismissed, were very uneasy, and taking their dismissal for an affront, as supposing that this would not have been done to them but out of contempt, they fell upon his kingdom, and proceeded to spoil the country as far as Beth-horon, and took much cattle, and slew three thousand men.

In consequence of the victory which Amaziah had gotten, and the great acts he had done, he was puffed up; and began to overlook God, who had given him the victory; and proceeded to worship the gods he had brought out of the country of the Amalekites. So a prophet came to him, and said, he wondered how he could esteem them to be gods, who had been of no advantage to their own people, who paid them no honours; nor had delivered them from his hands; but had overlooked the destruction of many of them, and had suffered themselves to be carried captive; for that they had been carried to Jerusalem in the same manner as any one might have taken some of the ene-

and that this was the true reason why they were so exasperated at their dismissal, as to fall upon the cities of Judah, from Samaria even unto Beth-horon, 2 Chron. xiv. 13. *Patrick's and Calmet's Commentaries.* B.

my alive, and led them thither. This reproof provoked the king to anger; and he commanded the prophet to hold his peace, and threatened to punish him if he meddled with his conduct. So he replied, that he should indeed hold his peace; but foretold withal, that God would not overlook those attempts at innovation. Amaziah, however, was not able to contain himself under that prosperity which God had given him, although he had affronted God thereupon; but in a vein of insolence he wrote to Joash, king of Israel, commanding that he and all his people should be obedient to him, as they had formerly been obedient to his progenitors, David and Solomon; and giving him to understand, that if he would not be so wise as to do what he commanded, he must fight for his dominions. Hereupon Joash returned this answer in writing.

KING JOASH TO KING AMAZIAH.

“ THERE was a vastly tall cyprus tree in mount Lebanon, as also a thistle; this thistle sent to the cypress tree, to give the cypress tree’s daughter in marriage to the thistle’s son. But as the thistle was saying this, there came a wild beast and trod it down. And this may be a lesson to thee, not to be so ambitious; but to be careful, lest upon thy good success in the fight against the Amalekites, thou growest so proud, as to bring dangers upon thyself, and upon thy kingdom.”*

When Amaziah had read this letter, he was more eager upon his expedition: which I suppose, was by the impulse of God, that he might be punished for his offence against him. But as soon as he led out his army against Joash, and they were going to join battle, there came such a consternation upon the army of Amaziah, as God, when he is displeased, sends upon men: and discomfited them, even before they came to a close fight. Now it happened, that as they were scattered about by the terror that was upon them, Amaziah was left alone, and was taken prisoner by the enemy. Whereupon Joash threatened to kill him, unless he would persuade the people of Jerusalem to open their gates, and receive him and his army into the city. Ac-

* 2 Kings xiv. 9, 10.

cordingly Amaziah was so distressed, and in such fear of his life, that he made his enemy to be received into the city. So Joash overthrew a part of the wall, of the length of one hundred cubits, and drove his chariot through the breach into Jerusalem, and led Amaziah 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 Amaziah; who after this had a conspiracy formed against him by his friends, and fled to the city Lachish, and was there slain by the conspirators. So they took up his dead body, and carried it to Jerusalem; and made a royal funeral for him. This was the end of the life of Amaziah; 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.

OF THE AFFAIRS OF JEROBOAM, KING OF ISRAEL; JONAH THE PROPHET; ZECHARIAH, THE SON OF JEROBOAM; AND UZZIAH, KING OF JERUSALEM.

IN the fifteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, Jeroboam, the son of Joash, reigned over Israel,‡ in Samaria. The king was guilty of contumely against God,|| and became very wicked in

* 2 Kings xiv. 11, 13.

† From an 840 to an. 811.

‡ 2 Kings xiv. 22.

|| What I have above noted concerning Jehoash, seems to have been true also concerning his son Jeroboam II. viz. that although he began wickedly, as Josephus agrees with our other copies; and, as Josephus adds, was the cause of a vast number of misfortunes to the Israelites, in those his first years, (the particulars of which are unhappily wanting both in Josephus and in all our copies;) so does it seem that he was afterward reclaimed, and became a good king; and so was encouraged by the prophet Jonah, and had great successes afterward; when God saved the Israelites by the hand of Jeroboam, the son of Joash, 2 Kings xiv. 27, which en-

worshipping of idols, and in many absurd and impious undertakings, by which he occasioned ten thousand misfortunes 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 enlarge the bounds of his kingdom on the northern parts, to the city Hamath; and on the southern, to the lake Asphaltites; for the bounds of the Canaanites originally were these, as Joshua their general had determined them. So Jeroboam made an expedition against the Syrians, and overrun all their country, as Jonah had foretold.

Now I cannot but think it necessary 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

couragement by Jonah, and great successes, are equally observable in Josephus, and in other copies.

* The only mention we have of this prophet (whom the Jews will have to be the son of the widow of Zarephath, whom Elijah raised from the dead, but without any foundation of reason) is in this passage, and the account of this famous mission to Nineveh. What the prophecies were, whereby he encouraged Jeroboam to proclaim war against the king of Syria, we have no where recorded; but as we have not every thing which the prophets did write, so several prophets, we must know, did not commit their predictions to writing. From this place, however, we may observe, that God was very merciful to the Israelites, (though they were certainly a very wicked people,) in continuing a race of prophets among them, even after Elisha was dead. (*Patrick's Commentary.*) It is a very common opinion among the Jews, as we said, that Jonah was the son of the widow of Zarephath; and this opinion they found upon the words of the mother, when she received her son alive from the prophet's hand. By this I know, that the word of the Lord in thy mouth is truth, 1 Kings xvii. 24, for therefore, say they, was the child called the son of Amittai; because Amittai signifies truth: a weak reason, and such as is plainly repugnant to the testimony of Scripture. For this we know for certain, that Jonah lived in the reigns of Joash, and Jeroboam the second, kings of Israel, and therefore could not be the son of the widow of Zarephath, since the former of these two princes did not begin to reign till sixty years after the translation of Elijah. Others pretend that he was son to the Shunamite woman, whom the prophet Elisha raised from the dead; but Shunam and Gath-hepher (where we are certain Jonah was born) were two quite different places, the former in the tribe of Issachar, the other in that of Zabulon; and therefore, we may conclude, that Amittai was the proper name of Jonah's father, who lived in a little canton of the tribe of Zabulon, called Hopher, or Hopher, wherein was the town of Gath, which is generally believed to be the same with Jotapata, so famous for the siege which Josephus there maintained against the Roman army, a little before the destruction of Jerusalem. *Calmet's Preface sur Jonas*, and his *Dictionary*, under the word. B.

go to the kingdom of Nineveh; and to publish in that city, how it should lose the dominion it had over the nations. But he went not, out of fear; nay, he ran away from God to the city* Joppa;† and finding a ship there, he went into it, and sailed to Tarsus in Cilicia.‡ And upon the rise of a most terrible storm,|| which was so great that the ship was in danger of sinking, the mariners, the master, and the pilot himself, made prayers and vows, in case they escaped the sea. But Jonah lay still and covered in the ship, without imitating any thing which the others did. But as the waves grew greater, and the sea became more violent by the winds, they suspected, as

* Jonah i. 3.

† Joppa is a seaport town in Palestine, upon the Mediterranean, and was formerly the only port which the Jews had upon that coast, whither all the materials that were sent from Tyre, towards the building of Solomon's temple, were brought and landed. The town itself is very ancient; for profane authors reckon it was built before the flood, and derives the name of it from Joppa, the daughter of Elo-las, and the wife of Cepheus, who was the founder of it. Others are rather inclined to believe, that it was built by Japhet, and from him had the name of Japho, which was afterwards moulded into Joppa, but is now generally called Jaffa, which comes nearer to the first appellation. The town is situated in a fine plain, between Jamnia to the south; Cæsarea of Palestine to the north; and Rama, or Ramula to the east; but, at present, is in a poor and mean condition; nor is its port by any means good, by reason of the rocks which project into the sea. The chief thing for which this place was famous, in ancient Pagan history, in the exposition of Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus, king of Egypt, who, for her mother's pride, was bound to a rock, in order to be devoured by a sea-monster, but was delivered by the valour and bravery of Perseus, who afterwards married her. For in the times of Mela and Pliny, there were some marks remaining (as they themselves testify nempe, Mela, lib. i. c. 11. Pliny, lib. 5. c. 13. Joseph. De Bello Jud. lib. iiii. c. 15.) of the chain wherewith this royal virgin was bound to the rock which projects into the sea. But all this is mere fiction, first founded upon the adventure of Jonah, who set sail from this port, and then improved with the accession of some particular circumstances. *Calmel's Commentaire sur Jonas*, c. i. v. 3. B.

‡ When Jonah is said in our Bibles to have gone to Tarshish, Jonah i. 3. Josephus understood it, that he went to Tarshish, in Cilicia, or to the Mediterranean Sea upon which Tarsus lay. So that he does not appear to have read the text, 1 Kings xxii. 48. as our copies do, that ships of Tarshish could lie at Ezion Geber, upon the Red Sea. See the note on IX. 1. But as to Josephus's assertion, that Jonah's fish was carried by the strength of the current upon a storm, as far as the Euxine Sea; it is no way impossible. And since 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 fish's belly, that current might bring him to the Assyrian coast; and since withal that coast could bring him neither to Nineveh than could any coast of the Mediterranean, it is by no means an improbable determination in Josephus.

|| The Jewish doctors, who are great lovers of prodigies, are not even satisfied

is usual in such cases, that some one of the persons that sailed with them was the occasion of this storm; and agreed to discover by lots which of them it was. When they had cast lots,* the lot fell upon the prophet. And when they asked him, whence he came, and what he had done? he replied that he was a Hebrew by nation, and a prophet of Almighty God; and he persuaded them to cast him into the sea, if they would escape the danger they were in; for that he was the occasion of the storm. Now, at the first they durst not do so; as esteeming it a wicked thing to cast a man who was a stranger, and who had committed his life to them, into such manifest destruction. But at last, when their ship was just going to be wrecked; and when they were animated to do it by the prophet himself, and by the fear concerning their own safety, they cast him into the sea; upon which the storm immediately subsided. It is also related that Jonah was swallowed by a whale; and that when he had been there three days, and as many nights, he was vomited out upon the Euxine sea, without having sustained any injury. And there, on his prayer to God, he obtained pardon for his sins, and went to the city of Nineveh:

with what they meet with in this history of Jonah, but have over and above added, that as soon as the ship, wherein he was embarked, was under sail, it, all on a sudden, stood stockstill, so that it could be made to move neither backward nor forward, notwithstanding all the pains that the mariners took in rowing. But others, with more probability, say, that while all the rest of the ships were quiet and unmolested, the storm fell upon none but that wherein Jonah was, which made the seamen think that there was something miraculous in it; and thereupon called upon the company that sailed with them, to come and cast lots, (as the superstitious custom among the Heathens was, whenever they were in any great distress;) that accordingly they cast lots three different times, which still fell upon Jonah; and that they let him down several times with a rope, without plunging him into the sea, and as often as they did it, found the storm abate, and whenever they pulled him up again, found it increase; so, that at last, they were forced to commit him to the mercy of the waves. All which are circumstances which the Scripture account neither favours nor contradicts. *Calmel's Commentary. B.*

* This ancient piece of religion, of supposing there was great sin, where there was great misery; and of casting lots to discover great sinners, not only among the Israelites, but among these Heathen mariners, seems a remarkable vestige of the ancient tradition, which prevailed of old over all mankind, that Providence used to interpose visibly in all human affairs, and never to bring, or at least not long to continue, notorious judgments, but for notorious sins; which the most ancient book of Job shews to have been the state of mankind for about the former 3000 years of the world, till the days of Job and Moses.

where he stood so as to be heard; and preached, that in a very little time they should lose the dominion of Asia. And when he had published this, he returned. Now I have given this account about him, as I have found it written in our books.*

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 Zachariah took the kingdom. After the same manner did Uzziah, the son of Amaziah, begin to reign over the two tribes in Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of the reign of Jeroboam. He was a good man, and by nature magnanimous, and very laborious in taking care of the affairs of his kingdom. He made an expedition against the Philistines, and overcame them in battle, and took the cities of Gath and Jabneh, and brake down their walls. After which expedition he assaulted those Arabs that adjoined to Egypt. He also built a city upon the Red Sea, and put a garrison in it; and, having overthrown the Ammonites, and appointed that they should pay tribute, he subdued all the countries as far as to the bounds of Egypt; and then began to take care of Jerusalem, for the rest of his life. For he rebuilt and repaired all those parts of the wall which had either fallen down by length of time, or by the carelessness of his predecessors; as well as all that part which had been thrown down by the king of Israel,

* The book of Jonah ends as abruptly as it begins. It begins with a conjunction copulative, And the word of the Lord came upon Jonah, (so it should be read) which has made some commentators think, that it was but an appendix to some of his other writings; and it ends without giving us any manner of account, either what became of the Ninevites, or of Jonah himself, after this expedition: It is likely indeed, from the compassionate expressions which God makes use of towards the Ninevites, that, for that time, he reversed their doom; and it is not improbable that Jonah, when he had executed his commission, and been satisfied by God concerning his merciful procedure, returned into Judea; but the author of the Lives and Deaths of the prophets, (who goes under the name of Epiphanius) tells us, returning from Nineveh, and being ashamed to see that his prediction was not fulfilled, he retired with his mother to the city of Tyre, where he lived in the plain of Sear, until he died, and was buried in the cave of Cenezeus, judge of Israel; but who the author means by Cenezeus, unless it be Caleb, who is frequently surnamed the Kenezite, (though we do not read of his being ever a judge of Israel,) or rather Othniel, who was the son of Kenez, and one that judged Israel, we cannot tell. *Calmet's Dictionary*, under the word *Jonah*; and *Hortell's History*, in the notes. B.

† Forty-one years, Hebrew, from an. 826 to 785, B. C.

when he took his father Amaziah prisoner,* and entered with him into the city. Moreover he built a great many towers, {of a 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 many beasts of labour, and an immense number of cattle; for his country was fit for pasturage; and being addicted to husbandry, he took care to cultivate the ground; and planted it with all sorts of plants, and sowed it with all sorts of seeds. He had also about him an army composed of three hundred and seventy thousand chosen men, who were governed by two thousand general officers, and captains of thousands, who were men of valour, and of unconquerable strength. He also divided his whole army into bands, and armed them; giving every one a sword, with brazen bucklers and breast-plates, with bows and slings; and besides these, he made for them many engines of war,† for besieging of cities; such as cast stones and darts, with grapplers, and other instruments of that sort.

While Uzziah‡ was in this state, and making preparations for futurity, he was corrupted in his mind by pride,|| and became insolent; on account of that abundance which he had of things

* See chap. ix.

† This is the first time that we read of any machine, either for besieging or defending towns; which is plainly the reason why sieges were of so long a continuance before the invention of these. Homer, who is the most ancient Greek writer we know of that treats of sieges, describes a kind of entrenchment, though a poor one, some lines of circumvallation, and a ditch with palisades; but we hear not one word of any machines, such as the ballistæ and the catapultæ, which were used for hurling stones and throwing darts; and therefore we need less wonder, that the famous siege of Troy continued so long. Sardanapalus king of Assyria maintained himself in Nineveh for seven years, because the besiegers, as Diodorus observes, lib. 2. wanted such engines as were fit for demolishing and taking of cities, they being not then invented. Uzziah was certainly the first inventor of them: and therefore it is said, that for these and other warlike preparations, his name was spread abroad. From this time they began to be employed, both in attacking and defending towns; and therefore we find the prophet Ezekiel describing the future sieges of Jerusalem and Tyre, where he makes mention of battering-rams, and engines of war, or, as it should be rendered, machines of cords, which, in all probability, were what latter ages called their ballistæ and catapultæ. *Calmet's Dissertation sur la milice des anciens Hebreux.* B.

‡ About an. 766.

|| 2 Chron. xxvi. 16. et sequel.

that will soon perish; and despised that power which is of eternal duration, which consisted in piety towards God, and in the observance of his laws: so he fell by occasion of the success of his affairs, and was carried headlong into those sins of his fathers, which the splendour of that prosperity he enjoyed, and the glorious actions he had done, led him into: while he was unable to govern himself well about them. Accordingly when a remarkable day was come, and a general festival was to be celebrated, he put on the holy garment, and went into the temple to offer incense to God upon the golden altar. But Azariah the high-priest, who had eighty priests with him, affirmed that it was not lawful for him to offer sacrifice: and that none besides the posterity of Aaron were permitted so to do. And when they cried out, that he must go out of the temple, and not transgress against God, he was wroth with them, and threatened to kill them, unless they would hold their peace. In the mean time a great earthquake* shook the ground, and a rent was made in the temple, and the bright rays of the sun shone through it; and fell upon the king's face, insomuch that the leprosy seized upon him immediately. And before the city, at a place called Eroge, half the mountain broke off from the rest on the west, and rolled itself four furlongs, and stood still at the east mountain; till the roads, as well as the king's gardens, were spoiled by the obstruction. Now as soon as the priests saw that the king's face was infected with the leprosy, they told him of the calamity he was under, and commanded that he should go out of the city as a polluted person. Hereupon he was so confounded, that he did as he was commanded; and underwent this terrible and miserable punishment for a presumptuous intention, and for that impiety against God which was

* This account of an earthquake at Jerusalem, at the very same time when Uz-ziah usurped the priest's office, and went into the sanctuary to burn incense, and of the consequences of the earthquake, is entirely wanting in our other copies; though it be exceeding like to a prophecy of Jeremiah's, now in Zachariah xiv. 4, 5. In which prophecy mention is made of fleeing from that earthquake, as they fled from this earthquake in the days of Uz-ziah king of Judah. So that there seems to have been some considerable resemblance between these historical and prophetic earthquakes. But whether Josephus interpreted this prophecy as a history; or whether a parallel has been dropped in our other copies, cannot be determined.

implied therein. So he abode out of the city for some time, and lived a private life: while his son Jotham took the government.* He died with grief and anxiety, at what had happened to him; when he had lived sixty-eight years, and reigned fifty-two;† and his body was buried in his own garden.

CHAP. XI.

OF THE REIGNS OF ZACHARIAH, SHALLUM, MENAHEM, PEKAHIAH, AND PEKAH; AND OF THE EXPEDITION OF PUL, AND TIGLATH-PILESER AGAINST THE ISRAELITES. ALSO OF THE AFFAIRS OF JOTHAM, KING OF JUDAH; AND THE PROPHECY OF NAHUM AGAINST THE ASSYRIANS.

WHEN Zachariah,‡ the son of Jeroboam, had reigned six months over Israel, he was slain by the treachery of Shallum, the son of Jabesh; who took the kingdom afterward, but kept it no longer than thirty days. For Menahem, the general of his army, who was at that time in the city Tirzah, and heard of what had befallen Zachariah, removed with all his forces to Samaria; and joining battle with Shallum slew him; and when he had made himself king, he went thence, and came to the city Tiphshab. The citizens shut their gates, and barred them against the king; and would not admit him. But in order to be avenged on them, he burnt the adjacent country, and took

* 2 Kings xv. 5.

† From an. 811 to 759.

‡ God had promised Jehu, that for executing his will upon the house of Ahab, he would continue the crown of Israel in his family for four generations; and accordingly Jehoahaz, Joash, Jehoram, and Zachariah succeeded him; but because he did it not so much in obedience to the divine command, as to satisfy his private and ambitious views, and in a method of cruelty quite abhorrent to the divine nature, God cut his family short, as soon as he had fulfilled his promise to him, and thereby accomplished the prophecy of Hosea; I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu, and will cause to cease the kingdom of Jehu, and will cause to cease the kingdom of the house of Israel. chap. i. 4. and perhaps it was in remembrance of this prophecy, as well as of the promise which confined the kingdom in Jehu's family to four generations only, 2 Kings xv. 10. that Shallum was encouraged to attempt the life of Zachariah. *Patrick's Commentary and Pool's Annotations.* B.

the city by storm; and being very much displeased at what the inhabitants of Tiphseh had done, he slew 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, who had been conquered by him. And after this manner it was that this Menahem continued to reign with cruelty and barbarity for ten years.* But when Pul, king of Assyria, had made an expedition against him, he did not venture an engagement; but he persuaded him to accept of a thousand talents of silver, and to go away, and so put an end to the war. This sum the multitude collected for Menahem, by exacting fifty† drachmæ,‡ as poll-money for every head. After which he died, and was buried in Samaria, and left his son Pekahiah his successor in the kingdom. This prince followed the barbarity of his father, and so ruled but two years only: after which he was slain with his friends at a feast, by the treachery of one Pekah, the general of his horse, and the son of Remaliah, who laid snares for him. Now this Pekah held the government twenty years,|| and proved a wicked man, and a transgressor. But the king of Assyria, whose name was Tiglath-Pileser, when he had made an expedition against the Israelites, and had over-run all the land of Gilead, and the region beyond Jordan, and the adjoining country, which is called Galilee, and Kadesh, and Hazor; he made the inhabitants prisoners, and transplanted them into his own kingdom.

Now Jotham, the son of Uzziah, reigned over the tribe of Ju-

* From an. 772 to 762.

† Dr. Wall, in his critical notes on 2 Kings xv. 20 observes, that "When this Manahem is said to have exacted the money of Israel, of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give Pul, king of Assyria, 1000 talents; this is the first public money raised by any Israelitish king, by a tax on the people: that they used before to raise it out of the treasures of the house of the Lord, or out of their own house; that it was the poll-money on the rich men, and them only, to raise 368,000l. or, as others count a talent, 400,000l. at the rate of 6l. or 7l. per head:—and that God commanded by Ezekiel, chap. xlv. 8. and xlvi. 18. that no such things should be done at the Jews' restoration; but the king should have land of his own." See also the same notes on 2 Kings xxiii. 35. and on 2 Chron. xxvi. 3, 4.

‡ Shekels, Hebrew and Septuagint.

|| From an. 760 to 740.

dah in Jerusalem : being a citizen thereof by his mother, whose name was Jerusha. This king was not defective in any virtue;* but was religious towards God, and righteous towards men, and careful of the good of the city, for what parts soever wanted to be repaired or adorned, he magnificently repaired and adorned them. He also took care of the foundations of the cloisters in the temple, and repaired the walls that were fallen down, and built very great towers, and such as were almost impregnable : and if any thing else in his kingdom had been neglected, he took great care of it. He also made an expedition against the Ammonites, and overcame them in battle, and ordered them to pay an annual tribute of a hundred talents, and ten thousand cori of wheat, and as many of barley : and so augmented his kingdom, that his enemies could not despise it, and his own people lived happily.

There was at this time a prophet,† called Nahum ; who spake after this manner concerning the overthrow of the Assyrians, and of Nineveh :‡ “ Nineveh shall be a pool of water in motion ; so shall all her people be troubled and tossed, and go away by flight : while they say one to another, stand, stand still ; seize their gold and silver, for there shall be none to wish them well. For they will rather save their lives than their money : For a terrible contention shall possess them one with another, and la-

* Solomon Jarchi here observes, that all the kings of Judah had some crime or other laid to their charge, except this Jotham. That David himself sinned grievously in the matter of Uriah ; that Solomon by his wives was drawn into idolatry ; that Rehoboam forsook the law of the Lord, and Abijah walked in his steps ; that Asa sent the treasures of the temple to the king of Syria, and put the prophet in the stocks ; that Jehoshaphat entered into society with the idolatrous ; and so he goes on with all the rest. But in Jotham, says he, there is no fault found, which, in an age of general corruption, is pretty wonderful, unless we may suppose, that the people's sacrificing and burning incense still on high places, 2 Kings xv. 35. (which he by his authority might have removed,) be imputable to him as a fault. *Patrick's Commentary.* B.

† About an. 726.

‡ This passage is taken out of the prophet Nahum, ii. 8—13. and is the principal, or rather the only one that is given us verbatim, but a little abridged, in Josephus's writings. By which quotation we learn what he himself always asserts, viz. that he made use of the Hebrew original, and not of the Greek version : as also we learn, that his Hebrew copy considerably differed from ours. See all three texts particularly set down and compared together in the *Essay on the Old Testament*, page 187, 188, 189.

mentation, and loosing of the members; and their countenances shall be perfectly black with fear. And where will be the den of the lions, and the mother of the young lions? God says to thee, Nineveh, that they shall deface thee, and the lions shall no longer go out from thee, to give laws to the world." And indeed this prophet prophesied many other things besides these concerning Nineveh; which I do not think necessary to repeat: and I here omit them, that I may not appear troublesome to my readers. All which things happened to Nineveh a hundred and fifteen years afterward.*

CHAP. XII.

OF THE DEATH OF JOTHAM, AND THE ACCESSION OF AHAZ; THE INVASION OF JERUSALEM BY THE KINGS OF SYRIA AND ISRAEL; AND THE SUBSEQUENT ASSISTANCE WHICH AHAZ RECEIVED FROM TIGLATH-PILESER, KING OF ASSYRIA.

NOW Jotham died, when he had lived forty-one years, and of them reigned sixteen;† and he was buried in the sepulchres of the kings. The kingdom then came to his son Ahaz; who proved most impious towards God,‡ and a transgressor of the laws of his country. He imitated the kings of Israel, and reared altars in Jerusalem, and offered sacrifices upon them to idols; to which also he offered his own son as a burnt-offering;|| according to the practice of the Canaanites. His other actions were also of the same sort. Now as he was going on in this mad course, Rezin, King of Syria and Damascus, and Pekah, king of Israel, who were now at amity, made war with him. And when they had driven him into Jerusalem, they besieged

* About an. 611.

† From an. 769 to 743.

‡ See what great light is given by the exact knowledge of this history of Ahaz, Pekah, Rezin, and Tiglath Pul Assur to the famous prophecy of Isaiah, chap. vii. concerning the deliverance of the family of David from destruction at this time; and its continuance till the birth of the Messiah of this family, and that of a virgin also, and concerning some other predictions here concerned; in the *Supplement to the Literal Accomplishments of Prophecies*, page 41—54.

|| 2 Kings xvi. 3.

that city a long while: making but a small progress, on account of the strength of its walls. And when the king of Syria had taken the city Elath upon the Red Sea, and had slain the inhabitants, he peopled it with Syrians; and when he had slain those in the other garrisons, and the Jews in their neighbourhood, and had driven away much prey, he returned with his army back to Damascus.* Now when the king of Jerusalem knew that the Syrians were returned home, 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, slew Zachariah the king's son in this conflict with Ahaz; as well as the governor of the kingdom, whose name was Azricam. He also carried Elkanah, the general of the troops of the tribe of Judah, into captivity; together with the women and children of the tribe of Benjamin. And when they had got a great deal of prey, they returned to Samaria.†

Now there was one Obed who was a prophet at that time in Samaria; he met the army, before the city walls: and with a loud voice told them, that they had got the victory, not by their

* In the time of Abraham, Damascus was in being; and some of the ancients inform us, that this patriarch reigned there immediately after Damascus, its founder. This much is certain, that one whom he had made free, and appointed steward of his house, was of Damascus, Gen. xv. 2. at the time that he pursued Chedorlaomer, and the five confederated kings, as far as Hobah, which lies northward of Damascus, Gen. xiv. 15. The scriptures say nothing more of this city, until the time of David, when Hadad, who according to Josephus, Jewish Antiq. lib. vii. c. 6. was the first who took upon him the title of king of Damascus, sending troops to the assistance of Hadadezer king of Zobah, was himself defeated by David, and his country subdued. Towards the end of Solomon's reign, Rezin recovered the kingdom of Damascus, and shook off the Jewish yoke, 1 Kings xi. 23, &c. Some time after this, Asa king of Judah implored the help of Benhadad king of Damascus against Baasha king of Israel, 1 Kings xv. 18. And from his time the kings of Damascus were generally called Benhadad, till in this last controversy with them. Ahaz called in the assistance of the king of Assyria, who killed their king, and carried his subjects into captivity, according to the predictions of Isaiah, chap. vii. 9. and Amos, chap. vii. *Cabnet's Dictionary*, under the word. B.

† 2 Chron. xxviii. 8.

own strength, but by the reason of God's anger against king Ahaz: and he complained that they were not satisfied with the good success they had had against him: but were so bold as to make captives out of their kinsmen, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. He also gave them counsel to let them go home, without doing them any harm; for that if they did not obey God herein, they should be punished. So the people of Israel came together to their assembly, and considered of these matters: when a man whose name was Berechiah, and who, was one of chief reputation in the government, stood up, and three others with him, and said, "We will not suffer the citizens to bring these prisoners into the city, lest we be all destroyed by God. We have sins enough of our own, that we have committed against him, as the prophet assures us. Nor ought we therefore to introduce the practice of new crimes." When the soldiers heard that, they permitted them to do what they thought best. So the aforementioned men took the captives and gave them provisions, and sent them into their own country, without doing them any harm. However, these four went along with them, and conducted them as far as Jericho, which is not far from Jerusalem; and then returned to Samaria.

Hereupon king Ahaz, having been so completely defeated by the Israelites, sent to Tiglath-Pileser,* king of the Assyrians, and sued for assistance in his war against the Israelites, Syrians, and Damascenes; with a promise to send him much money. He sent him also great presents at the same time. Now this king, upon the reception of the ambassadors, came to assist Ahaz, and having made war upon the Syrians, he laid

* In 2 Chron. xxviii. 20, we read, that Tiglath-Pileser came unto Ahaz, and distressed, but strengthened him not. And yet, in 2 Kings xvi. 9. it is said, that he did help him; and how then can he be said to have distressed him? Very well: for as he came to his assistance against the king of Syria, so he took Damascus, carried the people captive, and delivered Ahaz from the power of the Syrians; but this did Ahaz little good, for he helped him not to recover the cities which the Philistines had taken from him. He lent him no forces, nor enabled him to recruit his own; on the contrary he rather weakened him, by exhausting his treasures, and destroying Samaria, which opened a way for the invasion of his country with more facility, as it happened in the next reign. For it is no uncommon thing, even in later ages, to hear of kingdoms that were called in the help of some foreign prince against their enemies, over-run and conquered by those who came in to their assistance. *Patrick's Commentary. B.*

their country waste, took Damascus by force, slew Rezin their king, and transplanted the people of Damascus into the upper Media; a colony of Assyrians, in their city. He also afflicted the land of Israel, and took many captives out of it. In the mean time, king Ahaz took all the gold that was in the royal treasury, and the silver, and what was in the temple of God, and what precious gifts were there, and he carried them with him, and came to Damascus, and gave it to the king of Assyria, according to his agreement. So he confessed that he owed him thanks for all that he had done for him, and returned to Jerusalem.

Now this king was so thoughtless of what was for his own good, that he would not leave off worshipping the Syrians' gods, when he was beaten by them: but he continued in his idolatry, as though they had procured him the victory. And when he was beaten again, he began to honour the gods of the Assyrians: and he seemed more desirous to honour any other than his paternal and true God; whose anger was the cause of his defeat. Nay, he proceeded to such a degree of contempt of God's worship, that he shut up the temple entirely;* and forbade the people to bring in the appointed sacrifices; and took away the gifts that had been given to it. And when he had offered these indignities to God, he died; having lived thirty-six years,† and reigned sixteen;‡ and he left his son Hezekiah for his successor.

* 2 Kings xxviii. 24.

† When Josephus, together with all our Hebrew, and all our Greek copies in the Kings; and all our Hebrew, and almost all our Greek copies in the Chronicles, make Ahaz to be but twenty years old when he began to reign, and to reign sixteen years; and then as all the copies agree, to be succeeded by Hezekiah at twenty-five years of age: it is plain there are but eleven years, or at most some odd months besides for Ahaz, the father, when the son Hezekiah was born; which is one of the greatest difficulties in all the Bible. But then, as Dr. Wall justly observes, this difficulty is cleared by the Greek copy and the Armenian version; which though the former in the Kings, and the latter in the Chronicles, had with the rest dropped the odd years above twenty for the age of Ahaz, when he came to the crown, yet has the former in the Chronicles, 2 Chron. xxviii. 1, and the latter in the Kings, preserved them, and expressly assured us there, that Ahaz was twenty-five years old when he began to reign; which directly implies that he was sixteen years old when his son Hezekiah was born; which wholly obviates the difficulty.

‡ From An. 744 to 728.

CHAP. XIII.

OF THE DEATH OF PEKAH; AND THE REIGNS OF HOSHEA, KING OF ISRAEL, AND HEZEKIAH, KING OF JUDAH.

ABOUT the same time Pekah,* king of Israel died by the treachery of a friend of his named Hoshea, who retained the kingdom nine years; † but was a wicked man, and a despiser of the divine worship. And Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, made an expedition against him, and overcame him (which must have been because he had not God favourable nor assistant to him,) and brought him to submission, and ordered him to pay an appointed tribute. Now in the fourth year of the reign of Hoshea, Hezekiah, ‡ the son of Ahaz, began to reign in Jerusa-

* Josephus says here, that Pekah was slain about the same time that Ahaz died; which chronology will not allow. Yet when we consider, that in the same chronology the fourth of Ahaz is called the twentieth of Jotham, 2 Kings xv. 30. while Jotham reigned in all but sixteen years, verse, 33, it may be questioned, whether some of the copies in the days of Josephus had not hereabouts some different numbers; and that according to those numbers Pekah might have been slain about the same time that Ahaz died; though possibly Josephus might use these words, "about the same time," in a looser acceptation.

† From an. 737 to 728.

‡ Of Ahaz it is recorded, that he was but twenty years old when he began to reign, and that he reigned sixteen before he died; so that in the whole he lived six and thirty years, 2 Kings xvi. 2. Now his son Hezekiah is said to have been five and twenty years old when he began to reign, 2 Kings xviii. 2. and, consequently, his father must have begot him when he was eleven years old, which seems a little incredible: and to solve this difficulty, commentators have taken several ways. Some have imagined that Hezekiah was not the real, but adopted son only of Ahaz, and might therefore succeed his foster father, at this or any other age; but this hypothesis, as Bochart observes, spoils the descent of our Saviour from David. Others suppose, that there was an interregnum for some years occasioned by a sedition that happened in Jerusalem. But there is no foundation for this hypothesis in history; on the contrary it is much more likely, that, as Hezekiah was a man grown, and greatly beloved by the people, he should immediately succeed upon his father's demise. Others imagine, that, in the detestation of Ahaz's wickedness his reign is omitted in this account, and that therefore the passage should be thus rendered: Ahaz was twenty years old when his father began to reign. But this is reversing the order of the words in the text, and turning them into a sense that is far from being natural. Others, not satisfied with any of these solutions, will needs have it, that there is an error crept into the text it-

lem; and his mother's name was Abijah, a citizen of Jerusalem. His nature was good, and religious. For when he came to the kingdom he thought nothing more necessary, or more advantageous to himself, and to his subjects, than to worship God. Accordingly he assembled the people, and the priests and the Levites, and made a speech to them, and said, "You are not ignorant how by the sins of my father, who transgressed that sacred honour which was due to God, you have had experience of many and great miseries; while you were corrupted in your mind by him; and were induced to worship those which he supposed to be gods. I exhort you, therefore, who have learned by sad experience how dangerous a thing impiety is, to put that immediately out of your memory; and to purify yourselves from your former pollutions; and to open the

self by the negligence of some transcriber, who instead of twenty, made Hezekiah five and twenty years old, when his reign commenced, merely by mistaking the numerical letters, (which are most liable in variation,) to find any fault with the text except where there is no other tolerable solution, which is not the case here. In these days, and long before, it was no unusual thing, upon several considerations, for kings to take the son who was to succeed them into partnership with them before they died. Now, Ahaz by his mismanagement, had brought himself into so many intanglements, 2 Chron. xxviii. 16, &c. and xxix. 7, &c. as to want an assistant in the government, and, accordingly, it appears that he admitted his son in that capacity. For, whereas, it is said of Hezekiah, that he began to reign in the third year of Hoshea son of Elah, 2 Kings xviii. 1. and of Hoshea, that he began to reign in the twelfth year of Ahaz, 2 Kings xvii. 1. it is evident that Hezekiah began to reign in the fourteenth year of Ahaz his father, and so reigned two or three years before his father's death. So that, at the first date of his reign, which was in conjunction with his father, he might be two or three and twenty, and his father consequently when he begot him, two or three years older than the common computation. But there is another way of solving this difficulty. It is a common thing, both in sacred and profane authors, in the computation of time, to take no notice, whether the year they mention be perfect or imperfect, whether finished or but newly begun. Upon this account Ahaz might be near one and twenty years old when he began to reign, and near seventeen years older when he died: and on the other hand, Hezekiah, when he began to reign, might be but just entering into his five and twentieth year, and by this means, Ahaz might be near fourteen years old when he begot Hezekiah, which is no extraordinary thing at all. Nay, even upon the lowest supposition, that he was but eleven or twelve years old, yet instances are innumerable (such as Bochart and others have given) of persons that have procreated children at that age: for it is not so much the number of years, as the nature of the climate, the constitution of the body, the stature of the person, the quality of the diet, &c. that ought to be considered in this affair. *Bochart's Phaleg*, p. 920. *Miller's History of the Church*, p. 201. *Bedford's Scripture Chronology*; *Patrick's* and *Calmel's Commentaries*. B.

temple to these priests and Levites who are here convened; and to cleanse it with the accustomed sacrifices, and to recover all the ancient honour which our forefathers payed to it. For by this means we may render God favourable; and he will remit the anger he hath had towards us."

When the king had said this, the priests opened the temple; and when they had set in order the vessels of God, and had cast out what was impure, they laid the accustomed sacrifices upon the altar. The king also sent to the country that was under him; and called the people to Jerusalem, to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread;* for it had been intermitted a long time, on account of the wickedness of the aforementioned kings. He also sent to the Israelites, and exhorted them to leave off their present way of living, and to return to their ancient practices, and to worship God; for that he gave them leave to come to Jerusalem, and to celebrate, all in one body, the feast of unleavened bread: and this he said was by way of invitation only, and to be done of their own good will, and for their own advantage, and not out of obedience to him; because it would make them happy.

But the Israelites, upon the arrival of the ambassadors, and upon their laying before them what they had in charge from their own king, were so far from complying therewith, that they laughed the ambassadors to scorn, and mocked them as fools; they also affronted the prophets, who gave them the same exhortations; and foretold what they would suffer if they did not return to the worship of God; insomuch that they caught them, and slew them. Nor did this degree of transgressing suffice them; but they had more wicked contrivances than what have been described. Nor did they leave off, before God, as a punishment for their impiety, brought them under their enemies. But of that more hereafter. There were, however, many of the tribe of Manasseh, and of Zabulon, and of Issachar,† who were obedient to what the prophets exhorted them to do: and all these came running to Jerusalem, to Hezekiah, that they might worship God there.

* 2 Chron. xxx. 1.

† Asher, Hebrew and Septuagint.

When these men were come, king Hezekiah went up into the temple, with the rulers and all the people, and offered for himself seven bulls, and as many rams; with seven lambs, and seven kids of the goats. The king also 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 burnt the burnt-offerings; while the Levites stood round about them, with their musical instruments,* and sang hymns to God, and played on their psalteries; as they were instructed to do; and this while the rest of the priests returned the music, and sounded the trumpets which they had in their hands. And when this was done, the king and the multitude prostrated themselves and worshipped God. Seventy bulls, one hundred rams, and two hundred lambs, were sacrificed by the king, who also granted the multitude sacrifices to feast upon, six hundred oxen, and three thousand other cattle; and the priests performed all things according to the law. Now the king was so pleased herewith, that he feasted with the people, and returned thanks to God. But as the feast of unleavened bread was now come, when they had offered that sacrifice which is called the passover, they afterwards offered other sacrifices for seven days. When the king had bestowed on the multitude, beside what they sacrificed of themselves, two thousand bulls, and seven thousand other cattle; the same thing was done by the rulers. For they gave them a thousand bulls, and a thousand and forty other cattle. Nor had this festival been observed from the days of king Solomon, with such great splendour and magnificence; and when the festival was ended, they went out into the country, and purged it, and cleansed the city of all the pollution of the idols. The king also gave or-

* Moses, in the service of the tabernacle, did not appoint the use of many musical instruments; only he caused some trumpets to be made, which upon solemn occasions, were to be sounded, at the time when the burnt-offering and peace-offering were upon the altar, Numb. x. 10. But David, by the advice of the prophets Gad and Nathan, introduced several kinds of music into the service of the temple, as a thing highly conducive to inspire people with respect, with joy, and with affection for the solemnities and assemblies of religion, 1 Chron. xxiii. 5. and xxv. 1. and it is farther observable, that the institution of music, in religious assemblies, is not a matter of human invention, but was ordained by God, and has the sanction and authority of his prophets to confirm it—for so was the commandment of the Lord by his prophets, 2 Chron. xxix. 25. B.

der that the daily sacrifices should be offered, at his own expense, and according to the law; and appointed that the tithes and the first fruits should be given by the multitude to the priests and the Levites; that they might constantly attend upon divine service, and never be taken off from the worship of God. Accordingly the multitude brought together all sorts of their fruits to the priests and the Levites. The king also made garners and receptacles for these fruits, and distributed them to every one of the priests and Levites, and to their wives and children. And thus did they return to their old form of divine worship. Now when the king had settled these matters after the manner already described, he made war upon the Philistines, and defeated them, and possessed himself of all their cities, from Gaza to Gath. And when the king of Assyria sent to him, threatening to overturn all his dominions, unless he would pay him the tribute which his father paid formerly, Hezekiah was not alarmed; but depended on his piety towards God, by whom he inquired, and accurately knew all future events. And thus much shall suffice for the present concerning king Hezekiah.

CHAP. XIV.

OF THE REDUCTION OF SAMARIA BY SHALMANESER, AND THE REMOVAL OF THE TEN TRIBES INTO MEDIA.

WHEN Shalmeneser, king of Assyria, was informed that Hoshea had sent privately to So, the king of Egypt, desiring his assistance against him, he was very angry; and made an expedition against Samaria, in the seventh year of the reign of Hoshea. And on being refused admittance into the city, he besieged Samaria three years,* and took it by mere force in the

* This siege of Samaria, though not given a particular account of either in our Hebrew or Greek Bibles, or in Josephus, was so very long; no less than three years; that it is no way improbable but that parents, and particularly mothers, might therein be reduced to eat their own children, as the law of Moses had threatened upon their disobedience, Levit. xxvi. 29. Deut. xxviii. 53—57. and as was accomplished in the other shorter sieges of both the capital cities, Jerusalem, and Samaria; the former mentioned, Jer. xix. 9. Lam. ii. 20. iv. 10. Antiq. IX. 4. Of the

ninth year of the reign of Hoshea, and in the seventh of Hezekiah king of Jerusalem; and quite demolished the government of the Israelites, and transplanted all the people into Media and Persia; among whom he took king Hoshea alive; and when he had removed these people out of their land, he transplanted other nations out of a place called Cuthah, into Samaria, and into the country of the Israelites. So the ten* tribes of the Israelites were removed out of Judea, nine hundred and forty-seven years after their forefathers came out of the land of Egypt, and possessed themselves of this country; but eight hundred years after Joshua had been their leader; and 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 transgressions. What gave birth to these doings, was that sedition which they raised against Rehoboam, the grandson of David; when they set up his servant Jeroboam to be their king; who by sinning against God, and bringing them to imitate his bad example, made God to be their enemy; while himself underwent that punishment he justly deserved.

And now the king of Assyria invaded all Syria and Phœnicia in a hostile manner. The name of this king is also set down in the archives of Tyre; for he made an expedition against Tyre in the reign of Eluleus. And Menander attests to it; who, when he wrote his Chronology, and translated the archives of Tyre into the Greek language, gives us the following history: "One whose name was Eluleus reigned thirty-six years: the king, upon the revolt of the Citteans, sailed to them and reduced them again to submission. Against these did the king of Assyria send an army, and in a hostile manner over-ran all

War, VI. 3, 4. the latter mentioned, 2 Kings vi. 26—29. See my Boyle's Lectures, page 209—214.

* That our Chronology is certain, as far backward as this captivity of the ten tribes; and that to a single year, during the interval of 2456 years, see demonstrated from the sabbatical years, in the Supplement to the Literal Accomplishment of the Prophecies, page 75.

Phœnicia; but soon made peace with them, and returned back. But Sidon and Ace Palœtyrus revolted, and many other cities there were which delivered themselves up to the king of Assyria. Accordingly when the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king returned, and fell upon them again; while the Phœnicians had furnished him with sixty ships, and eight hundred men to row them. And when the Tyrians had come upon them in twelve ships, and the enemies were dispersed, they took five hundred men prisoners. And the reputation of all the citizens of Tyre was thereby increased. But the king of Assyria returned, and placed guards at their river and aqueducts; who should hinder the Tyrians from drawing water. This continued for five years; and still the Tyrians sustained the siege, and drank of the water they had out of the wells they dug." And this is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Shalmaneser, king of Assyria.

But now the Cutheans, who removed into Samaria, (for that is the name they have been called by to this time; because they were brought out of the country called Cuthah, which is a country of Persia, and there is a river of the same name in it,) each of them according to their nations, which were in number five, brought their own gods into Samaria; and by worshipping them, as was the custom of their own countries, they provoked Almighty God to send a plague* upon them, by which they were destroyed. And when they found no cure for their miseries, they learned by an oracle, that they ought to worship Almighty God, as the method for their deliverance. So they sent ambassadors to the king of Assyria; and desired him to send them some of those priests of the Israelites whom he had taken captive. And when he thereupon sent them, and the people were by them taught the laws, and the holy worship of God, they worshipped him in a respectable manner; and the plague ceased immediately. And indeed they continued to make use of the same customs to this very time; and are called in the

* Josephus says here, that instead of lions, as in our other copies, 2 Kings xvii. 26. a plague or pestilence was sent among these Cutheans or Samaritans. He also confirms this afterwards, XII. 5. by an epistle of these Cutheans or Samaritans to Antiochus Epiphanes; which says nothing of lions; but expressly mentions these frequent plagues. So that Josephus's reading seems to be the most accurate in this place.

Hebrew tongue, Cutheans, but in the Greek tongue, Samaritans. And when they see the Jews in prosperity, they pretend that they are allied to them, and call them kinsmen; as though they were derived from Joseph, and had by that means an original alliance with them. But when they see them falling into a low condition, they say they are no way related to them; and that the Jews have no right to expect any kindness from them; but they declare that they are sojourners, that come from other countries. But of these we shall have a more seasonable opportunity to discourse hereafter.*

* See Book XI. chap. 8. and XII. 5.

BOOK X.

Containing an 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.

OF SENNACHERIB'S EXPEDITION AGAINST HEZEKIAH; THE THREATENINGS OF RABSHAKEH; THE FAILURE OF THE EXPEDITION, AND THE SUBSEQUENT DEATH OF SENNACHERIB.

IT was now the fourteenth year of the government of Hezekiah, king of the two tribes, when Sennacherib, king of Assyria, made an expedition against him, with a great army, and took all the cities of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin by force.* And when he was ready to bring his army against Jerusalem, Hezekiah sent ambassadors to him, promising to submit, and to pay what tribute he should appoint. Hereupon Sennacherib 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 gave security upon oath to the ambassadors that he would then do Hezekiah no harm, but go away as he came. So Hezekiah submitted, and emptied his treasures, and sent the money; as supposing he should be freed from his enemy, and from any farther distress about his kingdom. Accordingly the Assyrian took it,

* 2 Kings xviii. 13. Isaiah xxxvi. 1.

and yet had no regard to what he had promised; but while he himself went to the war against the Egyptians and Ethiopians, he left his general Rabshakeh,* and two other of his principal commanders, with great forces to destroy Jerusalem. The names of the two other commanders were Tartan and Rabsaris.†

Now as soon as they were come before the walls, they pitched their camp, and sent messengers to Hezekiah, and desired that they might speak with him. But he did not himself come out to them for fear; but sent three of his most intimate friends: viz. Eliakim, who was over the kingdom; Shebna, and Joah the recorder. So these men came out, and stood over against the commanders of the Assyrian army, and when Rabshakeh saw them, he bade them go and speak to Hezekiah in the following manner: that "Sennacherib, the great‡ king, desires to know of him, on whom it is that he relies, and depends, in flying from his lord, and refusing to admit his army into the city? Is it on account of the Egyptians, and in hopes that his army would be beaten by them? Whereupon he lets him know, that if this be what he expects, he is a foolish man, and like one who leans on a broken reed;|| while such a one will not on-

* Tartan, Rabsaris, and Rabshakeh, are not the proper names of these men, but rather denote their employments and offices. Tartan signifies the president of the customs, Rabsaris, the chief eunuch, and Rabshakeh, the principal cup-bearer; and because he spake Hebrew with some fluency, the Rabbins are generally of opinion, that he was either an apostate Jew, or one of the captivity of Israel. It is certain, that he was a very eloquent man, and his speech very excellently well calculated to raise sedition or defection among the besieged; but that a person of his education should be versed in the Phœnician, which is in a manner the same with the Hebrew language, is no wonder at all. Moreover, had he been a Jew, (though an apostate, he should have known better, one would think, than to have upbraided Hezekiah with acting according to the law under which he lived, in destroying the groves and altars of idols, and in requiring his subjects to worship God in Jerusalem only, 2 Kings xviii. 22. *Le Clerc's Commentary.* B.

† 2 Kings xviii. 17.

‡ This title of Great King, both in our Bibles, 2 Kings xviii. 19. Isaiah xxxiv. 4. and here in Josephus, is the same that Herodotus gives this Sennacherib; as Spanheim takes notice in this place.

|| The words in the text are,—Now behold thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt, 2 Kings xviii. 21. The comparison is excellent, to denote an ally that is not only weak and unable to help, but dangerous likewise to those that rely upon him for succour; and his representing the power of Egypt to be as brittle as the canes or reeds that grow on the banks of the Nile, (for it is to this, no doubt, that the Assyrian orator alludes,) is a great beauty in the simili-

ly fall down, but will have his hand pierced and hurt by it: for he ought to know, he makes this expedition against him by the will of God; who hath granted this favour to him, that he shall overthrow the kingdom of Israel; and that in the very same manner he shall destroy those that are his subjects also." When Rabshakeh had made this speech in the Hebrew tongue, for he was skilful in that language, Eliakim was afraid lest the multitude that heard him should be disturbed. So he desired him to speak in the Syrian tongue. But the general, understanding what he meant, and perceiving the fear that he was in, replied with a louder voice in the Hebrew tongue; and said, "Since they all hear what are the king's commands, they will consult their own advantage in delivering up themselves to us: for it is plain that both you and your king dissuade the people from submitting by vain hopes; and so induce them to resist. But if you be courageous, and think to drive our forces away, I am ready to deliver to you two thousand of these horses that are with me, for your use; if you can set as many horsemen on their backs, and shew their strength. But what you have not, you cannot produce. Why therefore do you delay to deliver up yourselves to a superior force, who can take you without your consent? although it will be safer for you to deliver yourselves up voluntarily; while a forcible capture, when you are beaten, must appear more dangerous, and will bring farther calamities upon you."*

When the people, as well as the ambassadors, heard what the Assyrian commander said, they related it to Hezekiah; who thereupon put off his royal apparel, and clothed himself with sackcloth, and took the habit of a mourner; and, after the manner of his country, he fell upon his face, and besought God, and entreated him to assist them, now they had no other hope of relief. He also sent some of his friends, and some of the priests to the prophet Isaiah, desiring that he would pray to God, and offer sacrifices for their common deliverance; and so

tude. This however must be allowed, that what he here speaks in contempt of the Egyptian strength, has more of ostentation in it than truth; because the Assyrian army, having lately made an attempt to subdue that kingdom, was now returned into Judea with disgrace. *Patrick's, Le Clerc's, and Calmet's Commentaries.* B.

* 2 Kings xviii. 19—35.

put up supplications to him, that he would have indignation at the expectations of their enemies, and have mercy upon his people. And when the prophet had done accordingly, an oracle came from God to him, and encouraged the king and his friends that were about him: and foretold, that their enemies should be beaten without fighting, and should go away in an ignominious manner; and not with that insolence which they had now shewn: for that God would take care they should be destroyed. He also foretold that Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, should fail of his purpose against Egypt, and that when he came home he should perish by the sword.

About the same time also, the king of Assyria wrote an epistle to Hezekiah; in which he said, he was a foolish man, in supposing that he should escape from being his servant; since he had already brought under many and great nations; and he threatened, that when he took him he would utterly destroy him, unless he now opened the gates, and willingly received his army into Jerusalem. When he had read this epistle, he despised it; on account of the trust that he had in God; but he rolled up the epistle, and laid it up within the temple. And as he made his farther prayers to God for the city, and for the preservation of all the people, the prophet Isaiah said, that God had heard his prayer; and that he should not be besieged*

* What Josephus says here, how Isaiah the prophet assured Hezekiah, that "At this time he should not be besieged by the king of Assyria; that for the future he might be secure of being not at all disturbed by him; and that (afterward) the people might go on peaceably, and without fear with their husbandry, and other affairs," is more distinct in our other copies, both of the Kings and of Isaiah; and deserves very great consideration. The words are these, "This shall be a sign unto thee: ye shall eat this year such as groweth of itself; and the second year that which springeth of the same; and in the third year sow ye, and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruits thereof" 2 Kings xix. 20. Issiah xxxvii. 30. which seem to me plainly to design a sabbatic year; a year of Jubilee, next after it; and the succeeding usual labours and fruits of them on the third and following years. From which may be determined the sabbatic year: part of the 18th and part of the 19th year of Hezekiah; or part of the 710th and 709th years before the Christian Era: and the year of Jubilee: part of the 19th and part of the 20th of Hezekiah; which is the part of the 709th and part of the 708th before the Christian Era. From which texts may be determined all the other sabbatic years; and that in agreement with a great deal of other evidence, which in this case no way differs from it. From which texts also may be determined, what we have hitherto extremely wanted, the situation of all the other years of Jubilee; even from that first year wherein Moses died, and Joshua led the Israelites into the land of Canaan, an.

at this time by the king of Assyria; that for the future he might be secure of not being at all disturbed by him, and that the people might go on peaceably and without fear with their husbandry and other affairs. But after a little while, the king of Assyria, when he had failed of his treacherous designs against the Egyptians, returned home, without success, on the following occasion. He spent a long time in the siege of Pelusium; and when the banks that he had raised over against the walls were of a great height, and when he was ready to make an immediate assault upon them, he heard that Tirhaka, king of the Ethiopians, was bringing great forces to aid the Egyptians, and was resolved to march through the desert, and so to fall directly upon the Assyrians. Sennacherib was therefore disturbed at the news: and, as I said before, left Pelusium, and returned back without success. Now concerning this Sennacherib Herodotus says, in the second book of his histories, that he came against the Egyptian king, who was the priest of Vulcan: and that as he was besieging Pelusium, he broke up the siege on the following occasion. This Egyptian priest prayed to God, and God heard his prayer; and sent a judgment upon the Arabian king; but in this Herodotus was mistaken, when he called this king not king* of the Assyrians, but of the Arabians. For he saith, that "A multitude of mice gnawed to pieces in one night both the bows, and the rest of the armour of the Assyrians; and that it was on that account that the king, when he had no bows left, drew off his army from Pelusium." And Herodotus does indeed give us this history. Nay, and Berosus, who wrote of the affairs of Chaldea, makes mention of this king Sennacherib, and that he ruled over the Assyrians, and that he made an expedition against all Asia and Egypt; and says† thus:—

1492, to the last year of Jubilee, wherein John the Baptist began his ministry, A. D. 23, thirty-two in all. Whence the Scripture chronology may be settled, and this without the error of a single year, as far back as the death of Moses; during the very long interval of 3227 years.

* Correct here Josephus's copies, as to the citation out of Herodotus, and read, "who says that Sennacherib was not only king of the Assyrians, but of the Arabians also." Which Josephus seems to have esteemed a mistake in Herodotus.

† That this terrible calamity of the slaughter of the 185,000 Assyrians is here delivered in the words of Berosus the Chaldean; and that it was certainly and

“Now when Sennacherib was returning from his Egyptian war to Jerusalem, he found his army under Rabshakeh his general, in danger by a plague, for God had sent a pestilential distemper upon his army; and on the very first night of the siege a hundred and eighty-five thousand, with their captains and generals, were destroyed.* So the king was in a great dread at this calamity; and being in 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 treacherously assaulted, and died by the hands of his elder sons Adrammelech‡ and Sarasar: and was slain in

frequently foretold by the Jewish prophets, and that it was certainly and undeniably accomplished, see Authentic Rec. part II. page 858—871.

* The ancient Jews, (as well as Persians and Arabians,) were of opinion, that there is an angel of death, or an exterminating angel, whom God has given the commission to take away the lives, either of single persons, or of multitudes of people at once, wherein the Almighty gives the order, but leaves the method of doing it to the angel; so that in which way soever the infliction is made, it is always said to be done by the angel of God. The modern Jews are much of the same opinion: for they maintain, that this angel of death stands at every dying man's bed's head, with a naked sword in his hand, at the extremity of which there hang three drops of gall, and that the sick person, seeing this angel, in a great fright opens his mouth, whereupon he immediately drops into it these three fatal drops; the first which occasions his death; the second makes him pale and livid; and the third reduces him to the dust in the grave, with some other notions of the like nature. Now since the Scripture has no where said expressly, in what manner this Assyrian army was destroyed, some have thought that it was by a plague; others by thunder and lightning; others by fire from heaven; others by a scorching wind; others by their falling foul upon one another in the obscurity of the night; but which way soever it was effected, according to the Hebrew idiom, there is no impropriety in saying, that it was done by a destroying angel which is a comprehensive phrase, that reconciles all the Scripture passages wherein this terrible defeat is mentioned, and all the sentiments of commentators concerning it. *Calmel's Dissertation sur la Defaite de l'Armee de Sennacherib.* B.

† When Sennacherib was got home, after the loss of so great an army, he demanded of some about him, What the reason might be, that the irresistible God of heaven so favoured the Jewish nation? To which he was answered, That Abraham, from whom they were descended, by sacrificing his only son to him, had purchased his protection to his progeny; whereupon the king replied, If that will win him, I will spare him two of mine to gain him to my side: which when his two sons, Sharezer and Adrammelech heard, they resolved to prevent their own death by sacrificing him. But for all this fiction there is no other foundation, but that scarce any thing else can be thought of, that can afford any excuse for so wicked a parricide. *Prideaux's Connection*, anno 709. B.

‡ We are here to take notice, that these two sons of Sennacherib, that ran away into Armenia, became the heads of two famous families there, Arzerunii and the

his own temple, which was called *Araske*. Now these sons of his were driven away on account of the murder of their father by the citizens, and went into Armenia: while Assarachoddas took the kingdom of Sennacherib." And this proved to be the conclusion of this Assyrian expedition against the people of Jerusalem.

CHAP. II.

OF HEZEKIAH'S INDISPOSITION, THE PROLONGATION OF HIS LIFE FOR FIFTEEN YEARS, AND THE GOING BACK OF THE SHADOW TEN DEGREES, IN CONFIRMATION OF GOD'S PROMISE.

KING Hezekiah being thus delivered, after a surprising manner, from the dread he was in, offered thank-offerings to God, with all his people: because the destruction of some of their enemies, and the departure of the rest from Jerusalem, was entirely owing to the divine assistance. Yet, though he was very zealous and diligent, about the worship of God, he soon after fell into a severe distemper;* insomuch that the physicians despaired of him, and expected no good issue of his sickness; as neither did his friends. And besides the distem-

Genunii; of which see the particular histories in Moses Chorenensis, the Armenian historian, page 60, 92, 93.

* Josephus, and all our copies, place the sickness of Hezekiah, after the destruction of Sennacherib's army; because it appears to have been after his first assault, as he was going into Arabia and Egypt; where he pushed his conquest as far as they would go: and in order to despatch his story altogether. Yet does no copy but this of Josephus's say it was after that destruction; but only that it happened in those days, or about that time of Hezekiah's life. Nor will the fifteen years prolongation of his life after his sickness, allow that sickness to have been later than the former part of the fifteenth year of his reign. Since chronology does not allow him in all above twenty-nine years and a few months. Whereas the first assault of Sennacherib was in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, 2 Kings xviii. 13. but the destruction of Sennacherib's army was not till the eighteenth year. There is also a promise inserted in the history of Hezekiah's sickness, which shews it to have been after Sennacherib's first assault, but before his army's destruction; I mean the words of the prophet Isaiah, "I will deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria, and I will defend this city to save it, for my own sake, and for my servant David's sake." 2 Kings xx. 6. Isaiah xxxviii. 6.

per 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 house and his government without a successor of his own body. So he was troubled at the thoughts of his condition: and lamented himself, and intreated 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 was become a father. Hereupon God had mercy upon him, and accepted of his supplication; because the trouble he was under at his supposed death, was not because he was soon to leave the advantages he enjoyed in the kingdom, nor 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 him. And so God sent Isaiah the prophet, and commanded him to inform Hezekiah, that "within three days' time he should recover from his distemper, and should survive it fifteen years;"* and that he should also have children." Now upon the prophet's saying this, as God had commanded him, Hezekiah 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 that he might believe what he 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 the like nature. And when Isaiah had asked him, what sign he wished to be exhibited? He desired that he would make the shadow of the sun which had already gone down ten steps in his house,† to return again to the same place, and to make it

* 2 Kings xx. 5, 6.

† As to this regress of the shadow, either upon a sundial, or the steps of the royal palace built by Ahaz, whether it were physically done, by the miraculous revolution of the earth, in its diurnal motion, backward, from east to west, for a while; and its return again to its old natural revolution from west to east; or whether it were apparent only, and performed by an aerial phosphorus: (of which sort, though under other shapes, we have had a great many of late years,) which imitated the sun's motion backward, while a cloud hid the real sun, cannot now be determined. Philosophers and astronomers will naturally incline to the latter hypothesis. However, it must be noted, that Josephus seems to have understood it otherwise than we generally do; that the shadow was accelerated as much at first forward, as it was made to go backward afterward, and so the day was neither

as 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.

At this time the dominion of the Assyrians was* overthrown by the Medes. But the king of Babylon, whose name was Baladan, sent ambassadors to Hezekiah with presents; and desired he would be his ally, and his friend.† So he received the ambassadors gladly, and made them a feast, and shewed them his treasures, and his armoury, and the other wealth he was possessed of in precious stones, and in gold, and gave them presents to be carried to Baladan, and sent them back to him.‡ Upon which the prophet Isaiah came to him, and in-

longer nor shorter than usual; which, it must be confessed, agrees best of all to astronomy, whose eclipses elder than that time were observed at the same times 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 heard of at Babylon also; as appears by 2 Chron. xxxii. 31, where we learn, that the Babylonian ambassadors were sent to Hezekiah, among other things to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land. It is also taken notice of by the father of Sirach, Eccles. xlviii. 23. See another ancient testimony also before, in the note under Joshua, antiq. V. 1.

* This expression of Josephus's, that the Medes, upon this destruction of the Assyrian army, overthrew the Assyrian empire, seems to be too strong. For although they immediately cast off the Assyrian yoke, and set up Dejoces, a king of their own; yet was it some time before the Medes and Babylonians overthrew Nineveh; and some generations ere the Medes and Persians, under Cyaxares and Cyrus, overthrew the Assyrian or Babylonian empire, and took Babylon.

† The conquests which the Assyrians were every where making, could not fail of giving umbrage to the neighbouring powers to confederate against them; and therefore, we may well suppose, that, besides the business of congratulating Hezekiah's recovery, the purpose of this embassy was to enter into an alliance with him against Sennacherib, whose growing power the Babylonians had reason to fear, as well as the Jews; and, (as the author of the Chronicles expresses it,) to inquire into the wonder that was done in the land, 2 Chron. xxxii. 31. i. e. to inquire into the miracle of the sun's retrogradation, which could not fail of being a matter of great curiosity to the Chaldeans, who, above all other nations, were at that time given to the study of astronomy. *Calmet's Commentary*, and *Prideaux's Connection*, Anno 713. B.

‡ The things which Hezekiah shewed to the Babylonian ambassadors, were the riches of his house, his treasures, his armoury, and all his stores and strength for war; and the reason for his doing this, was, doubtless, to make the Babylonians put the greater value upon his friendship: but herein he offended God, that he not only laid a bait before these foreigners to encourage them to invade his country, but seemed to place more confidence in this new alliance with them, than in the power of the Almighty, whose favour and protection he had so long experienced. The

quired whence those ambassadors came? to which he replied, that they came from Babylon, from the king; and that he had shewn 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 inform the king of it. But the prophet rejoined, and said, "Know thou, that, after a little while, these riches of thine shall be carried away to Babylon: and thy posterity shall be made eunuchs there, and be servants to the king of Babylon: for God hath foretold such things shall come to pass." Upon these words Hezekiah was troubled, and said, he was himself unwilling that his nation should fall into such calamities; yet since it was not possible to alter what God had determined, he prayed that there might be peace while he* lived.† Berosus also makes mention of this Baladan, king of Babylon. Now as

author of the Chronicles tells us, that, in the business of the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon, who sent unto him to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land, God left him to try him, that he might know all that was in his heart, 2 Chron. xxxii. 31. And from hence some have inferred, that Hezekiah's great offence lay, not so much in the ostentation of his military stores and treasures, as in his not giving sufficient glory to God for so signal a miracle, and his recovery ensuant thereupon, and in his not representing this matter to these idolatrous ambassadors, in such powerful and convincing terms as might have drawn them over to the knowledge of the true God, which was the proper improvement he should have made this divine vouchsafement to him. *Le Clerc's Commentary.* B.

* 2 Kings xx. 19.

† The words in the text are,—Then said Hezekiah unto Isaiah, Good is the word of the Lord, which thou hast spoken. And he said, Is it not good, if peace and truth be in my days? 2 Kings xx. 19. The prophet had told him, that the very people whom he had been so highly complimenting would carry his posterity into captivity; and to return him such an answer as this, shews not all the concern which a good prince ought to have for his people and posterity. It shews, indeed, as if he cared not what became of them, so long as he was permitted to live easy and happy. The words in the original are to this effect. "That which thou hast told me from God, is good; I will submit to it: But shall peace and truth, i. e. solid and lasting peace, continue for my time? May I flatter myself with so much happiness? And will God be so gracious as not to revoke the grant which he hath made me of a longer continuance here? He is just, no doubt, in every thing he sends upon us; but, do these threats relate to me, or my posterity only? Well were it for me, if he would suspend the execution of his wrath for the little time that I have to live." This is the natural sense of Hezekiah's answer; and accordingly Josephus, makes him say, "That though I am much afflicted at the thoughts of the misery that will befall my family, yet, since it is God's pleasure that it should be so, I have no more to beg of Heaven, than that I may enjoy the small remainder of my miserable life in peace." *Jewish Antiq. lib. 10. c. 3. and Calmet's Commentary.* B.

to this prophet, Isaiah, he was by the confession of all, a divine and wonderful man in speaking truth; and out of the assurance that he had never written what was false, he wrote down all the prophecies, and left them behind him in books; that their accomplishment might be judged of from the events by posterity. Nor did this prophet do so alone; but the others, which were* twelve in number, did the same. And whatever is done among us, whether it be good, or whether it be bad, comes to pass according to the prophecies.

CHAP. III.

OF THE IMPIETY OF MANASSEH, HEZEKIAH'S SUCCESSOR; HIS PENITENCE IN CAPTIVITY, AND HIS RESTORATION TO HIS KINGDOM.

WHEN the king Hezekiah had survived the interval of time already mentioned, and had dwelt all that time in peace, he died: having completed fifty-four years of his life, and reigned twenty-nine.† But when his son Manasseh, whose mother's name was Hephzibah of Jerusalem, had taken the kingdom, he departed from the conduct of his father; and fell into a course of life quite contrary thereto; and shewed himself in his manners most wicked in all respects, omitting no sort of impiety; but imitating those transgressions of the Israelites, by the commission of which against God they had been destroyed. For he was so hardy as to defile the temple of God, and the city, and the whole country. For by setting out from a contempt of God, he barbarously slew all the righteous men that were among the Hebrews. Nor would he spare the prophets:‡ for

* See Essay on the Old Testament, Supplement, page 27, 28.

† From an. 728 to an. 699. B. C

‡ The prophets who are supposed to have been living in this king's reign, were Hoshea, Joel, Nahum, Habakkuk, some say Obadiah; and who was the greatest prophet of them all, Isaiah. In the late reign he was in great esteem at court, and being himself of the blood royal, and as some say, the king's father-in-law, he thought it more incumbent upon him to endeavour to reclaim him from his degenerate wicked courses. But this so exasperated him against Isaiah, that instead of hearkening to his remonstrances, he caused him to be apprehended, and to make

he every day slew some of them: till Jerusalem was deluged with blood.* So God was angry at these proceedings, and sent prophets to the king, and to the multitude; by whom he threatened the very same calamities to them, which their brethren the Israelites, upon the like affronts offered to God, were now under. But these men would not believe their words; by which belief they might have reaped the advantage of escaping all those miseries: yet did they in earnest learn, that what the prophets had told them was true.

Now while they persevered in the same course of life, God raised up war against them, from the king of Babylon and Chaldea; who sent an army against Judea, and laid waste the country; and caught Manasseh by treachery, and ordered him to be brought to him, and had him under his power to inflict what punishment he pleased upon him. But Manasseh perceiving what a miserable condition he was in, and esteeming himself the cause of all, besought God to render his enemy humane and merciful to him. Accordingly God heard his prayer, and Manasseh was released by the king of Babylon, and escaped the danger he was in.† And when he was come to Jerusalem, he endeavoured, if it were possible, to cast out of his memory his former sins against God; of which he now repented; and to apply himself to a very religious life. He sanctified the temple, and purified the city; and for the remainder of his days

his torture both more lingering, and more exquisite, had him sawn asunder, with a wooden saw, to which the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, chap. xi. 27. may be thought to allude. *Calmet's Commentary* and *Howel's History* in the notes. B.

* 2 Kings xxi. 16.

† The Jewish doctors have a tradition, that while Manasseh was at Babylon, by the direction of his conqueror, he was put in a large brazen vessel full of holes, and set near to a great fire; that in this extremity, he had recourse to all his false deities, to whom he had offered so many sacrifices, but received no relief from them; that remembering what he had heard his good father Hezekiah say, viz. When thou art in tribulation, if thou turn to the Lord thy God he will not forsake thee, neither destroy thee, Deut. iv. 30, 31. he was thereupon immediately delivered, and in a moment translated to his kingdom. But this is no less a fiction, than that miraculous flame which the author of the imperfect comment upon St. Matthew speaks of, that encompassed him on a sudden, as he was praying to God, and having melted his chains asunder, set him at liberty. Vide Tradit. Hebr. in paralip Targum in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11 In all probability, it was Saos Duchin, the successor of Esarhaddon, who some years after his captivity, released Manasseh out of prison. B.

he was intent on nothing but to return thanks to God for his deliverance; and to preserve him propitious to him all his life long. He also instructed the multitude to do the same; as having nearly experienced what a calamity he was fallen into by a contrary conduct. He also rebuilt the altar, and offered the legal sacrifices, as Moses commanded; and when he had re-established what concerned the divine worship, as it ought to be, he took care of the security of Jerusalem. He did not only repair the old walls, with great diligence, but added another wall to the former.* He also built very lofty towers; and strengthened the garrisoned places before the city; supplying them with provisions of all sorts. 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 had lived sixty-seven years, he departed this life; having reigned fifty-five† years, and was buried in his own gardens; and the kingdom came to his son Amon,‡ whose mother's name was Meshulemeth, of the city Jotbath.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE REIGNS OF AMON AND JOSIAH, AND OF THE PREDICTIONS OF HULDAH THE PROPHETESS.

AMON imitated those works of his father which he insolently did when he was young. So a conspiracy was formed against him by his servants, and he was slain in his own house, when he had lived twenty-four years, and reigned two. But the multitude punished those that slew Amon, and buried him with his father, and gave the kingdom to his son Josiah, who was eight years old.|| His mother was of the city Boscath; and

* 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.

† From an. 699 to an. 644.

‡ The name of this king, in some copies of the Septuagint, in Josephus here, and in one copy of the Apostolical Constitutions, II. 23, 24, is not Amon, or Ammon, as in our Hebrew, or other copies, but Amos.

|| 2 Chron. xxxiv. 1.

her name was Jedidah. He was of a most excellent disposition 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. When he was only twelve years old, he gave demonstrations of his religious and righteous behaviour; for he brought the people to a sober way of living, and exhorted them to leave off the opinion they had of their idols; because they were not gods; but to worship their own God. And by reflecting on the actions of his progenitors, he prudently corrected what they did wrong, like a very elderly man, and like one abundantly able to understand what was fit to be done; and what 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 own nature, and in compliance with the advice and instruction of the elders.* For by following the laws it was that he succeeded so well in the order of his government; and in piety with regard to the divine worship. And this happened because the transgressions of the former kings were seen no more, but quite vanished away. For the king went about the city, and the whole country, and cut down the groves, which were devoted to strange gods, and overthrew their altars; and if there were any gifts dedicated to them by his forefathers, he made them ignominious, and plucked them down; and by this means he brought the people back from their opinion about them to the worship of God. He also offered his accustomed sacrifices and burnt-offerings upon the altar. Moreover he ordained certain judges and overseers, that they might order the matters to them severally belonging, and have regard to justice above all things, and distribute it with the same concern they would have about their own souls. He also sent over all the country, and desired such as pleased to bring gold and silver for the repairs of the temple, according to every one's inclination and abilities. And when the money was brought in, he made Maaseiah, the governor of the city, Shaphan the scribe, Joah the recorder, and Eliakim the high-priest, curators of the temple, and of the charges contributed thereto. These persons made no delay, nor put the works off at all, but prepared

* Perhaps the Sanhedrim.

architects, and whatsoever was proper for those repairs, and set closely about the work. So the temple was repaired by this means; and became a public demonstration of the king's piety.

In the eighteenth year of his reign,* Josiah sent to Eliakim the high-priest, and gave order that out of what money was overplus, he should cast cups and dishes, and vials for ministration in the temple; and besides, that they should bring all the gold and silver which was among the treasures, and should expend that in like manner, in making cups, and other vessels. But as the high-priest was bringing out the gold, he found 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 them read, rent his garment; and called 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 pro-

* An. 624.

† Whether it was the whole Pentateuch, or the book of Deuteronomy only, which the high-priest found in the temple, it is generally agreed, that the part which Shaphan read to the king was taken out of the book of Deuteronomy, and not without some probability, that the 28th, 29th, and 30th chapters, were that portion of Scripture which the secretary who (as we are told 2 Kings xxii. 8.) had read the book before he brought it to the king, thought proper upon this occasion to turn to; for therein is contained a renewal of the covenant which Moses, as mediator, had made between God and the people of Israel at mount Horeb; and therein are those threats and terrible comminations to the transgressors of the law, whether prince or people, which affected Josiah so much; and which Moses had given to the Levites to put on the side of the covenant, that it might be there for a witness against the transgressors of it, Deut. xxxi. 25, 26. *Calmet's Commentary.* B.

‡ This is the only mention we have of this prophetess, and certainly it makes much to her renown, that she was consulted upon this weighty occasion, when both Jeremiah and Zephaniah were at that time prophets in Judah. But Zephaniah, perhaps at that time might not have commenced a prophet; because, though we are told that he prophesied in the days of Josiah, Zeph. i. 1. yet we are no where informed, in what part of his reign he entered upon the prophetic office. Jeremiah too, might at that time be absent from Jerusalem, at his house at Anathoth, or some more remote part of the kingdom; so that, considering Josiah's haste and impatience, there might be no other remedy at hand to apply to but this woman: Great is the wrath of the Lord that is kindled against us, says the king to his ministers, 2 Kings xxii. 13. and therefore his intent, in sending them, might

phetess, the wife of Shallum, which Shallum was a man of dignity, and of an eminent family; and bade them go to her, and say, that he desired she would appease God, and endeavour to render him propitious to them; for that there was cause to fear, lest upon the transgression of the laws of Moses by their forefathers, they should be in peril of going into captivity, and of being cast out of their own country; lest they should be in want of all things, and so end their days miserably. When the prophetess had heard this, she bade the messengers go back to the king, and say, 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 happiness they enjoyed; which sentence none could set aside; since it was passed on account of their transgression of the laws, and of their not having repented in so long a time while the prophets had exhorted them to amend, and had foretold the punishment that would ensue on their impious practices; which threatening God would certainly execute upon them; that they might be persuaded that he was God, and had not deceived them in any respect, as to what he had denounced by the prophets: that yet, because Josiah 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 for them."*

So the messengers, upon this prophecy of the woman, came and told it to the king. Whereupon he sent to the people every where, and ordered that the priests and Levites should come together to Jerusalem; and commanded that those of every age should be present. And when they were gathered together, he first read to them the holy books; after 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

be to inquire, whether there were any hopes of appeasing his wrath, and in what manner it was to be done. Being therefore well assured of this woman's fidelity, in delivering the mind and counsel of God, the ministers who went to inquire, concluded rightly, that it was much more considerable, what message God sent, than, by whose hand it was that he conveyed it. *Pool's Annotations. B.*

* That this book of the law of Moses, laid up in the holy house itself, was a small book of the principal laws of righteousness, and not the entire Pentateuch itself, which was laid up only in one of the courts of the temple, see Horeb Covenant revived, page 107, 108.

God, and keep the laws of Moses. Accordingly they gave their assent willingly; and undertook to do what the king had recommended. So they immediately offered sacrifices, 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 dedicated to idols, or to foreign gods, they should cast them out. So when a great number of such vessels were got together, he burnt them, and scattered their ashes abroad; and slew the priests of the idols, that were not of the family of Aaron.

When he had done thus in Jerusalem, he went into the country, and utterly destroyed what buildings had been made therein, by king Jeroboam, in honour of strange gods; and he burnt the bones of the false prophets upon that altar which Jeroboam first built.* And as the prophet Jadon, 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, Josiah by name, should do what is here mentioned. And it happened that those predictions took effect after three hundred and sixty-one years.†

After these things, Josiah went to such other Israelites as had escaped captivity under the Assyrians; and persuaded them to desist from their impious practices, and to leave off the honours they paid to the strange gods; but to worship rightly their own Almighty God, and adhere to him. He also searched the houses, the villages, and the cities, out of a suspicion that somebody might have idols in private. Nay indeed, he took away the chariots of the sun‡ that were set up in his royal palace; which 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 to Jerusalem, and there celebrated the feast of unleavened

* 2 Kings xxii. 15—20.

† 2 Kings xxiii. 15.

‡ It is difficult to reconcile the account in the second book of Kings xxiii. 11. with this account in Josephus; and to translate this passage truly in Josephus; whose copies are supposed to be here imperfect. However, the general sense of both seems to be this: that there were certain chariots with their horses, dedicated to the idol of the sun, or to Moloch; which idol might be carried about in procession, and worshipped by the people; these chariots were now taken away, as Josephus says; or, as the book of Kings says, burnt with fire by Josiah.

bread, and that called the passover.* He also gave the people, for paschal sacrifices, thirty thousand young kids of the goats and lambs, and three thousand oxen for burnt-offerings. The principal of the priests also gave to the priests against the passover, two thousand and six hundred lambs; and the principal of the Levites gave to their brethren, five thousand lambs, and five hundred oxen. By which means great plenty of sacrifices were offered 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 time of Samuel the prophet;† and the plenty of sacrifices now was the occasion that all things were performed according to the laws, and according to the custom of their forefathers.

* The words of the text are—Surely there was not held such a passover, from the days of the judges, nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, and of the kings of Judah, 2 Kings xxiii. 22. which, taken in a literal sense, must denote, that this passover, which was celebrated by two tribes only, was more numerous, and more magnificent than all those that were observed in the days of David and Solomon, in the most happy and flourishing state of the Jewish monarchy, and when the twelve tribes were met together, to solemnize that feast. It may not be amiss therefore to allow, that, in these expressions, there is a kind of anæsis or exaggeration, not unusual in sacred, as well as in profane authors. For nothing is more common than to say, “Never was so much splendour and magnificence seen,” when we mean no more than that the thing we speak of was very splendid and magnificent; unless we suppose, with some, that a preference is given to this passover above all the rest, in respect of the exact observation of the rites and ceremonies belonging to it, which, at other times, were performed according to custom, and several things either altered or omitted; whereas at this, every thing was performed according to the prescribed form of the law, from which, since the finding of this authentic copy of it, Josiah enjoined them not to vary one tittle. *Calmet's and Le Clerc's Commentaries.* B.

† 2 Chron. xxxv. 18.

CHAP. V.

OF THE EXPEDITION OF NECHO, KING OF EGYPT; THE DEATH OF JOSIAH; THE CAPTIVITY OF HIS SUCCESSOR JEHOAHAZ, AND THE ACCESSION OF JEHOIAKIM; ALSO OF THE PROPHETS JEREMIAH AND EZEKIEL.

NOW Necho,* king of Egypt, raised an army,† and marched to the river Euphrates; in order to fight with the Medes and Babylonians who had overthrown‡ the dominion of the Assyrians. For he had a desire to reign over Asia. But when he was come to the city Mendes, which belonged to the kingdom of Josiah, he brought an army to hinder him from passing through his country, in his expedition against the Medes. Now Necho sent a herald to Josiah, and told him that he did not make this expedition against him; but was making haste to Euphrates; and desired that he would not 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 excuse, but put himself into a posture to hinder him from

* Pharaoh signifies no more, in the Egyptian language, than king; and was therefore given to any one that sat upon that throne: but Necho (according to Herodotus) was his proper name, though some will have it to be an appellative which signifies *lame*, because this Pharaoh (as they suppose, had a lameness, which proceeded from some wound he had received in the wars. The same historian tells us, that he was the son and successor of Psammetichus king of Egypt, and a man of a bold, enterprising spirit; that he made an attempt to join the Nile and the Red Sea, by drawing a canal from one to the other; that though he failed in this design, yet, by sending a fleet from the Red Sea through the straits of Babel Mandel, he discovered the coasts of Africa, and, in this his expedition to the Euphrates, resolved to bid fair (by destroying the united force of the Babylonians and Medes) to be the whole monarch of Asia. *Prideaux's Connection*, anno 610 and *Marsham's Canon. ag. sæcul.* 18. B.

† An. 610.

‡ This is a remarkable passage of Chronology in Josephus; that about the latter end of the reign of Josiah, the Medes and Babylonians overthrew the empire of the Assyrians; or, in the words of Tobit's continuator, that before Tobias died, he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nabuchodonosor, the Babylonian, and Assuerus, the Mede. Tobit xiv. 15. Of which see *Dean Prideaux's Connection*, at the year 612.

his intended march. I suppose it was fate* that pushed him on this conduct; that it might take an occasion against him. For as he was setting his troops† in array, and rode about in his chariot,‡ from one wing of his army to another, one of the Egyptians shot an arrow at him, and put an end to his eagerness of fighting: for being sorely wounded, he commanded a retreat to be sounded for his army; and returned to Jerusalem, and died of that wound, and he was magnificently buried in the sepulchre of his fathers, when he had lived thirty-nine years, and of them had reigned thirty-one.¶ But all the people mourned greatly for him; lamenting and grieving on his account many days.§ And Jeremiah the prophet composed** an elegy to lament him; which is still extant. Moreover this prophet denounced beforehand the sad calamities that were coming upon the city. He also left behind him in writing a descrip-

* Or Divine Providence; for this procedure was against a divine admonition.

† This battle is justly esteemed the very same that Herodotus mentions, when he says, that Necho joined battle with the Syrians (or Jews) at Magdolum (Megiddo,) and beat them: as Dr. Hudson here observes.

‡ It was the custom of war in former times for great officers to have their led horses, that if one failed they might mount another. The kings of Persia (as Quintus Curtius informs us) had horses attending their chariots, which, in case of an accident, they might make to; and, in like manner, we might presume, that, when it became a mighty fashion to fight in chariots, all great captains had an empty one following them, into which they might betake themselves if any mischance befell the other. *Bochart's Hieros.* part I. c. 2. and 9. B.

¶ From an. 641 to an. 610.

§ The Jews were wont to make lamentations, or mournful songs, upon the death of great men, princes, and heroes, who had distinguished themselves in arms, or by any civil art had merited well of their country. By an expression in 2 Chron. xxxv. 25. Behold they are written in the lamentations, one may infer, that they had certain collections of this kind of composition. The author of the book of Samuel has preserved those which David made upon the death of Saul and Jonathan, of Abner and Absalom: but this mournful poem, which the disconsolate prophet made upon this immature death of good Josiah, we no where have, which is a loss the more to be deplored, because, in all probability, it was a masterpiece in its kind: since never was there an author more deeply affected with his subject, or more capable of carrying it through all the tender sentiments of sorrow and compassion. *Calmel's Commentary, and Preface sur les Lamentations de Jeremie.* B.

** Whether Josephus, from 2 Chron xxxv. 25. here means the book of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, still extant; which chiefly belongs to the destruction of Jerusalem under Nebuchadnezzar: or any other melancholy poem now lost, but extant in the days of Josephus, belonging peculiarly to Josiah, cannot now be determined.

tion of that destruction of our nation, which has lately happened in our days; and the taking of Babylon. Nor was he the only prophet who delivered such predictions beforehand to the multitude; but so did Ezekiel also; who was the first person that wrote, and left behind him in writing two* books concerning these events. Now these two prophets were priests by birth. But of them Jeremiah dwelt in Jerusalem, from the thirteenth† year of the reign of Josiah, until the city and temple were utterly destroyed. However, as to what befell this prophet, we will relate it in its proper place.

Upon the death of Josiah, his son, Jehoahaz by name, took the kingdom, being about twenty-three years old. He reigned in Jerusalem; and his mother was Hamutal, of the city Libnah. He was an impious man, and impure in his course of life. But as the king of Egypt returned from the battle, he sent for Jehoahaz to come to him, to the city of Hamath,‡ which belongs to Syria; and when he was come, he put him in bands, and delivered the kingdom to a brother of his by the father's side, whose name was Eliakim; and changed his name to Jehoiakim; and laid a tribute upon the land of a hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold: and this sum of money Jehoiakim paid by way of tribute. But Necho carried away Jehoahaz into Egypt; where he died, when he had reigned three months and ten days. Now Jehoiakim's mother was called Zebudah, of the city Rumah. He was of a wicked disposition; and prone to mis-

* Of these two books of Ezekiel, see Authentic Records, part II. page 778.

† Jeremiah i. 2.

‡ This ancient city, Hamath, which is joined with Arpad or Aradus, and with Damascus, 2 Kings xviii. 34. Isa. xxxvi. 19. Jer. xlix. 23. cities of Syria and Phœnicia, near the borders of Judea, was also itself evidently near the same borders: though long ago utterly destroyed. Nor ought the moderns to dream here of Antioch at a vast distance from those borders; or even of Epiphania, or Emessa, or any other neighbours; as being still much too remote for the situation of this city. It was, I think, in or very near a famous passage between Judea and Libanus or Antilibanus, so frequently called the entrance of Hamath: see Antiq. VIII. 6. Reland, Palestin. lib. 1. page 119, 120, 121, 122. and Maundrell, page 24, 25. who very well observes from 1 Macc. xii. 25, 30. that the river Eleutherus, which ran somewhat north of Sidon, ran also through this country of Amathis or Hamath. See Antiq. XIII. 4. which accurately determines the situation of that country.

chief: nor was he either religious towards God, or good-natured towards men.*

CHAP. VI.

OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE KINGS OF EGYPT AND JUDEA; THE DEATH OF JEHOIAKIM, AND THE SUCCESSION OF HIS SON JEHOIACHIN.

IN the fourth year of Jehoiakim, one whose name was Nebuchadnezzar took the government over the Babylonians; who at the same time went up with a great army to the city Carchemish, which was at Euphrates; upon a resolution that he had taken to fight with Necho king of Egypt, under whom all Syria then was. And when Necho understood the intention of the king of Babylon, and that this expedition was made against him, he did not despise his attempt; but made haste with a great band of men to Euphrates, to defend himself from Nebuchadnezzar. And when they had joined battle he was beaten, and lost many thousands of his soldiers. So the king of Babylon passed over the Euphrates, and took all Syria, as far as Pelusium, excepting Judea. But when Nebuchadnezzar had already reigned four years, which was the eighth of Jehoiakim's government over the Hebrews, the king of Babylon made an expedition with mighty forces against the Jews, and required tribute of Jehoiakim; threatening upon his refusal to make war against him. He was affrighted at his threatening, and bought his peace with money; and brought the tribute he was ordered to bring for three years.

But on the third year, upon hearing that the king of Babylon made an expedition against the Egyptians, he did not pay his tribute; yet was he disappointed of his hope, for the Egyptians durst not fight at this time. And indeed the prophet Jeremiah fortold every day how vainly they relied on their hopes from Egypt; and how the city would be overthrown by the king of Babylon,† and Jehoiakim the king would be subdued

* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5.

† The prophet's words upon this occasion, are these: Because ye have obeyed

by him. But what he thus spoke, proved to be of no advantage to them, because there were none that should escape. For both the multitude, and the rulers when they heard him, had no concern about what they heard: but being displeased at what was said, as if the prophet were a diviner against the kings, they accused Jeremiah; and bringing him before the court, they required that a sentence of punishment might be given against him. Now all the rest gave their votes for his condemnation; but the elders prudently sent away the prophet from the court of the prison, and persuaded the rest to do him no harm. For they said he was not the only person who foretold what would come to the city, but that Micah signified the same before him, as well as many others; none of whom suffered any thing of the kings that then reigned, but were honoured as the prophets of God. So they appeased the multitude with these words, and delivered Jeremiah from the punishment to which he was condemned.* Now when this prophet had written all his prophecies, and the people were fasting, and assembled at the temple, on the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, he read the book he composed, containing his predictions of what was to befall the city, the temple, and the multitude. And when the rulers heard of it, they took the book from him, and bade him and Baruch the scribe to go their ways, lest they should be discovered by one or the other. They then carried the book to the king, who gave order in the presence of his friends, that his scribe should read it: but when he heard what it contained, he was angry, and tore it, and cast

the commandments of Jonadab, your father, and kept all his precepts, and done according to all that he hath commanded you; thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Jonadab, the son of Rechab, shall not want a man to stand before me forever, Jer. xxxv. 18, 19. To stand before a prince, or to see his face, in Scripture-phrases, denotes the honour which accrues from being in his service, but the Rechabites were neither priests nor Levites. Hitherto they had lived in the fields, separate from towns and villages, and were averse indeed to any employment either in church or state; but from the time of their captivity, (for they were carried along with the two tribes,) we find them employed as singers and porters in the service of the temple. To serve in this capacity, there was no necessity for their being of the tribe of Levi; the declaration of the divine will by the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah, was in this case a sufficient vocation. *Calmel's Commentary on Jer. xxv. 19. B.*

* Jeremiah xxvi. 8—24.

it into the fire, where it was consumed. He also commanded they should seek for Jeremiah, and Baruch the scribe, and bring them to him that they might be punished. However, they escaped his anger.

A little time afterward, the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim; who received him into the city; and this out of fear of the foregoing predictions of Jeremiah, as supposing he should suffer nothing that was terrible; because he neither shut the gates, nor fought against him. Yet when he was come into the city, he did not observe the covenants he had made; but he slew such as were in the flower of their age, and such as were of the greatest dignity; together with their king Jehoiakim, whom he commanded to be thrown before the walls, without any burial, and made his son Jehoiachin king of the country, and of the city; he also took the principal persons in dignity for captives, three thousand in number, and led them away to Babylon. Among whom was the prophet Ezekiel, who was then but young. And this was the end of king Jehoiakim, when he had lived thirty-six years, and reigned eleven.* But he was succeeded in the kingdom by Jehoiachin, whose mother was Nehusta; a citizen of Jerusalem. He reigned three months and ten days.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE DEPOSITION OF JEHOIACHIN BY THE BABYLONIANS; THE SUCCESSION OF ZEDEKIAH; AND IMPRISONMENT OF THE PROPHET JEREMIAH.

AFTER the king of Babylon had given the kingdom to Jehoiachin, he repented of what he had done; fearing lest he might excite a revolt, to revenge the death of his father.† He

* From an. 610 to an. 599.

† It is very probable that Nebuchadnezzar heard that he had entered into a confederacy with the king of Egypt as his successor did; and therefore sent an army against him, in the very beginning of his reign to lay siege to Jerusalem, against which he intended to come himself: but the Jews have a conceit, that Nebuchadnezzar's counsellors represented to him, how unadvisedly he acted in

therefore sent an army, and besieged Jehoiachin in Jerusalem.* But because he was of a gentle and just disposition,† he did not desire to see the city endangered on his account; but he took his mother, and kindred, and delivered them to the commanders sent by the king of Babylon, and accepted of their oaths, that neither should they nor the city suffer any harm. This agreement, however, was not observed for a single year; for the king of Babylon gave orders to his generals to take all that were in the city captives; both the youth, and the handicraft men, 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 appointed Jehoiachin's uncle, Zedekiah, to be king; and made him take an oath, that he would certainly keep the kingdom for him, and make no innovation, nor have any league of friendship with the Egyptians.

Now Zedekiah was twenty-one years old when he took the government; and had the same mother with his brother Jehoiakim; but he was a despiser of justice, and of his duty. And those of the same age with him were wicked about him; and the whole multitude did what unjust and insolent things they

making him king whose father had been in rebellion against him, and that upon their representation, he resolved to depose him. From an ill dog there never comes a good whelp, was the proverb, they say, which the counsellors made use of on this occasion; and to make this more feasible to the father and son, they generally apply that passage in Ezekiel, "She took another of her whelps, and made him a young lion, and he went up and down among the lions. He became a young lion, and learned to catch the prey, and devour men.—Then the nations set against him on every side, from the provinces, they spread their net over him, and he was taken in their pit." chap. xix. 6. &c. *Calmet's and Patrick's Commentaries.* B.

* 2 Kings xxiv. 10.

† Josephus's character of this Jehoiachin here, seems contrary to that in 2 Kings xxiv. 19. 2 Chron. xxxvi 9. and Jer. xxii. 28. And yet Josephus's account is confirmed by himself elsewhere, Of the War, IV. 2. both which places agree, that he was so mild, and so disposed to spare his people, that he gave up the city of Jerusalem into the hands of the Babylonians, upon their oath to do the people no harm without opposition: which good will to his people he greatly celebrates in the place last quoted. Perhaps Josephus chose to omit his idolatrous conduct in so short a reign; and to celebrate this humane disposition only, without any contradiction of his copy to ours. Compare his character of Zedekiah at first, with that a little after.

pleased. For this reason the prophet Jeremiah came often to him, and insisted, that he must leave off his impieties and transgressions; and take care of what was right; and neither give ear to the rulers, among whom were wicked men; nor give credit to their false prophets, who deluded them, as if the king of Babylon would make no more war against them; and as if the Egyptians would make war against him, and conquer him; since what they said was not true, and the events would not prove such as they expected. 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 perverted him, and dissuaded him from what the prophet advised, and obliged him to do what they pleased.* Ezekiel also foretold in Babylon what calamities were coming upon the people: which when he heard he sent accounts of them unto Jerusalem. But Zedekiah did not believe their prophecies, for the following reason. It happened that the two prophets agreed with one another in what they said as to all other things; that the city should be taken, and Zedekiah himself should be taken captive. But Ezekiel disa-

* The words in the text according to our translation, are—The word which Jeremiah the prophet commanded Seraiah the son of Neriah, &c. when he went with Zedekiah, the king of Judah, into Babylon, in the fourth year of his reign. And this Seraiah was a quiet prince, Jer. li. 59. and from hence some Hebrew interpreters infer, that Zedekiah went to Babylon in the fourth year of his reign to make his court, and cultivate the good graces of his patron and paramount Nebuchadnezzar. But this opinion, though followed by several, has no foundation in any other part of Scripture; and the passage now before us, may, according to the original, be very properly rendered in this wise. The word which Jeremiah commanded Seraiah, when he went to Babylon upon an embassy from Zedekiah. The chief business of this embassy was to request of Nebuchadnezzar, a restitution of the sacred vessels of the temple which he had taken away, when he carried Jehoiachin captive into Babylon. Our translation, however, is not at all significant in this place, when it styles this Seraiah a quiet prince. The Septuagint has very properly rendered the words *αρχων δαπανων* (the prince of the presents,) which some apply to the presents which king Zedekiah made to the temple, and others to the things they daily supplied for sacrifices; but the most natural sense in this place is, that he was charged with the presents and tribute which Zedekiah was obliged to send to Nebuchadnezzar; that his business was, to present them to the emperor, and, upon that occasion, to solicit the restoration of the sacred vessels; upon which account, the Vulgate has rendered the words *princeps prophetia*, the chief person in the embassy, who at the time of audience, was to make a speech to the emperor in his prince's name. *Calmel's Commentary.* B.

greed with him, and said, that Zedekiah should not see Babylon: while Jeremiah said, that the king of Babylon should carry him away thither in bonds.* And because they did not both say the same thing as to this circumstance, he disbelieved what they both appeared to agree in; and condemned them as not speaking truth therein; although all the things predicted did come to pass according to their prophecies; as we shall shew upon a fitter opportunity.

Now when Zedekiah had preserved his league with the Babylonians for eight years,† he broke it, and revolted to the Egyptians; in hopes, by their assistance, of overcoming the Babylonians. When the king of Babylon knew this, he made war against him, 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, his ally, was in, he took a great army with him, and came into Judea; as if he would raise the siege. Upon which the king of Babylon departed from Jerusalem, and met the Egyptians; and joined battle with them, and defeated them; and when he had put them to flight, he pursued them, and drove them out of all Syria. Now as soon as the king of Babylon was departed from Jerusalem, the false prophets deceived Zedekiah, and said, that the king of Babylon would not make any more war against him or his people; nor remove them out of their own country into Babylon; and that those then in captivity would return, with all those vessels of which the king of Babylon had despoiled the 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 advantage to them; but 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 remain into captivity; and would take away what they had as spoils, and would carry off those riches that were in the temple. Nay that besides this, he would burn it, and utterly overthrow the city; and that they should serve him and his posterity seventy years. That then the Per-

* See Jeremiah xxxii. 4. and Ezekiel xii. 13.

† An. 591.

sians and the Medes should but an end to their servitude, and overthrow the Babylonians; and that the Jews should be dismissed, and return to their land, rebuild* the temple, and restore Jerusalem.

When Jeremiah said this, the greater part believed him; but the rulers and those that were wicked despised him, as one disordered in his senses. Now he had resolved to go to his own country, which was called Anathoth, and was twenty furlongs distant from Jerusalem. But as he was going, one of the rulers met him, and seized upon him, and accused him falsely; as though he were going as a deserter to the Babylonians. 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 and accused him to the rulers; under whom he endured all sorts of torments, and was reserved to be punished; and this was the condition he was in for some time, while he suffered unjustly what I have already described.

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 with the utmost application.† There came upon them also two of the greatest calamities, at the same time that Jerusalem was besieged: a famine and pestilential distemper, and made great havock among them. And though the prophet Jeremiah was in prison, he did not rest, but 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 do so they should be destroyed. And he foretold that if any one staid in the city, he should certainly perish by the famine, or by the enemies' sword: but that if he would flee to the enemy he would escape death. Yet did not these rulers that heard him believe him, even when they were in the midst of their sore calamities; but they came to the king, and, in their anger, inform-

* Josephus says here, that Jeremiah prophesied not only of the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, and this under the Persians and Medes, as in our other copies; but of their rebuilding the temple, and even the city Jerusalem, which do not appear in our copies under his name.

† 2. Kings xxv. 1.

ed him of 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, weakened the alacrity of the multitude, who were otherwise ready to expose themselves to danger for him, and for their country; while he, in a way of threatening, warned them to flee to the enemy: and told them that the city should certainly be taken, and utterly destroyed.

But for the king himself, he was not at all irritated against Jeremiah: such was his gentle and righteous disposition. Yet that he might not be engaged in a quarrel with those rulers, at such a time, by opposing what they intended, he let them do with the prophet whatsoever they would. Whereupon, when the king had granted them such a permission, they presently came into the prison, and took him, and let him down with a cord into a pit full of mire, that he might be suffocated, and die of himself. So he stood up to the neck in the mire, which was all about him, and so continued. But there was one of the king's servants, who was in esteem with him, an Ethiopian by descent; who told the king what a state the prophet was in, and said that his friends and his rulers had done evil in putting the prophet into the mire, and by that means contriving against him, that he should suffer a death more bitter than 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 to draw him up immediately. So the Ethiopian took the men he was ordered to take, and drew up the prophet out of the mire, and left him in the prison.*

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, he had somewhat to say; but that he should not be believed, nor if he admonished him, should he be hearkened to. "For," said he, "thy friends have determined to destroy me, as though I had been guilty of some wickedness. And where are now those men that deceived us, and said that

* Jeremiah xxviii. 13.

the king of Babylon would not come and fight against us any more? But I am afraid now to speak the truth; lest thou shouldst condemn me to die." And when the king had assured him upon oath that he would neither himself put him to death, nor deliver him up to the rulers, he became bold upon that assurance, 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 the ground, nor should the temple be burned; but 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. When the king heard this, he said, he would willingly do what he persuaded him to, and what he declared would be to his advantage; but 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 to betray what they had resolved on to none of the citizens, nor tell any of these matters to any of the rulers, if they should have learned that he had been sent for, and should inquire of him what it was that he was sent for, and what he had said to him; but to pretend to them, that he besought him that he might not be kept in bonds and in prison. And indeed he said 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.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE REDUCTION OF JERUSALEM, AND THE REMOVAL OF ZEDEKIAH AND HIS SUBJECTS TO BABYLON.

NOW the king of Babylon was very intent upon the siege of Jerusalem. And he erected towers upon great banks of earth;

and from them repelled those that stood upon the walls. He also made a great number of such banks round about the whole city, whose height was equal to those walls. However, those that were within bore the siege with courage and patience. For they were not dismayed either by the famine, or by the pestilential distemper: but were of cheerful minds, in the prosecution of the war; although those miseries within oppressed them also; and they did not suffer themselves to be terrified, neither by the contrivances of the enemy, or by their engines of war; but contrived still different engines to oppose them; 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 be thereby too hard for the other, for the destruction of the city; the latter placing their hopes of deliverance in persevering in such inventions, in opposition to the other, as might demonstrate the enemies' engines were useless to them. And this siege they endured for eighteen months: until they were destroyed by the famine, and by the darts which the enemy threw at them from the towers.

At length the city was taken, on the ninth day of the fourth month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah.* They were indeed only generals of the king of Babylon, to whom Nebuchadnezzar committed the care of the siege: for he abode himself in the city of Riblah. The names of these generals who ravaged and subdued Jerusalem, if any one desire to know them, were these: Nergal Sharezer, Samgar Nebo, Rabsaris, Sarschim, and Rabmag. And when the city was taken, about midnight, and the enemy's generals were entered into the temple:†

* 2 Kings xxiv. 2, 3.

† The temple was burnt, from the time that it was built, four hundred years, says Sir John Marsham; four hundred and twenty-four years three months and eight days, says Primate Ussher; four hundred and thirty years, says Abarbinel, and other learned Jews: but Josephus computes the thing still higher: for he tells us, that the temple was burnt four hundred and seventy years six months and ten days, from the building of it; one thousand and sixty years six months and ten days, from the Israelites coming out of the land of Egypt; one thousand nine hundred and fifty years and six months and ten days from the deluge; and three thousand five hundred and thirty years six months and ten days from the creation of the world. Josephus stands amazed, that the second temple should be burnt by the Romans in the same month, and on the very same day of the month, that this

and when Zedekiah was sensible of it, he took his wives, his children, his captains, and his friends, and 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 pursued 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, when they saw their enemies near them, they left him, and dispersed themselves some one way, and some another: every one endeavouring 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 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 made use of his power 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 Zedekiah, he commanded his sons. and his friends to be slain; while Zedekiah, and the rest of the captains, looked on. He then put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him, and carried him to Babylon.* And these things happened as Jeremiah† and 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 Jere-

was set on fire by the Chaldeans, and as some of the Jewish doctors say, when the Levites were singing the same psalm in both destructions, viz. xciv. 23. He shall bring upon them their own iniquity, and he shall cut them off in their own wickedness; yea, the Lord our God shall cut them off. *Patrick's Commentary*, and *Jewish Antiq.* lib. X. c. 11. B.

* Jeremiah xxxix. 7.

† This observation of Josephus's, about the seeming disagreement of Jeremiah xxxii. 4. xxxiv. 3. and Ezekiel xii. 13. but real agreement at last, concerning the fate of Zedekiah, is very true, and very remarkable. See chap. 7. Nor is it at all unlikely that the courtiers and false prophets might make use of this seeming contradiction to dissuade Zedekiah from believing either of those prophets: as Josephus here intimates.

miah prophecy. He was also made blind and brought to Babylon, but did not see it: according to the prediction of Ezekiel.

We have said thus much, because it is sufficient to shew the nature of God to such as are ignorant of it; that it is various, and acts many different ways, and that all events happen after a regular manner, in their proper season, and that it foretells what must come to pass. It is also sufficient to shew the ignorance and incredulity 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 those calamities.

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, six months, and ten days. Of whom Saul, who was the first king, retained the government twenty years; though he was not of the same tribe with the rest.

Now the king of Babylon sent Nebuzaradan, the general of his army, to Jerusalem, to pillage the temple: who had it also in command to burn it, and the royal palace, and to lay the city even with the ground, and to transplant the people into Babylon. Accordingly 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 chapters, 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, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, and in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar. He also burnt the king's palace, and overthrew the city.† Now the temple was burnt four hundred and seventy years, six months, and ten days after it was first built. It was then one thousand, sixty-two years, six months, and ten days, from the departure from Egypt; and from the deluge to the destruction of the temple, the whole interval was one thousand, nine hundred, fifty-seven years, six months, and ten days; but from the generation of Adam, there were three

* The twelfth, Hebrew and Septuagint.

† 2 Kings xxv. 9.

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 Babylonish general now overthrew the city, to the very foundations, and removed the people, and took for prisoners the high-priest, Seraiah, and Zephaniah, the priest 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 scribe, and sixty other rulers; all of whom, together with the vessels which they had pillaged, he carried to the king of Babylon, to Riblah, a city of Syria. So the king commanded the heads of the high-priest, and of the rulers, to be cut off there. But he himself led all the captives, and Zedekiah to Babylon. He also led Josedek, the high-priest, away bound. He was the son of Seraiah, the high-priest, whom the king of Babylon had slain in Riblah, a city of Syria, as we have just now related.

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 those who succeeded one another in the high-priesthood, under the kings. The first high-priest then at the temple, which Solomon built, was Zadok. After whom his son Achimas received that dignity. After Achimas was Azarias. His son was Joram, and Joram's son was Isus. After him was Axioramus. His son was Phideas, and Phideas's son was Sudeas, and Sudeas's son was Juelus, and Juelus's son was Jotham, and Jotham's son was Urias, and Urias's son was Nereias, and Nereias's son was Odeas, and his son was Sallumus, and Sallumus's son was Elicias, and his son was Azarias,* and his son was Sareas, and his son was Josedek, who was carried captive to Babylon. All these received the high-priesthood, by succession, the sons from their fathers.

* I have here inserted, this high-priest Azarias, though he be omitted in all Josephus's copies, out of the Jewish Chronicle, Seder Olam: of how little authority soever I generally esteem such later Rabbinical historians; because we know from Josephus himself, that the number of the high-priests belonging to this interval was eighteen. Antiq. XX. 10. whereas his copies have here but seventeen. And note, that so many of these names are spelled differently from those that occur in our Bible. 1 Chron. vi. 15. Ezra vii. 1—5. 1 Esdras vii. 1, 2. that I have here, contrary to my usual method, set them all down from the Greek spelling in Josephus.

When the king was come to Babylon, he kept Zedekiah in prison until he died; and then buried him magnificently. He also dedicated the vessels he had pillaged out of the temple of Jerusalem to his gods; and planted the people in the country of Babylon; but freed the high-priest from his bonds.

CHAP. IX.

OF THE APPOINTMENT OF GEDALIAH, AS GOVERNOR OF THE JEWS LEFT IN JUDEA; HIS ASSASSINATION BY ISHMAEL; THE REMOVAL OF THE PEOPLE INTO EGYPT; AND THEIR SUBSEQUENT CAPTIVITY.

NOW the general of the army, Nebuzaradan, when he carried the people of the Jews into captivity, left the poor, and those that had deserted, in the country; and appointed for their governor one Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, a person of a noble family, and of a gentle and righteous disposition. He commanded that they should cultivate the ground, and pay an appointed tribute to the king. He took Jeremiah the prophet out of prison, and would have persuaded him to go along with him to Babylon; for that he had been enjoined by the king to supply him with whatever he wanted; and if he did not like to do so, he desired him to inform him where he resolved to dwell; that he might signify the same to the king. But the prophet had no inclination to follow him, nor to dwell any where else: but expressed a wish to live in the ruins of his country, and in the miserable remains of it. When the general understood what his purpose was, he enjoined Gedaliah, whom he had left behind, to take all possible care of him, and to supply him with whatever he wanted. So when he had given him rich presents, he dismissed him.* Accordingly Jeremiah abode in a city of that country which was called Mispah; and desired of Nebuzaradan that he would set at liberty his disciple, Baruch,†

* Jeremiah xl. 5.

† Of this character of Baruch, the son of Neriah, and the genuineness of his book that stands now in our Apocrypha, and that it is really a canonical book, and an appendix to Jeremiah, see Authentic Records, part I. page 1—11.

the son of Neriah;* one of a very eminent family, and exceedingly skilful in the language of his country. When Nebuzardan had done thus, he made haste to Babylon. But as to those that fled away during the siege of Jerusalem, and had been

* Baruch, the son of Neriah, and grandson of Maaseiah, was of an illustrious birth, and of the tribe of Judah. Seraiah, his brother, had a considerable employment in the court of king Zedekiah, but himself kept close to the person of Jeremiah, and was his most faithful disciple, though his adherence to his master drew upon him several persecutions, and a great deal of bad treatment. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. Baruch and his master were permitted to stay in the land of Judea; but when the remains of the people which were left behind, after having slain their governor Gedaliah, were for retiring into Egypt, they compelled Jeremiah and his disciple to go along with them, where the prophet died, and Baruch soon after made his escape to his brethren in Babylon, where, according to the tradition of the Rabbins, he likewise died in the twelfth year of his captivity. But of what authority the book, which goes under his name, is, or by whom it was written, and whether any thing related therein be historically true, or the whole of it a fiction, is altogether uncertain. Grotius, in his Commentary upon it, thinks it an entire fiction of some Hellenistical Jew, under the name of Baruch. And St. Jerom, long before him, (in the preface to his Exposition of Jeremiah,) tells us, that the reason why he did not make a comment on this book, though in the Edition of the Septuagint, it be joined with Jeremiah, was, because it was not deemed canonical among the Hebrews, and contains an epistle which falsely bears the name of Jeremiah. This epistle is annexed to the book, and, in the common division of it, makes the last chapter. But the main subject of the book itself is likewise an epistle, either sent, or feigned to be sent, by king Jehoiakim, and the Jews who were in captivity with him in Babylon, to their brethren the Jews who were still left in Judah and Jerusalem: wherein they recommend to their prayers the emperor Nebuchadnezzar and his children, that, under his dominion, they may lead quiet and peaceable lives; wherein they confess their sins, and ask pardon for what is past, take notice of the threats of the prophets, which they had so long despised, and acknowledge the righteousness of God in what he had brought upon them: wherein they remind them of the advantage which the Jews had in their knowledge of the law of God, and of true wisdom, above all other nations, and thereupon exhorted them to reform their manners, and forsake their evil customs, which would be the only means to bring about their deliverance from the captivity under which they groaned. The whole is introduced with an historical preface, wherein it is related, that Baruch, being then at Babylon, did, in the name of the captive king, and his people, draw up the same epistle, and afterwards read it to them for their approbation; and that, together with it, they sent a collection of money to the high-priest at Jerusalem, for the maintenance of the daily sacrifices. This is the substance of the book itself: and, in the letter annexed to it, which goes under Jeremiah's name, the vanity of the Babylonish idols and idolatry is set forth at large, and with liveliness enough. Of the whole there are but three copies; one in Greek, and the other two in Syriac, whereof one agreeth with the Greek, though the other very much differs from it: but in what language it was originally written, or whether one of these be not the original, or which of them may be so, it is next to impossible to tell. *Prideaux's Connection*, anno 595, and *Calmet's Preface sur Baruch*. B.

scattered over the country; when they heard that the Babylonians were gone away, and had left a remnant in the land of Jerusalem, and those such as were to cultivate the same; they came together from all parts to Gedaliah to Mispah. Now the rulers that were over them, were Johanan, the son of Kareah; and Jezaniah, and Seraiah, and others beside them. Now there was of the royal family one Ishmael, a wicked man, and very crafty; who, during the siege of Jerusalem, fled to Baalis, 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 have no fear of the Babylonians; for that if they would cultivate the country, they should suffer no harm. This he assured them of by oath, and said, that they should have him for their patron; and, that if any disturbance should arise, they should find him ready to defend them. He also advised them to dwell in any city, as every one of them pleased; and to send men along with his own servants, and rebuild their houses upon the old foundations, and dwell there. And he admonished them beforehand, that they should make preparation while the season lasted, of corn and wine, and oil; to subsist during the winter. When he had thus discoursed to them, he dismissed them; that every one might dwell in what part of the country he pleased.

When this report was spread abroad as far as the nations that bordered on Judea, that Gedaliah kindly entertained those that came to him, after they had fled away, upon condition that they should pay tribute to the king of Babylon; they also came readily to Gedaliah, and inhabited the country. And when Johanan, and the rulers that were with him, observed the country, and the humanity of Gedaliah, they were exceedingly in love with him, and told him, that Baalis, the king of the Ammonites, had sent Ishmael to kill him by treachery, and secretly; that he might have the dominion over the Israelites, as being of the royal family; and they said, that he might deliver himself from his treacherous design, if he would give them leave to slay Ishmael, and nobody should know it. For they told him they were afraid, that when he was killed by the other, the entire ruin of the remaining strength of the Israelites would ensue. But he professed, that he did not believe what they said, when they told him of such a treacherous design in

a man that had been well treated by him; because it was not probable that one who, under such a want of all things, had failed of nothing that was necessary for him, should be found so wicked and ungrateful towards his benefactor, that when it would be an instance of wickedness in him not to save him, had he been treacherously assaulted by others, to endeavour to kill him with his own hand. That, however, if he ought to suppose this information to be true, it was better for himself to be slain by the other, than to destroy a man who fled to him for refuge, and intrusted his own safety to him, and committed himself to his disposal.

So Johanan and the rulers that were with him, not being able to persuade Gedaliah, went away. But after an interval of thirty days, Ishmael came again to Gedaliah, to the city Mispah, and ten men with him; and, when he had feasted Ishmael, and those that were with him in a splendid manner at his table, and had given them presents, he became disordered in drink, while he endeavoured to be merry with them. And when Ishmael saw him in that case, and that he was drowned in his cups to a degree of insensibility, and fallen asleep, he rose up on a sudden, with his ten friends, and slew Gedaliah, and those that were with him at the feast. And when he had slain them, he went out by night, and slew all the Jews that were in the city, and those soldiers also that were left therein by the Babylonians. But the next day eighty men came out of the country with presents to Gedaliah, none of them knowing what had befallen him. When Ishmael saw them he invited them in to Gedaliah; and, when they were come in, he shut up the court, and slew them, and cast their dead bodies into a certain deep pit, that they might not be seen. But of these eighty men Ishmael spared those that intreated him not to kill them, till they had delivered up to him what riches they had concealed in the fields; consisting of their furniture, garments, and corn. But he took captive the people that were in Mispah, with their wives and children; among whom were the daughters of king Zedekiah, whom Nebuzaradan the general of the army of Babylon had left with Gedaliah. And when he had done this, he came to the king of the Ammonites.

But when Johanan, and the rulers with him heard of what was done at Mispah, by Ishmael, and of the death of Gedaliah,

they had indignation at it, and every one of them took his own armed men, and came suddenly to fight with Ishmael; and overtook him at the fountain of Hebron. And when these that were carried away captives by Ishmael saw Johanan and the rulers, they were very glad, and looked upon them as coming to their assistance. So they left him that had carried them captives, and came over to Johanan. Then Ishmael, with eight men, fled to the king of the Ammonites. But Johanan took those whom he had rescued out of the hands of Ishmael, and the eunuchs, and their wives, and children, and came to a certain place called Mandra, and there they abode that day; for they had determined to remove from thence, and to go into Egypt; for fear lest the Babylonians should slay them, in case they continued in the country, and that out of danger at the slaughter of Gedaliah, who had been set over it for governor.

While they were under this deliberation, Johanan the son of Kareah, and the rulers that were with him, come 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 they swore that they would do whatever Jeremiah should say to them. And the prophet said he would be their intercessor with God: it came to pass, that after ten days, God appeared to him, and said, he should inform Johanan, and the other rulers, and all the people, that he would be with them while they continued in that country, and take care of them, and keep them from being hurt by the Babylonians, of whom they were afraid; but that he would desert them if they went into Egypt; and out of his wrath against them, would inflict the same punishments upon them which they knew their brethren had already endured. So when the prophet had informed Johanan, and the people, that God 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, and belied God; that he persuaded them to stay there, that they might be destroyed by the Babylonians. Accordingly both the people, and Johanan, disobeyed the counsel of God, which he gave them by the prophet, and removed into Egypt, and carried Jeremiah and Baruch along with them.*

* Jeremiah xliii. 6.

While they were there, God signified to the prophet, that the king of Babylon was about making an expedition against the Egyptians; and commanded him to foretell to the people that Egypt should be taken, and that the king of Babylon should slay some of them, and should take others captive, and bring them to Babylon; which things came to pass accordingly. For on the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, he made an expedition against Coele Syria; and when he had possessed himself of it, he made war against the Ammonites, and Moabites; and when he had brought all those nations under subjection, he fell upon Egypt, in order to overthrow it. And he slew the king* that then reigned, and set up another; and took those Jews that were there captives, and led† them away to Babylon.‡ And such was the end of the nation of the Hebrews; it having twice gone beyond Euphrates. 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, king of Babylon and Chaldaea. Now as to Shalmaneser, he removed the Israelites out of their country, and placed therein the nation of the Cutheans; who had formerly belonged to the interior of Persia and Media; but were then called Samaritans; by taking the name of the country to which they were removed. But the king of Baby-

* Herodotus says, this king of Egypt, (Pharaoh Hophra, or Apries,) was slain by the Egyptians; as Jeremiah foretold his slaughter by his enemies, xlv. 29, 30, and that as a sign of the destruction of Egypt, by Nebuchadnezzar Josephus says, this king was slain by Nebuchadnezzar himself. Which assertion is supposed by Dr. Hudson to contradict Herodotus. If it do, the question will remain, whether Herodotus or Josephus had the more authentic accounts of Egypt at that time. Nor is such a question easily decided, for want of some more authentic and original monuments of that country.

† Of this real captivity of the Jews in Egypt to Babylon, and particularly as to Jeremiah and Baruch, contrary to our common copies, Jer. xlv. 12, 13, 27. see Authent. Rec. Part I. pages 6, 7.

‡ Since the people were thus carried into captivity, the sons of the royal family, and of the nobility of the land, made eunuchs and slaves in the palace of the king of Babylon; the vessels of the temple carried thither, the king made a tributary, and the whole land now brought into vassalage under the Babylonians; from hence we must reckon the beginning of the seventy years' captivity foretold by the prophet Jeremiah. chap. xxv. 11 and xxix. 10. and in the fourth year of Jehoiakim must be the first year in that computation. *Prideaux's Connection*, an. 606. B.

Ion, who brought out the two tribes,* placed no other nation in their country. By which means all Judea, and Jerusalem, and the temple, continued to be a desert for seventy years. But the entire interval of time 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 BARYLON.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR, king of Babylon, took some of the most noble of the Jews that were children, and the kinsman of Zedekiah their king; such as were remarkable for the beauty of their bodies, and the comeliness of their countenances; and delivered them into the hands of tutors, and to the improvement to be made by them. He also made some of them to be eunuchs; which course he took also with 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 country, and taught the learning of the Chaldeans; and they exercised themselves in that wisdom which he had ordered they should apply themselves to. Now among these were four of the family of Zedekiah, of most excellent dispositions; the one of whom was called Daniel; another was called Ananias; another Misaël, and the fourth Azarias. And‡

* We see here that Judea was left in a manner desolate, after the captivity of the two tribes, and was not re-peopled with foreign colonies; perhaps as an indication of Providence that the Jews were to re-people it without opposition themselves. I esteem the latter and present desolate condition of the same country without being re-peopled by foreign colonies, to be a like indication, that the same Jews are hereafter to re-people it again at their long-expected restoration.

† That Daniel was made one of those eunuchs of whom Isaiah prophesied xxxix. 7. and the three children his companions also, seems to me plain, both here and in our copies of Daniel, i. 3, 6, 7.—11, 18. Although it must be granted, that some married persons, that had children, were sometimes called eunuchs, in a general acceptation for courtiers, on account that so many of the ancient courtiers were real eunuchs. See Gen. xxxix. 1. with Antiq. 6. X. 8, 9, and 10.

‡ It was a usual thing for conquerors to change the names of the persons they, vanquished in war, in testimony of their absolute power over them. Thus we find the king of Babylon changing the name of Mattaniah into Zedekiah, when he

the king of Babylon changed their names, and commanded that they should make use of other names. Daniel he called Baltasar; Ananias, Shadrach; Misael, Meshach; and Azarias, Abednego.* These the king had in esteem, and continued to love; on account of their excellent temper, their application to learning, and the progress they had made in wisdom.

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 pulse and dates for their food, and any thing else besides the flesh of living creatures, that he pleased; for that their inclinations were to that sort of food, and that they disliked the other. He replied, that he was ready to serve them in what they desired; but he suspected that they would be discovered by the king, from their meagre bodies, and the altera-

constituted him king of Judah, 2 Kings xxiv. 17. But our learned Usher has farther remarked that the king of Egypt gave Eliakim the name of Jehoiakim, thereby to testify, that he ascribed his victory over the Babylonians to Jehovah, the God of Israel, by whose excitation, as he pretended, 2 Chron. xxxv. 21, 22. he undertook the expedition. *Patrick's and Calmet's Commentary. B.*

* It is very remarkable, that, as all their former names related to the true God, so all the names which on this occasion were imposed upon these four Jewish youths had some reference or other to Babylonish idols. Daniel in Hebrew, signifies God is my judge; Belteshazzar, in Chaldee, is the treasure of Baal; Haniah, in Hebrew, is well pleasing to God; Shadrach, in Chaldee, the inspiration of the sun; Mishael, in Hebrew, proceeding from God; Meshach, in Chaldee, belonging to the goddess Sheshach; Azariah, in Hebrew, God is my help; and Abednego, in Chaldee, the servant of Nego, i. e. the sun or the morning-star, both deities among the Babylonians, and so called because of their brightness. *Calmet's Commentary on Dan. i. 7. B.*

† What we render master of the eunuchs, may very likely signify the chief minister of Nebuchadnezzar's court. Such officers, in the palaces of eastern princes, were usually called eunuchs; because they who had the controul of the king's household, as we say, were ordinarily such, though many times it might be otherwise. The Jews have a notion, that Daniel and his three companions were, by the order of Nebuchadnezzar, made eunuchs, that the prophecy of Isaiah might be fulfilled: Thy sons, that shall issue from thee, shall they take away, and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon, chap. xxxix. 7. But that is no conclusive reason; because, in that prophecy, as well as in the passage we are now upon, the name of eunuch might mean no more than any person who had an employment at court. *Calmet's Commentary. B.*

tion of their countenances; because it could not be avoided but their bodies and complexions 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 into danger, and occasion him to be punished. However, they persuaded Arioch to give them what they desired for ten days, by way of trial; and, in case their habits of bodies were not altered, to go on in the same way; as expecting that they should not be hurt thereby afterwards; but that if he saw them look worse than the rest, he should reduce them to their former diet. Now it appeared that they were so far from becoming worse, by the use of this food that they grew plumper, and fuller in body than the rest; insomuch that he thought those who fed upon 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 in all sorts of luxury.* Arioch, therefore, from that time, securely took himself what the king sent every day from his supper, according to custom, to the children; but gave them the aforementioned diet; while they had their souls in some measure more pure, and less burdened, and so fitter for learning; and had their bodies better adapted for labour. For they neither had the former oppressed and heavy with variety of meats; nor were the other effeminate on the same account. So they readily understood all the learning that was among the Hebrews, and among the Chaldeans. As especially did Daniel, who, being already sufficiently skilful in wisdom, was very busy about the interpretation of dreams. And God manifested himself to him.

Two years after the destruction of Egypt, king Nebuchadnezzar saw a wonderful dream; the accomplishment of which God shewed him in his sleep.† But when he arose out of his bed he forgot the accomplishment. So he sent for the Chal-

* Daniel i. 15.

† Some are of opinion, that Nebuchadnezzar's dream and the interpretation thereof, were both revealed to Daniel, while he was asleep; but others rather think, that it was in a vision, while he was awake, because the prayer and thanksgiving which he made to God seem to insinuate, that he was awake; though we cannot see, why he might not receive the revelation in his sleep, and return God thanks for it as soon as he awoke. *Calmel's Commentary.* B.

deans, magicians, and prophets, and told them he had seen a dream; and informed them that he had forgotten the accomplishment of what he had seen; and he enjoined them to tell him, both what the dream was, and what was its signification. They replied, that this was a thing impossible to be discovered by men; but they promised that if he would explain to them what dream he had seen, they would tell him its signification. Hereupon he threatened to put them to death unless they told him his dream, and he gave command accordingly, since they confessed they could not do what they were commanded. 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 Arioch, who was captain of the king's guards, and desired to know the reason why the king had given command that all the wise men, 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 they were enjoined to inform the king of it, they had said they could not do it, and had thereby provoked him to anger; he desired of Arioch, that he would go in to the king, and desire respite for the magicians for one night; and to put off their slaughter so long; for that he hoped in that time, to obtain by prayer to God the knowledge of the dream. Accordingly Arioch informed the king of what Daniel desired. So the king bade them delay the slaughter of the magicians, till he knew what Daniel's promise would come to. The young man then retired to his own house, with his kinsmen, and besought God that whole night to discover the dream, and thereby deliver the magicians and Chaldeans, with whom they were themselves to perish, from the king's anger, by enabling him to declare his vision, and to make manifest what the king had seen the night before in his sleep, but had forgotten it. Accordingly God, out of pity to those that were in danger, and out of regard to the wisdom of Daniel, made known to him the dream and its interpretation, so that the king might understand by him its signification also. When Daniel had obtained this knowledge from God, he arose joyfully, and told it his brethren; and made them to hope that they should now preserve their lives, of which they despaired before, and had their minds full of nothing but the thoughts of dying. So when he had

with them returned thanks to God, who had commiserated their youth; he came to Arioch, and desired him to bring him to the king, because he would discover to him that dream which he had seen the night before.

When Daniel was come in to the king, he excused himself first, that he did not pretend to be wiser than the other Chaldeans and magicians,* when, upon their entire inability to discover his dream, he was undertaking to inform him of it. For this was not by his own skill, or on account of his having better cultivated his undertaking than the rest: "But," said he, "God hath pity upon us, when we were in danger of death; and when I prayed for the life of myself, and of those of my own nation, he hath manifested to me both the dream and the interpretation thereof. For I was not less concerned for thy glory, than for the sorrow that we were by thee condemned to die; while thou didst so unjustly command men both good and excellent in themselves to be put to death, when thou enjoined them to do what was entirely above the reach of wisdom; and required of them what was only the work of God. Wherefore as thou in thy sleep was solicitous concerning those that should succeed thee in the government of the whole world, God was desirous to shew thee all those that should reign after thee; and to that end exhibited to thee the following dream:—Thou seemedst to see a great image standing before thee; the head of which was

* The prophet Daniel makes mention of these sort of people, and ranks them under these four different kinds. The *Chartumim*, the *Asaphim*, the *Mecasphim*, and the *Chasdim*, chap. ii. 2. *Chartumim*, according to the Septuagint, signifies sophists; but according to St Jerom, diviners, fortune-tellers, casters of nativity, &c. *Asaphim* has no derivation from the Chaldee tongue, but no small resemblance to the Greek word *sophos*, (whether the Greeks took this word from the Babylonians, or the Babylonians from them;) and therefore the Septuagint has rendered it by philosophers. *Mecasphim* is thought by some to be necromancers, such as pretend to raise the dead, to gain intelligence of things future; but the Septuagint has rendered it by a word that denotes such enchanters as made use of noxious herbs and drugs, the blood of victims, and the bones of the dead, for their superstitious operations. The other word *Chasdim* is the same with Chaldeans, and here signifies a sort of philosophers among the Babylonians, who dwelt in a separate part of the city, and were exempt from all employments. Their study was natural philosophy, astrology, divination, or the foretelling of future events by the observation of the stars, the interpretation of dreams, the science of auguries, the worship of their gods, &c. as Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. gives us an account of them. *Calmet's Dictionary*, under the word *Magicians*. B.

of gold, the shoulders and arms of silver, the belly and the thighs of brass; but the legs and the feet of iron.* Thou then sawest a stone broken off from a mountain, which fell upon the image, and threw it down and brake it to pieces, and did not permit any part of it to remain whole; but the gold, the silver, the iron, and the brass, became smaller than meal; which, upon the blast of a violent wind, was forcibly carried away, and scattered abroad; but the stone increased to such a degree, that the whole earth beneath it seemed to be filled therewith. This is the dream which thou sawest, and its interpretation is as follows:—The head of gold denotes thee, and the kings of Babylon that have been before thee. But the two hands and arms signify that thy government shall be dissolved by two kings. But another king that shall come from the west, armed with brass, shall destroy that government. And another government that shall be like unto iron, shall put an end to the pow-

* By these different emblems of metals and stone, God intended to signify to Nebuchadnezzar the several empires that were to be in the world. The Assyrian or Chaldean is represented by gold, because it was the first and the most magnificent, if not the most extensive, and Nebuchadnezzar, being then upon the throne, is said to be head of it. That of silver is the Persian, founded by Cyrus, upon the ruins of the Chaldean, but inferior to the Chaldean in its duration at least, if not in its extent. That of brass is the Grecian, founded by Alexander, upon the ruins of the Persian, and its character is, that it should bear rule over all the earth, Daniel ii. 39. which was verified in its great founder; for, upon his return from India to Babylon, the ambassadors of almost all the known parts of the world resorted thither, to pay their homage and acknowledgment of his dominion. That of iron is the Roman empire, which is extinguished by its breaking in pieces, and subduing all things, verse 40. For whilst it was in its full strength and vigour, under its consuls and first emperors, it brought under its dominion all the kingdoms and states that were then subsisting in Europe, Africa, and a great part of Asia; but, from that time, it became a mixture of iron and clay. Its emperors proved most of them vicious and corrupt, either by their tyranny making themselves hateful to their subjects, or, by their follies and vices, contemptible. Lastly, that of the stone out of the mountain, is the fifth monarchy, or the kingdom of the Messiah's; which against all the power and policy of the Roman empire, prevailed, not by an external force, but by the powerful preaching of the gospel, to the suppression and defeat of wickedness and impiety, idolatry, and superstition, and it shall stand for ever, and never be destroyed, Daniel ii. 44. which can be said of no other kingdom but that of Jesus Christ, which, for these seventeen hundred years and upwards, has withstood the violence of persecutions, and all other contrivances formed against it, and has the sure promises of its Almighty Founder on its side, that the gates of hell should not prevail against it, Mat. xvi. 18. *Calmet's Commentary.* B.

er of the former, and shall have dominion over all the earth; on account of the nature of iron, which is stronger than that of gold, of silver, and brass." Daniel also declared the meaning of the* stone to the king; but I do not think it proper to relate it; since I have only undertaken to describe things past, or things present: but not the things that are future. Yet if any one be so desirous of knowing truth, as not to wave such points of curiosity, and cannot curb his inclination for understanding the uncertainties of futurity, and whether they will happen or not, let him diligently read the book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writings.

When Nebuchadnezzar heard this, and recollected his dream, he was astonished at the nature of Daniel:† and fell upon his face, and saluted Daniel in the manner that men worship God; and gave command that he should be sacrificed to as a god. He also imposed the name of his own god Baltazar upon him, and made him and his kinsmen, rulers of the whole kingdom. These kinsmen, however, happened to fall into danger by the envy and malice of their enemies: for they offended the king upon the following occasion. The king made an image of gold, whose height was sixty cubits, and its breadth six cubits; and set it in the great plain of Babylon;‡ and when he was going to dedicate the image, he invited all the principal men that were

* This is a most remarkable passage in Josephus, concerning the stone cut out of the mountain, and destroying the image, which he intimated to be a prophecy of futurity; and probably not safe for him to exclaim, as belonging to the destruction of the Roman empire, by Jesus Christ, the true Messiah of the Jews. Take here also the words of Havercamp. "The place referred to by Josephus," says he, is "chap. 10. Nor is this to be wondered at, that he would not meddle with things future. For he had no mind to provoke the Romans, by speaking of the destruction of the city, which they called the eternal city." Note v. on X. 11.

† Nebuchadnezzar seems, in a sudden transport, to have looked upon Daniel as having something more than human in him, just as the barbarians thought of St. Paul, Acts xxviii. 6. and therefore it is said, that he fell on his face and worshipped him; because the doing of reverence, by way of prostration, is not only an act of worship paid to God, but frequently given to kings and great men in the Old Testament, according to the custom of eastern countries, 2 Sam. ix. 6. and sometimes even to prophets, on account of the sanctity of their office, 1 Kings xviii. 7. nor was it usually refused by them, except such circumstances were added to it, as made it look like divine worship, and then it was always rejected, as in the case of St. Peter, Acts x. 26. *Lewth's Commentary* on Daniel ii. 43. B.

‡ Grotius is of opinion that the image which Nebuchadnezzar set up was the figure of his father Nebopolassar, whom, by this means, he intended to deify; but others think, that it was his own statue which he erected, to gain the adorations of

under his dominion, and commanded, 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 do so, should be cast into a fiery furnace.* When therefore all the rest, upon hearing the sound of the trumpet, worshipped the image; Daniel's kinsmen did not do it, because they would not transgress the laws of their country. So these men were convicted, and cast immediately into the fire; but were saved by Divine Providence, and after a surprising manner escaped death: for the fire did not touch them. And I suppose it touched them not, as if it reasoned with itself, that they were cast into it without any fault of theirs; and that therefore it was 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 superior to the fire, 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.

A little after this, the king saw in his sleep another vision: intimating that he should fall from his dominion, and feed

his people in this form. We cannot, however, in what we find Nebuchadnezzar saying to Daniel's friends, perceive that he any where upbraids them with contempt offered to his person, or his statue, but only that they would not serve his gods, nor worship the image which he had set up, Daniel iii. 14. And therefore others have imagined, that this was neither his own nor his father's statue, but that of Jupiter, which was afterward found in the temple of Belus, when Xerxes plundered it of its immense riches, among which were several images of massy gold, but one more especially fifty feet high, which might be the same that Nebuchadnezzar consecrated in the plains of Dura. For though that is said to have been sixty cubits, i. e. ninety feet high, yet we may suppose that it stood upon a pedestal of forty feet high, and so the image and the pedestal together, might make ninety. (vide vol. i page 310, in the notes,) otherwise there would be no proportion between its height and its breadth, according to the description we have of it in Daniel iii 1. *Prideaux's Connection*, anno 573. B.

* This kind of punishment was pretty common in these parts of the world, so that some will have it, that Abraham, before he departed from Chaldea, was made to undergo it, but escaped by a miraculous preservation, founding their opinion on Gen. xi. 31. Of this furnace, in particular, it is related, that the king's servants having received the command to heat it seven times hotter, ceased not to make the oven hot with rosin, pitch, tow, and small wood; so that the flame streamed forth above the furnace forty and nine cubits; and passed through and burnt the Chaldeans it found about the furnace. The song of the Three Holy Children, ver. 23, &c. B.

among the wild beasts;* and that when he had lived in this manner in the desert for seven years,† he should recover his dominion again. When he had seen this dream, he called the magicians together again; and inquired of them about it, desiring them to tell him what it signified. But when none of them could find out the meaning of the dream, nor discover it to the king, Daniel was the only person that explained it. And as he foretold, so it came to pass. For after he had continued in the wilderness the aforementioned interval of time, while no one durst attempt to seize his kingdom, during those seven years; he prayed to God that he might recover his throne; and be 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, that I intended to do no more than to translate the Hebrew books into the Greek language, and promised to explain those facts, without adding any thing to them of my own, or taking any thing away from them.

* God delayed the execution of his threats against this prince, and gave him a whole year's reprieve, chap. iv. 29. to see if he would repent, and turn unto him; but perceiving that he still persisted in his crimes, as soon as the measure of his iniquity was full, he smote and reduced him to the condition of a beast. This is Theodoret's notion of the matter; but St. Jerome rather thinks, that this king being terrified with the threats, and touched with the exhortations of the prophet, began to set about his reformation, and by acts of charity and mercy, to reconcile himself to God, for which he obtained a delay of his punishment for a year's space; but that instead of persevering in these good purposes, he suffered himself to fall into pride, upon the contemplation of the mighty works he had done, and so, by his vanity, lost what he had gained by his charity. *Bonum misericordix perdidit malo superbix. Calmet's Commentary. B.*

† Since Josephus here explains the seven prophetic times which were to pass over Nebuchadnezzar, Daniel iv. 16. to be seven years, we thence learn how he most probably must have understood those other parallel phrases, of a time, times, and a half, VII. 25. and XII. 9. of so many prophetic years also. Though he lets us know, by his hint at the interpretation of the seventy weeks, as belonging to the fourth monarchy, and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, in the days of Josephus, chap. 2. that he did not think those years to be bare years; but rather days for years; by which reckoning, and by which alone, could seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety days, reach to the age of Josephus. But as to the truth of those seven years' banishment of Nebuchadnezzar from men, and his living so long among the beasts, the very small remains we have any where else of this Nebuchadnezzar, prevent our expectation of any other full account of it. So far we know by Ptolemy's Canon, a contemporary record, as well as by Josephus's presently, that he reigned in all forty-three years: that is eight years after we meet

CHAP. XI.

OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR, AND HIS SUCCESSORS; THE DISSOLUTION OF THEIR GOVERNMENT BY THE PERSIANS, THE AFFAIRS OF DANIEL, AND THE PROPHECIES HE DELIVERED IN MEDIA.

NOW when king Nebuchadnezzar had reigned forty-three years,* he ended his life.† He was an active man, and more fortunate than the kings were before him. Berosus makes mention of his actions in the third book of his Chaldaic history, where he says, "When his father Nabuchodonosor [Nabopolassar] heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt, and the places about Cœle Syria and Phœnicia, had revolted from him, while he was not himself able any longer to undergo the hardships of war; he committed to his son Nebuchadnezzar, who was still but a youth, some parts of his army; and sent him against them. So when Nebuchadnezzar had given battle, and fought with the rebel, he defeated him, and reduced the country under subjection; and made it a branch of his own

with any account of his actions. One of the last of which was the thirteen years' siege of Tyre, XI. 11. where yet the old Latin has three years and ten months. Yet were his actions before so remarkable, both in sacred and profane authors, that such a vacuity of eight years at the least, at the latter end of his reign, must be allowed to agree very well with Daniel's accounts; that after a brutal life of seven years' duration, he might return to his reason, and to the exercise of his royal authority for one whole year at least before his death.

* These forty-three years for the duration of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar are, as I have just observed, the same number as that in Ptolemy's Canon. Moses Chorenensis also confirms this captivity of the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar; and adds, what is very remarkable, that one of those Jews that were carried by him into captivity, got away into Armenia; and raised the great family of the Bagratidæ there. See page 1, 58, 91, 98, 100, 109, 123, 124, 136, 180, 184.

† This prince died in the year of the world 3442, and before Christ 562; after he had reigned, from the death of his father, according to the Babylonish account, three and forty years. He was certainly one of the greatest princes that had appeared in the east for many ages before him, and according to Megasthenes, (as he is cited by Josephus, Antiq. lib. X. c. 11.) both for his enterprises and performances, far excelled even Hercules himself. The same historian, (as he is quoted by Eusebius, Præp. lib. IX. c. 41.) informs us, that a little before his death he foretold his subjects of the coming of the Persians, and their subduing the kingdom of Babylon; but this he might gather from the prophet Daniel, and especially from the interpretation of his dreams. *Prideaux's Connection*, anno. 562. B.

kingdom. But about that time it happened that his father fell ill, and ended his life in the city Babylon; when he had reigned twenty-one years.* And when he was made sensible that his father was dead, he settled the affairs of Egypt, and other countries, as also those that concerned the captive Jews, Phœnicians, Syrians, and those of the Egyptian nations; and having committed the conveyance of them to Babylon to certain of his friends, together with the body of his army, and the rest of their ammunition and provisions; he went himself hastily, accompanied with a few others, over the desert, and came to Babylon. So he took upon him the management of the public affairs and of the kingdom, which had been kept for him by one that was the principle of the Chaldeans; and he received the entire dominions of his father; and appointed, that, when the captives came, they should be placed as colonies, in the most proper parts of Babylonia. He then adorned the temple of Belus, and the rest of the temples, in a magnificent manner with the spoils he had taken in the 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 turn the course of the river, and thereby attack the city itself. 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 walled the city, and adorned its gates, he built another palace before his father's palace; but so that they 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 completed† in fifteen days. He also erected elevated places for walking, of stone;

* These twenty-one years here ascribed to Nabopollassar, the father of the great Nebuchadnezzar, are the same with those given him in Ptolemy's Canon. And note here, that what Dr. Prideaux says, Connection, at the year 612, that Nebuchadnezzar must have been a common name of other kings of Babylon besides the great Nebuchadnezzar himself, is a groundless mistake of some modern chronologers only, and destitute of all proper original authority.

† These fifteen days for finishing such vast buildings at Babylon, in Josephus's copy of Berosus, 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, with the same number. It thence indeed appears, that Josephus's copy of Berosus had this small number; but that it is the true number, I still doubt. Josephus assures us, that the walls of so much a smaller city as Jerusalem were two years and four

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 pensile paradise: because his wife was desirous to have things like her own country; she having been bred up in the palaces of Media." Megasthenes also, in his fourth book of his *Accounts of India*, makes mention of these things; and thereby endeavours to shew that this king, Nebuchadnezzar, exceeded Hercules in fortitude, and in the greatness of his actions. For he saith, that "he conquered great part of Libya and Iberia." Diocles also, in the second book of the *Accounts of Persia*, mentions this king. As does Philostratus, in his accounts both of India and of Phœnicia say, that "this king besieged Tyre thirteen years: while at the same time Ethbaal reigned at Tyre." These are all the histories that I have met with concerning this king.

After the death of Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach his son succeeded in the kingdom; who immediately set Jechoniah at liberty, and esteemed him among his most intimate friends. He also gave him many presents, and made him honourable above the rest of the kings that were in Babylon. For his father had not kept his faith with Jechoniah, when he voluntarily delivered up himself to him, with his wives and children, and his whole kindred, for the sake of his country: that it might not be taken by siege, and utterly destroyed; as we said before. When Evil-Merodach was dead, after a reign of eighteen* years, Niglissar his son took the government, and retained it forty† years: and then ended his life. And after him the succession in the kingdom came to his son Labosordacus, who continued in it, in all, but nine months, and when he was dead, it came to Baltasar;‡ who by the Babylonians was called Nabo-

months in building by Nehemiah, who yet hastened the work all he could; XI. 6. I should think one hundred and fifteen days, or a year and twenty days, much more proportionable to so great a work.

* Two years.

† Four years.

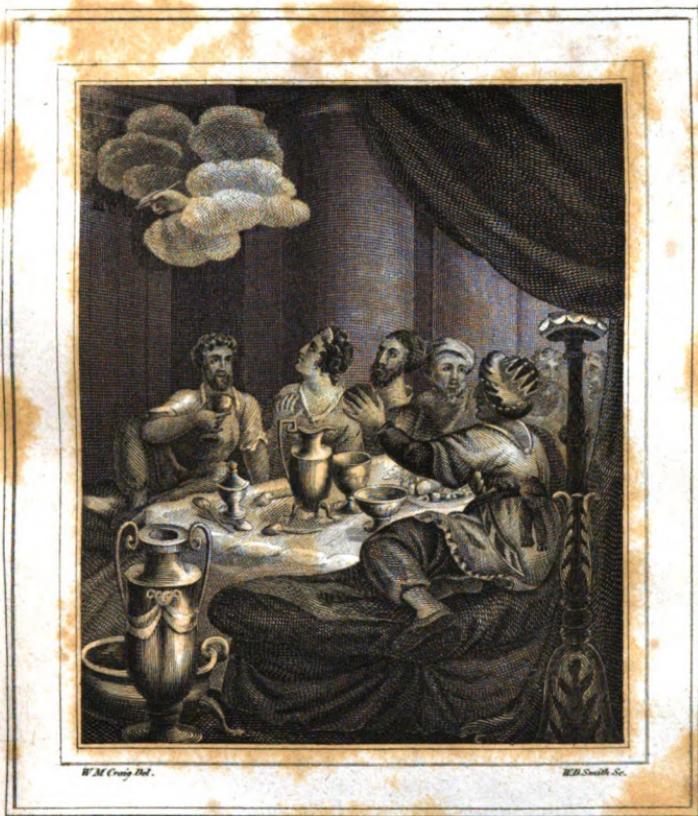
‡ It is here remarkable, that Josephus, without the knowledge of Ptolemy's Canon, should call the same king, whom he himself here, Baruch i. 11. and Daniel v. 1, 2, 9, 12. 22, 29, 30. styles Baltasar, or Belshazzar, from the Babylonian god Bel; Naboandelus also; and in another place from the same citation out of Berosus, Nabonnedon; from the Babylonian god Nabo, or Nebo. This last is not re-

andelus. Against him did Cyrus, king of Persia, and Darius, king of Media, make war. And when he was besieged in Babylon, there happened a wonderful and prodigious vision. He set 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 commanded that those vessels of gold, which Nebuchadnezzar had taken 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 haughty, as to proceed to use them in the midst of his cups, drinking out of them, and blaspheming against God. In the mean time he saw a hand proceed out of the wall, and writing certain syllables.* At this sight he was disturbed, and called the magicians and Chaldeans together, and all that sort of men that were among these barbarians, and were able to interpret signs and dreams, that they might explain the writing to him.† But when the

mote from the original Babylonian pronunciation in Ptolemy's Canon, Nabonadrus. For both the place of this king in that Canon, as the last of the Assyrian or Babylonian kings, and the number of years of his reign, seventeen, the same in both, demonstrate that it is one and the same king that is meant by them all. It is also worth nothing, that Josephus knew that Darius, the partner of Cyrus, was the son of Astyages, and was called by another name among the Greeks: though it does not appear he knew what that name was; as having never seen the best history of this period, which is Xenophon's *Kyros anabasis*. But then, what Josephus's present copies say presently, that it was only within no long time after the hand-writing on the wall that Baltasar was slain, does not so well agree with our copies of Daniel; which say it was the same night; Daniel v. 30. But then it must be observed, that Theodoret directly quotes Josephus for the confirmation of our copies of Daniel, and particularly for affirming that he was slain the same night also. Whose testimony is here set down at large By Dr. Hudson.

* Daniel v. 5.

† The writing very probably might be in a character unknown to the Chaldeans, as the old Hebrew, Phœnician, and Samaritan were; or if they were acquainted with the character, yet such is the genius of most of the oriental languages, where so little use is made of vowels, and where the pronunciation and sequel of the discourse generally determine the signification of the letters, that a man may be a perfect master of a language, and yet not able to read and comprehend a word, when it stands alone, and without any context, as it is in the case of *Mene. Tekel. Upharsin*. A man, for instance, that understands the Hebrew tongue ever so well, were he to meet *db* standing alone, would have much ado to read them, because, according to the manner that we pronounce them, the letters will admit of many different significations; and it is much the same in the Chaldee language, wherein the words we are now speaking of were wrote. *Calmel's Commentary on Daniel v. 7. B.*



W. M. Crosby Del.

H. B. Smith Sc.

BELSHAZZAR'S FEAST.

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magicians said they could discover nothing, nor did understand it; the king was in great disorder of mind, and under great trouble at this surprising accident.* So he caused it to be proclaimed through all the country, and promised that to him who could explain the writing, and give the signification thereof, he would give a golden chain for his neck, and permission to wear a purple garment, as did the kings of Chaldea; and would bestow on him the third part of his own dominions. When the proclamation was made, the magicians ran together more earnestly, and were very ambitious to find out the import of the writing, but still hesitated about it as much as before. Now when the king's grandmother† saw him cast down at this acci-

* The king's words are these,—Whosoever shall read this writing, and shew me the interpretation thereof, shall be clothed with scarlet, and have a chain of gold about his neck, and shall be the third ruler in the kingdom. Daniel v. 7. From whence it appears, that the kings of Babylon wore the same ornaments, and in rewarding their favourites, gave the same marks of honour that the kings of Persia and their successors did. For purple, we find, in several Greek authors, was the ordinary habits of the kings of Persia, and of the princes of their court that were in the highest posts of honour. The chain or collar of gold was one of the greatest marks of distinction that the Persian kings could bestow upon their subjects; and to be the third ruler of the kingdom, was the same sublime office that Darius the Mede put Daniel in, chap. vi. 1, 2. when he constituted him one of the presidents over the hundred and twenty princes that he had made governors over provinces. *Xenophon's Cyropædia*, lib. viii. *Diodorus*, lib. xviii. *Josephus's Antiquities*, lib. xi. c. 6. *Brisson, De Regno Persar.* lib. i. B.

† This grandmother, or mother of Baltasar, the queen dowager of Babylon, (for she is distinguished from his queen, Daniel v. 10, 23.) seems to have been the famous Nitocris, who fortified Babylon against the Medes and Persians; and in all probability governed it under Baltasar, who seems to have been a weak and effeminate prince. Whether Baltasar were the son or grandson of the great Nebuchadnezzar, will be best understood by the following passage out of some observations I formerly made, when I carefully read over Mr Hutchinson's excellent edition of *Xenophon's Kyrus Παιδια*, as follows. "Xenophon, who made his Persian expedition not till one hundred and twenty-eight years after the death of Cyrus, and never seems to have been at Babylon, nor ever names any king of Babylon; (as perhaps not knowing their names; always and only calling each of them *την Ασσυριον*, the Assyrian king, in agreement with Ptolemy's Canon;) took the last king of Babylon to be the son of his predecessor, and the same that injured Gobryas and Gadates, page 307, 529 Berosus also, who lived still much later, took Niricassolassar for the sister's husband, and puts in Laborosoarchod, who is not in the Canon. Perhaps we had better follow the Scripture, and the Canon, as elder, and indeed contemporary records; and say, that Ilvarodamus or Evil Merodach was the son, and Niricassolassar the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar; and that Baltasar or Nabonadius was the uncle of Niricassolassar, and the son of Nebuchadnezzar, by another wife, Nitocris. See Baruch i. 11. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20.

dent, she began to encourage him, and to say, that there was a certain captive who came from Judea, a Jew by birth; but brought away thence by Nebuchadnezzar, when he destroyed Jerusalem; whose name was Daniel; a wise man, and one of great sagacity in finding out what was impossible for others to discover, and what was known to God alone; and who brought to light 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 for him, and inquire concerning the writing; and to condemn the unskilfulness of those that could not find their meaning; and this although what God signified thereby should be of a melancholy nature.

When Baltasar heard this, he called for Daniel; and when he had expressed 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 others would never have thought of; he desired 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 would bestow on him the third part of his dominion, as an honorary reward of his wisdom, that thereby he might become illustrious to those who saw him, and who inquired upon what occasion he obtained such honours. But Daniel desired, "that he would keep his gifts to himself; the effect of wisdom and of divine revelation admitting of no gifts; but bestowing its advantages on petitioners freely; but that still he would explain the writing to him. He said, it denoted that he should soon die; and this because he had not learned to honour God, and not to admit things above human nature, by what punishments his progenitor had undergone for the injuries he had of-

Jer. xvii. 7. Daniel v. 18, 22. And perhaps Laborosoarchod was no more than a first minister under Baltasar at first; as the queen mother Nitocris appears to have been the real regent afterwards; Baltasar being a weak and effeminate prince, as I have already noted, and as his history shews. N. B. It is plain that though Xenophon knew the history of Cyrus, yet did he not know his chronology, or how long he was in his war. He thought those wars, before the taking of Babylon, to have been over in a very few years; contrary to the strongest evidence elsewhere; though in contradiction to this, he knew Cyrus to be younger than Cyaxares, and a very old man before he died; which agrees with the other testimonies of antiquity."

ferred to God; and because he had quite forgotten how Nebuchadnezzar was removed to feed among wild beasts, for his impieties, and did not recover his former life among men, and his kingdom, but upon God's mercy to him, after many supplications and prayers. Who did thereupon praise God all the days of his life, as one of almighty power, and who takes care of mankind. He also reminded him that he had greatly blasphemed against God, and had made use of his vessels amongst his concubines; that therefore God was angry with him, and declared by his writing beforehand what a sad conclusion of his life he should come to. And he explained the writing thus: "MANEH: this, if it be expounded in the Greek language, may signify *Ἀριθμὸς*, a number; because God hath numbered so long a time for thy life, and for thy government; and there remains but a small portion. THEKEL: this signifies *Σταθμὸς*, a weight; and means that God hath weighed thy kingdom in a balance, and finds it going down already. PHARES: this also in the Greek tongue, denotes *Κλάσμα*, a fragment; God will therefore break thy kingdom in pieces, and divide it among the Medes and Persians."*

When Daniel had told the king that the writing upon the wall signified these events, Baltasar was in great sorrow and affliction, as was to be expected when the interpretation was so heavy upon him. However he did not refuse what he had promised Daniel, although he were become a foreteller of misfortunes; but bestowed it all upon him. As reasoning thus, that what he was to reward was peculiar to himself and to fate, and did not belong to the prophet; but that it was the part of a good and a just man to give what he had promised, although the events were to be of a melancholy nature. Now after a little while, both himself, and the city were taken by Cyrus king of Persia, who fought against him. For it was Baltasar, under whom Babylon was taken; when he had reigned seventeen years. And this is the end of the posterity of Nebuchadnezzar, as history informs us. But when Babylon was taken by Darius, and when he, with his kinsman Cyrus, had put an end to the dominion of the Babylonians, he was sixty-

* Daniel v. 28.

two years old. He was the son of Astyages; and had another* name among the Greeks. Moreover, he took Daniel the prophet, and carried him with him into Media, and honoured him very greatly, and kept him with him, for he was one of the three presidents whom he set over his three hundred and sixty provinces.

However, while Daniel was in so great dignity, and in so great favour with Darius, and was alone intrusted with every thing by him, as having somewhat divine in him, he was envied by the rest; for those that see others in greater honour than themselves with kings, envy them. And when those that were grieved at the great favour Daniel was in with Darius, sought for an occasion against him, he afforded them no occasion at all. For as he was above all the temptations of money, and despised bribery, and esteemed it a very base thing to take any thing by way of reward, even when it might be justly given him, he afforded those that envied him not the least handle for an accusation. So when they could find nothing for which they might calumniate him to the king; and thereby deprive him of the honour he was in; 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 found 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 should be cast into the den of lions, and there perish.‡

Hereupon the king, not being acquainted with their wicked

* Cyaxares.

† It was a constant custom among the Jews, for those that were in the country, or in any distant land, to turn themselves towards Jerusalem; and for those that were at Jerusalem, to turn towards the temple, when they prayed; and the probable reason of this might be, the words of Solomon, in his prayer to God, at the consecration of the temple: If thy people, when led away captive, pray unto thee toward their land which thou gavest unto their fathers, the city which thou hast chosen, and the house, which I have built for thy name: then hear thou their prayers, and their supplication, in heaven, thy dwelling place, and maintain their cause, 1 Kings viii. 48, 49. B.

‡ Daniel vi. 7.

design, nor suspecting that it was a contrivance against Daniel, said he was pleased with this decree; and promised to confirm what they desired; he also published an edict to promulgate 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. The princes having now met with the occasion they so earnestly sought, came presently to the king, and accused Daniel as the only person who had transgressed the decree; while not one of the rest durst pray to their gods. This discovery they made, not because of his impiety, but because they had watched him and observed him out of envy. For supposing that Darius did thus out of a greater kindness to him than they expected, and that he was ready to grant him pardon for this contempt of his injunctions; and envying this very pardon to Daniel, they did not become more favourable to him, but desired he might be cast into the den of lions, according to the law. So Darius, hoping that God would deliver him, and that he would undergo nothing that was terrible by the wild beasts; bade him bear this accident cheerfully: and when he was cast into the den, he put his seal to the stone that lay upon the mouth of the den, and went his way. He then passed all the night without food, and without sleep; being in great distress for Daniel. But when it was day, he got up, and came to the den; and found the seal entire, which he had left the stone sealed withal; he also opened the seal, and called to Daniel, and asked him if he were alive? And as soon as he heard the king's voice, and said that he had suffered no harm; the king gave order that he should be drawn 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 with food, and on that account it was, as they supposed, that they would not touch Daniel, nor come to him. And this they alledged 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 farther order that Daniel's enemies should be cast into the den; that he might learn whether the lions, now they were full,

would touch them or not.* And it appeared plainly to Darius, after the princes had been cast to the wild beasts, that it was God who preserved Daniel. For† the lions spared none of them; but tore them all to pieces, as if they had been very hungry and wanted food. I suppose therefore it was not their hunger, which had been a little before satisfied with abundance of flesh, but the wickedness of these men that provoked them to destroy the princes. For if it so pleased God, that wickedness might by even those irrational creatures, be esteemed a plain foundation for their punishment.

When therefore those that had intended thus to destroy Daniel by treachery, were themselves destroyed, king Darius sent letters over all his country, and praised that God whom Daniel worshipped; and said, that he was the only true God, and had power. He also held Daniel in very great esteem; and made him the principal of his friends. Now when Daniel was become so illustrious and famous, on account of the opinion men had that he was beloved of God, he 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 and beautiful, and no way grown

* The *lex talionis* condemned all calumniators to the same sort of punishment which they intended to have brought upon others; and in this case, among the Persians, it was a frequent thing to include all the family in the penalty inflicted on the father; but, *abominandæ leges* (says Ammianus Marcellinus) *per quas, ob noxam unius, omnis propinquitas perit.* *Calmel's Commentary.* B.

† It is no way improbable that Daniel's enemies might suggest this reason to the king, why the lions did not meddle with him; and that they might suspect the king's kindness to Daniel had procured these lions to be so filled before hand; and that thence it was that he encouraged Daniel to submit to this experiment, in hope of coming off safe! and that this was the true reason of making so terrible an experiment upon those his enemies and all their families. Daniel vi. 24. Though other copies do not directly take notice of it.

‡ Of this Baris or tower, built by Daniel, whether it were at Ecbatana in Media, as Josephus's present copies have it; or at Susa in Persia, as Jerome quotes it from his copies of Josephus, is hard to determine. Dean Prideaux thinks Jerome's to be the true reading; and that this tower was at Susa. *Connex.* part 1. at the year 534.

|| What Josephus here says, that the stones of the sepulchres of the kings of Persia at this Baris, or those perhaps of the same sort that are now commonly called the ruins of Persepolis, continued so entire and unaltered in his days, as if they

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 bury the kings of 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 proper to give an account of what this man did; 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 kings and of the multitude; and now he is dead he retains a remembrance that will never fail. For the several books that he wrote and left behind him, are still read by us, till this time; and from them we believe that he conversed with God; for he not only prophesied 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 account were disagreeable both to the kings and 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 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 evinced the accuracy and undeniable veracity of his predictions. 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 concussion of the earth; and that he was left alone by himself, his friends fleeing away from him; that he was disturbed, and fell on his face, and on his two hands, and that a certain person touched him, and at the same time bid him to rise, and see what would befall his countrymen after many generations. He also related, that when he stood up, he was shewn a great ram

were lately put there, "I," says Reland, "here can shew to be true, as to those stones of the Persian king's mausoleum which Corn. Brunius brake off and gave me." He ascribed this to the hardness of the stones; which scarcely yields to iron tools; and proves frequently too hard for cutting by the chisel, but oftentimes breaks the chisel to pieces. See the like as to the Armenian buildings of Semiramis, in Moses Chorenensis, page 46.

with many horns growing out of his head; and that the last was higher than the rest; that after this he looked to the west, and saw a he-goat carried through the air from that quarter; that he rushed upon the ram with violence, and smote him twice with his horns, and overthrew him to the ground, and trampled upon him; that afterward he saw a very great horn growing out of the forehead 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 shewed to him, that it should fight against his nation, and take their city by force, and bring the temple worship to confusion, and forbid 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 kingdom of the Medes and Persians, and the horns those kings that were to reign in them; and that the last horn signified the last king; and that he should exceed all the kings in riches and glory; that the he-goat signified that one should come and reign from the Greeks, who should twice fight with the Persians, and overcome him in battle, and should receive his entire dominion; that by the great horn, which sprang out of the forehead of the he-goat was meant the first king; and that the 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 succours that should arise after the death of the first king; and the partition of the kingdom among them; and that they should be neither his children, nor of his kindred that should reign over the habitable earth for many years; and that from among them there should arise a certain king that should overcome our nation and laws, and should take away the political government, and should spoil the temple, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered, for three years. Accordingly it happened that our nation suffered these things under Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision; and what he wrote many years before

* See Daniel viii. 1—14.

they came to pass. In the same manner Daniel 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 shewed them to him. Insomuch that such as read his prophecies, and see how they have been fulfilled, may justly wonder at the honour wherewith God honoured Daniel; and may thence discover how the Epicureans are in an error, who cast Providence out of human life; and do not believe that God takes care of the affairs of the world; 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 and a curator, which, were it destitute of a guide to conduct it, as they imagine, it would be like ships without pilots, which we see destroyed by the winds; or like chariots without drivers, which are overturned: so would the world be dashed to pieces by being carried without a Providence, and so perish and come to nought. So that by the aforementioned predictions of Daniel those men seem to err from the truth, who determine that God exercises no Providence over human affairs. For if that were the case, that the world went on by mechanical necessity, we should not see that all things would come to pass according to his prophecy. Now as to myself I have so described these matters as I have found them and read them; but if any one be inclined to another opinion about them, let him enjoy his sentiments without any blame from me.

BOOK XI.

*Containing an Interval of Two Hundred and Fifty-three
Years and Five Months.*

FROM THE FIRST YEAR OF CYRUS TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER
THE GREAT.

CHAP. I.

OF THE PERMISSION GRANTED TO THE JEWS BY CYRUS, KING* OF
PERSIA, TO RETURN TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY, AND TO REBUILD
THEIR TEMPLE.

IN the first† year of the reign of Cyrus; which was the se-
ventieth from the day that the Jews were removed out of their
own land into Babylon: God commiserated the captivity and ca-
lamity of these poor people; according as he had foretold by Je-
remiah 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

* N. B. Josephus never makes use of our Hebrew book of Ezra, which pro-
bably he never saw; but only of the first book of Esdras, by us called apocry-
phal: and which he read in Hebrew; but which Hebrew copy has been long lost;
our book being now only extant in the Septuagint, and vulgar Latin versions.

† 2 Chronical. xxxvi. 22. Ezra i. 1.

‡ This Cyrus is called God's shepherd by Xenophon, page 581, as well as by
Isaiah xlv. 28, as also it is said of him by the same prophet, "I will make a man
more precious than fine gold; even a man than the golden wedge of Ophir," Isa.
xiii. 12. which character makes Xenophon's most excellent history of him very
credible.

|| Jeremiah xxv. 11.

should rebuild their temple, and enjoy their ancient prosperity. And these things God did afford them. For he stirred up the mind of Cyrus, and made him write thus throughout all Asia: "Thus saith Cyrus the king, Since God Almighty hath appointed me to be king of the habitable earth, I believe that he is that God whom the nation 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 Isaiah left behind him of his prophecies. 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 seized upon him, to fulfil what was so written. So he called for the most eminent Jews that were in Babylon, and said that he gave them leave to go back to their own country, and to rebuild‡ their city Jerusalem and the temple of God,

* It is a good deal more than probable, that this decree in favour of the Jews was, in a great measure, owing to Daniel's good offices. Cyrus, at his first coming to Babylon, after he had taken the city, found him there an old minister of state, famed for his great wisdom over all the east, and in many things, for a knowledge superior to the rest of mankind; and accordingly we find, that he not only employed him as such, but, upon the settling of the government of the whole empire, made him first superintendent or prime minister of state over all the provinces of it. In this station of life, Daniel must have been a person of great authority at court, and highly in the esteem of his prince: and therefore, as we find him earnest in his prayer to God for the restoration of his people, Daniel ix. we cannot but think, that he would be equally warm in his intercessions for it with the king. To which purpose, it is not improbable, that he might shew him those passages in Isaiah, which speak of him by name, (150 years before he was born,) as a great prince and conqueror, the ruler of many nations, and the restorer of his people, by causing his temple to be built, and the city of Jerusalem re-inhabited. For, that Cyrus had seen those prophecies, the thing is plain, not only from the testimony of Josephus, *Antiq. lib. xi. c. 1.* but from the recital that is made of them in the decree itself, *Ezra i. 2.*; and if so, who shall be so proper to shew them to him, and to recommend the accomplishment of them to his princely care, as Daniel, who had so great credit with him, and so passionate a concern for the restoration of Zion? *Prideaux's Connection*, anno 539. B.

† Isaiah xlv 28.

‡ This permission to build Jerusalem, and this epistle of Cyrus to Sisinnus and Sathrabuzanes, to the same purpose, are, most unfortunately, omitted in all our

for that he would be their assistant; and that he would write to the rulers and governors that were in the neighbourhood of Judea, that they should contribute gold and silver, for the building of the temple, and besides that, beasts for their sacrifices.

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 a great many cattle and horses. So they performed their vows to God: and offered the sacrifices that had been accustomed of old time; I mean this upon the rebuilding of their city, and the revival of the ancient practices relating to their worship. Cyrus also sent back 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, to be sent away; with an order to give them to Sanabasser, 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 the following epistle to the governors that were in Syria :

other copies, but this best and completest copy of Josephus; and by such omission the famous prophecy of Isaiah, xliv. 28. where we are informed, that God said of, or to Cyrus—He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure: even saying to Jerusalem, thou shalt be built; and to the temple, thy foundation shall be laid: could not hitherto be demonstrated from the sacred history to have been completely fulfilled; I mean as to that part of it which concerned his giving a commission, for the rebuilding the city Jerusalem, as distinct from the temple; whose rebuilding is alone permitted or directed in the decree of Cyrus in all our copies.

* Some are of opinion, that among the sacred things which Cyrus ordered to be restored, the ark of the covenant was one; but it no where appears, that this ark was carried from Jerusalem to Babylon. They tell us, indeed, that in the second temple, sacrifices were offered, as in the first, and all solemn days observed, especially the great day of expiation, when the law ordained, that the blood should be sprinkled before the mercy-seat; and the mercy-seat, say they, was part of the ark: but besides that the ark, without the Shechinah, or divine glory, (which was then withdrawn,) would have been of no great significance, the Jews universally acknowledged that the ark was one of the five things that were wanting in the second temple. B.

KING CYRUS TO SISINNES AND SATHRABUZANES SENDETH
GREETING.

I HAVE given permission to as many of the Jews in my country as please to return to their own country, and to rebuild their city, and to build the temple of God at Jerusalem, on the same place where it was before. I have also sent my treasurer Mithridates, and Zorobabel, the governor of the Jews, that they may lay the foundations of the temple, and may build it sixty cubits high, and of the same latitude: making three edifices of polished stones, and one of the wood of the country; and the same order extends to the altar whereon they offer sacrifices to God. I require also that the expenses for these things be given out of my revenues. I have also sent the vessels which king Nebuchadnezzar 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 Thericlean cups of gold and five hundred of silver; fifty basons of gold and five hundred of silver; thirty vessels for pouring the drink-offerings, and three hundred of silver; thirty vials of gold, and two thousand four hundred of silver; with a thousand other vessels. I permit them to have the same honour which they were used to have from their forefathers, as also for their small cattle, and for wine, and oil, two hundred and five thousand and five hundred drachmæ; and for what flour, twenty thousand and five hundred artabæ. 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

* Of the true number of golden and silver vessels, here and elsewhere belonging to the temple of Solomon, see the description of the temples, chap. 13.

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.

CHAP. II.

OF THE OPPOSITION WHICH THE JEWS EXPERIENCED FROM THE CUTHEANS, AND THE NEIGHBOURING GOVERNORS; OF THE COMMAND OF CAMBYSES TO STOP THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

WHEN the foundations of the temple were laying, and when the Jews were zealous about building it, the neighbouring nations, and especially the Cutheans, whom Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, had brought out of Persia and Media, and had planted in Samaria, when he carried the people of Israel captive; besought the governors, and those that had the care of such affairs, that they would interrupt the Jews, both in the rebuilding of their city, and in the building their temple. Now as these men were corrupted with money, they sold the Cutheans their interest for rendering this building a slow and careless work. For Cyrus, who was busy about other wars knew nothing of all this; and it so happened that when he had led his army against the Massagetæ,* he ended his life.† But

* Josephus here follows Herodotus, and those that related how Cyrus made war with the Scythians and Massagetes, near the Caspian Sea, and perished in it. Of whom Strabo speaks, XI page 307, to whom yet he gives little credit. While Xenophon's account, which appears never to have been seen by Josephus, that Cyrus died in peace in his own country of Persia, corroborated by the writers of the affairs of Alexander the Great; when they agree, that he found Cyrus's sepulchre or Pasargada near Persepolis. This account of Xenophon's is also strongly confirmed by the circumstances of Cambyses, upon his succession to Cyrus; who instead of a war to avenge his father's death upon the Scythians and Massagetes, and to prevent those nations from over-running his northern provinces; which would have been the natural consequence of his father's ill success and death there; went immediately to an Egyptian war, long ago begun by Cyrus, according to Xenophon, page 644, and conquered that kingdom. Nor is there, that I ever heard of, the least mention in the reign of this Cambyses of any war against the Scythians or Massagetes that he was ever engaged in. Nor, by the way, is this Cambyses any other than that Artashashta, which our canonical Ezra names in this place, iv. 5, &c.

† It is generally agreed by historians, that Cyrus was much about seventy years old when he died; but then they widely differ among themselves as to the manner

when Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, had taken the kingdom, the governors in Syria, and Phœnicia, and in the countries of Ammon and Moab, and Samaria, wrote an epistle to Cambyses, whose contents were as follows :

“ To our lord Cambyses ; we thy servants, Rathumus the historiographer, and Semellius the scribe, and the rest that are thy judges in Syria and Phœnicia, greeting. It is fit, O king ! that thou shouldst know, that those Jews who were carried to Babylon, are come into our country ; and are building that rebellious and wicked city, and its market-places, and setting up its walls, and raising up the temple. Know therefore, that when these things are finished, they will not be willing to pay tribute, nor will they submit to thy commands ; but will resist kings, and will choose rather to rule over others, than be ruled over themselves. We therefore thought it proper to write to thee, O king, while the works about the temple are going on so fast, and not to overlook this matter ; that thou mayest search into the books of thy fathers ; for thou wilt find in them, that the Jews have been rebels, and enemies to kings : as hath their city been also : which, for that reason, hath been till now laid waste. We thought proper also to inform thee of this matter, because thou mayest otherwise perhaps be ignorant that if this city be once inhabited, and entirely encompassed with walls, thou wilt be excluded from thy passage to Cœlesyria and Phœnicia.”

When Cambyses had read the epistle, being naturally wicked, he was irritated at what they told him ; and wrote back to them as follows :

of his death. Some say, that he was taken in an engagement, and hanged ; others that he died of a wound which he received in his thigh ; and others, that he was killed in a battle with the people of Samos. Herodotus, Justin, and Valerius Maximus relate, that, in his war against the Scythians, falling into an ambush which Queen Tomyris had laid for him, he was taken prisoner, and, with insult enough, had his head cut off by her order ; but Xenophon's account is,—that he died peaceably in his bed, amidst his friends, and in his own country ; as, indeed, there is little reason to think, either that so wise a man as Cyrus should, in his advanced years, engage in so desperate an undertaking as this Scythian expedition is represented on all hands, or that, had he died in Scythia, his mangled body could have ever been got out of the hands of these barbarians to be buried at Pargada in Persia, as most authors agree it was, and where his monument was to be seen in the time of Alexander the Great. *Calmet's Dictionary*, under the word *Cyrus* ; and *Prideaux's Connection*, anno 530. B.

“Cambyses the king, to Rathumus the historiographer, to Beeltethmus, to Semellius the scribe, and the rest that are in commission, and dwelling in Samaria and Phœnicia, after this manner. I have read the epistle that was sent from you; and I gave order that the books of my forefathers should be searched into. And it is there found, that this city hath always been an enemy to kings: and its inhabitants have raised seditions and wars. We also are sensible that their kings have been powerful, and tyrannical, and have exacted tribute of Coelesyria and Phœnicia. Wherefore I give order, that the Jews shall not be permitted to build that city; lest such mischief as they used to bring upon kings, be greatly augmented.” When this epistle was read, Rathumus, and Semellius the scribe, and their associates, got suddenly on horse-back, and made haste to Jerusalem; they also brought a great company with them, and forbade the Jews to build the city and the temple. Accordingly these works were hindered from going on till the second year of the reign of Darius; for nine more years. For Cambyses reigned seven years;* and within that time overthrew Egypt; and when he was come back, he died at Damascus.

CHAP. III.

OF THE ELEVATION OF DARIUS TO THE THRONE OF PERSIA; THE SUPERIORITY OF ZOROBABEL IN THE SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS; AND THE PERMISSION WHICH HE ATTAINED FOR THE REBUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

AFTER the slaughter of the Magi,† who, upon the death of Cambyses, retained the government of the Persians for a year those families which were called the seven families of the Persians appointed Darius, the son of Hystaspes, to be their king.

* Cambyses reigned, according to the canon of Ptolemy, including the seven months of the Magi, eight years. Josephus gives here Cambyses but six years, and the Magi one year; seven in all. I suppose Ptolemy's canon to be the true number; though the difference between that account and Josephus's, is no more than a single year.

† An. 522.

Now he, while he was a private man, had made a vow to God, that if he came to be king, he would send all the vessels of God that were in Babylon to the temple at Jerusalem. Now it so fell out, that about this time Zorobabel, who had been made governor of the Jews that had been in captivity, came to Darius, from Jerusalem; for there had been an old friendship between him and the king. He was also, with two others, thought worthy to be guards of the king's body; and obtained that honour which he hoped for.

Now in the first year of the king's reign, Darius feasted those that were about him, and those born in his house, with the rulers of the Medes, and princes of the Persians, and the toparchs of India and Ethiopia, and the generals of the armies, of his hundred and twenty-seven provinces. But when they had eaten and drank abundantly, they every one departed to their own houses. And Darius the king went to bed. But after he had rested a little part of the night, he awoke, and not being able to sleep any more, he fell into conversation with the three guards of his body; and promised that to him who should make an oration, about points that he should inquire of, such as should be most agreeable to truth, and to the dictates of wisdom, he would grant it as a reward of his victory, to put on a purple garment, to drink in cups of gold, to sleep upon gold, and to have a chariot with bridles of gold, and a head tire of fine linen, and a chain of gold about his neck, and to set next to himself, on account of his wisdom, and to be called his cousin. Now when he had promised to give them these gifts, he asked the first of them, whether wine were not the strongest? the second, whether kings were not such? and the third, whether women were not such? or whether truth were not rather the strongest of all? When he had proposed that they should make their inquiries about these problems, he went to rest. But in the morning he sent for his great men, his princes, and toparchs of Persia and Media; and set himself down in the place where he used to give audience; and bade each of his body guards to declare what they thought proper concerning the proposed questions, in the hearing of them all.

Accordingly the first of them began to speak of the strength of wine; and demonstrated it thus: "When," said he, "I am to give my opinion of wine, O ye men, I find that it exceeds

every thing by the following indications. It deceives the mind of those that drink it, and reduces that of the king to the same state with that of the orphan, and he who stands in need of a tutor; and erects that of the slave to the boldness of him that is free, and that of the needy becomes like that of the rich man. For it changes and renews the souls of men, when it gets into them: and it quenches the sorrow of those that are under calamities, and makes men forget the debts they owe to others, and makes them think themselves to be of all men the richest; it makes them talk of no small things, but of talents, and such other names, as become wealthy men only. Nay, more, it makes them insensible of their commanders, and of their kings, and takes away the remembrance of their friends and companions. For it arms men even against those that are dearest to them, and makes them appear the greatest strangers to them. And when they are become sober, and they have slept out their wine in the night, they arise without knowing any thing they have done in their cups. I take these for signs of power, and by them discover that wine is the strongest, and most insuperable of all things."

As soon as the first had given the aforementioned demonstrations of the strength of wine; the next to him began to speak about the strength of a king, and demonstrated that he was the strongest of all, and more powerful than any thing else, that appears to have any force or wisdom. "They are men," said he, "who govern all things: they force the earth and the sea to become profitable to them, in what they desire: and over these men do kings rule: and over them they have authority. Now those who rule over that animal which is of all the strongest, and most powerful, must needs deserve to be esteemed insuperable in power and force. For example, when kings command their subjects to make wars and undergo dangers, they are hearkened to: and when they send them against their enemies, their power is so great, that they are obeyed. They command men to level mountains, and to pull down walls and towers: nay, when they are commanded to be killed, and to kill, they submit to it; that they may not appear to transgress the king's commands. And when they have conquered, they bring what they have gained in the war to the king. Those also who are not soldiers, but cultivate the ground, after they have endured the la-

bour, and all the inconveniences of such works of husbandry, and have reaped and gathered in their fruits, they bring tributes to the king. And whatsoever it is which the king says or commands, it is done of necessity, and that without any delay. While he, in the mean time, is satiated with all sorts of food and pleasure, and sleeps in quiet. He is guarded by such as watch; and such as are, as it were, fixed down to the place through fear. For no one dares leave him, even when he is asleep; nor does any one go away and take care of his own affairs; but he esteems this one thing to be the only work of necessity, to guard the king; and accordingly to this he wholly addicts himself. How then can it be otherwise, but that the king exceeds all in strength, while so great a multitude obey his injunctions?"

Now when this man had held his peace, the third of them, who was Zorobabel, began to speak concerning women and truths. "Wine," said he, "is strong; as is the king also, whom all men obey; but women are superior to them in power. For it was a woman who brought the king into the world; and those who plant the vines, and make the wine, they are women who bear them, and bring them up. Nor indeed is there any thing which we do not receive from them. For these women weave garments for us; and our household affairs are by their means taken care of, and preserved in safety. Nor can we live separate from women. And when we have got a great deal of gold and silver, and any other thing that is of great value, and see a beautiful woman, we leave all these things; and with open mouth fix our eyes upon her countenance; and are willing to forsake what we have, that we may enjoy her beauty, and procure it to ourselves. We also leave father and mother, and the earth that nourishes us, and frequently forget our dearest friends, for the sake of women. Nay, we are so hardy as to lay down our lives for them. But what will chiefly make you take notice of the strength of women is this that follows. Do not we take pains, and endure a great deal of trouble, and that both by land and sea, and when we have procured somewhat as the fruit of our labours, do not we bring them to the women, as to our mistresses, and bestow them upon them? Nay, I once saw the king, who is lord of so many people, smitten on the face by Apame, the daughter of Rabsaces Themasius, his con-

cubine; and his diadem taken away from him, and put upon her own head; while he bore it patiently: and when she smiled he smiled, and when she was angry he was sad; and according to the change of her passions, he flattered her, and drew her to reconciliation by the great humiliation of himself, if at any time he saw her displeased."

And when the princes and rulers looked one upon another, Zorobabel began to speak about truth: and he said, "I have already demonstrated how powerful women are. But both these women and the king are weaker than truth. For although the earth be large, and the heaven high, and the course of the sun swift, yet are all these moved according to the will of God, who is true and righteous. For which cause we ought also to esteem truth to be the strongest of all things, and that what is unrighteous is of no force against it. Moreover all things that have any strength are mortal, and short lived, but truth is a thing that is immortal, and eternal. It affords us not indeed such a beauty as will wither away by time, nor such riches as may be taken away by fortune; but righteous rules and laws. It distinguishes them from injustice, and puts what is unrighteous to rebuke."*

So when Zorobabel had left off his discourse about truth, and the multitude had cried out aloud, that he had spoken the most

* The reader is to note, that although the speeches or papers of these three of the king's guard, are much the same in our third Book of Esdras, chap. iii. and iv. as they are in Josephus; yet the introduction of them is entirely different. While in our Esdras the whole is related as the contrivance of the three of the king's guard themselves: and even the mighty rewards are spoken of as proposed by themselves, and the speeches are related to have been delivered by themselves to the king in writing. While all is contrary in Josephus. I need not say whose account is not probable. The matters speak for themselves; and there can be no doubt but Josephus's history is here to be very much preferred before the other. Nor indeed does it seem to me at all unlikely, that the whole was a contrivance of king Darius's, in order to be decently and inoffensively put in mind by Zorobabel, of fulfilling his old vow for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and the temple, and the restoration of the worship of the One True God there. Nor does the full meaning of Zorobabel, when he cries out, 3 Esdras iv. 40. "Blessed be the God of truth:" and here, "God is true and righteous:" or of even all the people, 3 Esdras iv. 41 "God is truth, and mighty above all things," seem to me much different from this, there is but One True God, the God of Israel. To which doctrine, such as Cyrus, Darius, &c. those great patrons of the Jews, seem not to have been very averse; though the entire idolatry of their kingdom made them generally conceal it.

wisely, and that it was truth alone that had immutable strength, and such as never would wax old; the king commanded, that he should ask for somewhat over and above what he had promised; for that he would give it him; because of his wisdom, and that prudence wherein he exceedeth the rest. "And thou shalt sit with me," said the king, "and shalt be called my cousin." When he had said this, Zorobabel reminded him of the vow he had made, in case he should ever have the kingdom. Now this vow was, to rebuild Jerusalem, and to build therein the temple of God, as also to restore the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged, and carried to Babylon. "And this," said he, "is that request which thou now permittest me to make, on account that I have been judged to be wise, and to have understanding."

So the king was pleased with what he 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 build the temple. He also sent letters to those rulers that were in Syria and Phœnicia, to cut down and carry cedar trees from Lebanon to Jerusalem; and to assist him in building the city. He also wrote to them, that all the captives who should go to Judea should be free: and he prohibited his deputies and governors from imposing any king's taxes upon the Jews. He also permitted, that they should have all that land which they could possess themselves of without tribute. At the same time he enjoined the Idumeans and Samaritans, and the inhabitants of Coelesyria, to restore those villages which they had taken from the Jews; and that, besides all this, fifty talents should be given them towards the building of the temple. He also permitted them to offer their appointed sacrifices, and promised whatsoever the high-priest and the priests wanted, and those sacred garments wherein they used to worship God, should be made at his own expense: 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 the temple, as also 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 ordained should be done accordingly.

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 favourable to me." When therefore he had returned thanks to God for the present circumstances he was in, and had prayed to him, to afford him the like favour for time to come, he came to Babylon; and brought the good news to his countrymen of what grants he had procured for them from the king. When they heard this, they also gave thanks to God that he had restored the land of their forefathers to them again. So they betook themselves to drinking and eating; and for seven days they kept a festival, for the rebuilding and restoration of their city. After this they chose themselves rulers, who should go up to Jerusalem, out of the tribes of their forefathers, with their wives, and children, and cattle, who travelled to Jerusalem with great pleasure, under the conduct of those whom Darius sent along with them: and they made a cheerful noise with songs, and pipes, and cymbals, the rest of the Jewish multitude accompanying them with rejoicing.

And thus did these men go a certain and determinate number out of every family: though I do not think it proper to recite particularly the names of those families;* that I may not take off the mind of my readers from the connection of the historical facts, and make it hard for them to follow the coherence of my narrations. But the sum of those that went up, above the age of twelve years, of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, was four hundred† and sixty-two myriads, and eight thousand.

* See Ezra ii. 1—70. Nehemiah viii. 6—70.

† This number of 4,620,000 in Josephus's present copies, is one of the grossest errors that is in them; and ought to be corrected from Ezra ii. 64. 1 Esdras v. 40. and Neh. vii. 66 who all agree the general sum was but about 42,300. It is also very plain, that Josephus thought, when Esdras afterward brought up another company out of Babylon and Persia, in the days of Xerxes, they were also, as well as these, out of the two tribes, and out of them only; and were in all no more than a seed, and a remnant; while an immense number of the ten tribes never returned; but as he believed, continued them beyond Euphrates: chap. v. Of which multitude of Jews beyond Euphrates he speaks frequently elsewhere.—

The Levites were seventy four; the number of women and children mixed together, was forty thousand seven hundred and forty-two. And besides these, there were singers of the Levites one hundred and twenty-eight; porters one hundred and ten; and of the sacred ministers three hundred and ninety-two. There were also others, who said they were of the Israelites, but were not able to shew their genealogies, six hundred and sixty-two. Some there were also who were expelled out of the number and honour 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, followed those that went up to Jerusalem, seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven. The singing men and singing women were two hundred and forty-five. The camels were four hundred and thirty-five; the beasts used to the yoke were five thousand five hundred and twenty-five. And the governors of all the multitude, thus numbered, were Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the posterity of David, and of the tribe of Judah and Jeshua, the son of Josedek, the high-priest. And besides these, there were Mordecai and Serebeus, who were distinguished from the multitude, and were rulers: who also contributed a hundred pounds of gold and five thousand of silver. By this means therefore the priests, and the Levites, and a certain part of the people of the Jews that were in Babylon came and dwelt in Jerusalem: but the rest of the multitude returned to their own countries.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE REBUILDING OF THE TEMPLE, AND THE FRUITLESS ATTEMPT OF THE CUTHEANS TO OBSTRUCT THE WORK.

IN the seventh month, after they were departed out of Babylon, both Jeshua the high-priest, and Zorobabel, the gover-

Though, by the way, he never takes them to be idolaters; but looks on them still as observers of the laws of Moses. The certain part of the people that now came up from Babylon, at the end of this chapter, imply the same smaller number of Jews that now came up, and will no way agree with the 4,620,000.

nor, sent messengers every way round about, and gathered those that were in the country together to Jerusalem.* They then built the altar, on the place where it formerly stood; that they might offer the appointed sacrifices upon it to God, according to the laws of Moses. But while they did this, they did not please the neighbouring nations: who regarded them with envy and ill will. They also celebrated the feasts of tabernacles at that time, as the legislator had ordained: and after that they offered sacrifices, and what were called the daily sacrifices, and the oblations proper 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 the temple, and gave a great sum of money to the masons and carpenters; and what was necessary for the maintenance of the workmen. The Sidonians also were very willing to bring cedar trees from Libanus, to bind them together, and to make a united float of them, and to bring them to the port of Joppa. For that was what Cyrus had commanded at first; and what was now done at the command of Darius.

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 apace. And when they had laid the foundation, on the first day of the second month, of that year, they appointed as overseers of the work, such Levites as were full twenty years old, and Jeshua, and his sons and brethren, and Cadmiel, the brother of Judas, the son of Aminadab, with his sons. And by the great diligence of those that had the care of it, the temple was finished sooner than any one would have expected. The priests, then, adorned with their accustomed garments, stood with their trumpets: while the Levites, and the sons of Asaph, stood, and sang hymns to God, according as David had first of all appointed. Now the priests, and Levites, and the elder part of the families, recollecting how much greater and more sumptuous the old temple had been; and contrasting it with the inferiority of the new one, they considered with

* Ezra iii. 1.

† An. 519.

themselves how much their happy state was sunk below what it had been of old, as well as their temple. Hereupon they were very disconsolate, and proceeded so far as to lament and shed tears on those accounts. But the people in general were contented with their present condition; and because they were allowed to build them a temple, they desired no more; and neither regarded, nor indeed at all tormented themselves with the comparison of that and the former temple; as if this were below their expectations. But the wailing of the old men, and of the priests on account of the deficiency of this temple, in their opinion, if compared with that which had been demolished, overcame the sounds of trumpets, and the rejoicing of the people.*

When the Samaritans, who were still enemies to the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, heard the sound of the trumpets, they came running together, and desired to know what was the occasion of this tumult? and when they perceived that it was from the Jews, who had been carried captive to Babylon, and were rebuilding their temple; they came to Zorobabel, and to Jeshua, and to the heads of the families, and desired they would give them leave to assist in building the temple. "For," said they, "we worship your God, and especially pray to him, and are desirous of the same religious settlement; and this ever since Shalmanezar, king of Assyria, transplanted us out of Cuthah and Media to this place."† When they said thus, Zorobabel and Jeshua, the high-priest, and the heads of the families of the Israelites replied, that it was impossible to permit them to be their partners, whilst they only had been appointed to build that temple at first by Cyrus, and now by Darius:‡ although it was indeed lawful for them to come and worship there, if they pleased; and that they could allow them nothing but that in common with them.

When the Cutheans|| heard this, they had indignation at it, and persuaded the nations of Syria to desire of the governors, in the same manner as they had done formerly in the days of

* Ezra iii. 13.

† Ezra iv. 1, 2.

‡ Ezra iv. 3.

|| Samaritans.

Cyrus, and in the time of Cambyses afterwards, to put a stop to the building of the temple ; and to endeavour to delay and protract the Jews in their zeal about it. Now at this time Sisinnes, the governor of Syria, and Phœnicia, and Sathrabuzanes, with certain others, came up to Jerusalem, and asked the rulers of the Jews, by whose grant it was that they built the temple in this manner? since it was more like a citadel than a temple. And for what reason it was that they built cloisters and walls, and those strong ones too, about the city? Zorobabel, and Jeshua the high-priest, replied, that “they were the servants of God Almighty: that this temple was built for him by a king of theirs, that lived in great prosperity, and one that exceeded all men in virtue; and that it continued a long time; but that because of the impiety of their forefathers, Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Babylonians and of the Chaldeans, took their city by force, and destroyed it, and pillaged the temple, and burnt it down, and transplanted the people whom he had made captives and removed them to Babylon: that Cyrus, who, after him, was king of Babylonia and Persia, wrote to them to build the temple; and committed the gifts and vessels, and whatever Nebuchadnezzar had carried out of it, to Zorobabel, and Mithridates, the treasurer; and gave order to have them carried to Jerusalem, and to have them restored to their own temple, when it was built. For he had sent to them to have that done speedily; and commanded Senabassar to go up 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,” said they, “it hath not yet been finished, by reason of the malignity of our enemies. If therefore you think proper, write this account to Darius; that when he hath consulted the records of the kings, he may find that we have told you nothing that is false about this matter.”

When Zorobabel and the high-priest had made this answer, Sisinnes, 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; while the Jews were under terror, and afraid lest the king should change his resolution, as to the building of Jerusalem, and of the temple. There were, however, two prophets at that

time among them, Haggai and Zachariah, 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 in dependence on those prophets, they applied themselves earnestly to building, and did not intermit one day.

Now the Samaritans, in their epistle to Darius, had accused the Jews of fortifying the city, and building the temple more like a citadel than a temple; and said that their doings were not expedient for the king's affairs, and besides, they shewed the epistle of Cambyses, wherein he forbade them to build the temple. Darius therefore, when he understood that the restoration of Jerusalem was not expedient for his affairs, and when he had read the epistle that was brought him from Sisinnes, and those that were with him, gave order that what concerned these matters should be sought for among the royal records. Accordingly a book was found at Ecbatana, in the tower that was in Media, wherein was written as follows: "Cyrus the king, in the first year of his reign commanded that the temple should be built in Jerusalem, and the altar, in height sixty cubits, and its breadth of the same, with three edifices of polished stone, and one edifice of stone of their own country: and he ordained that the expenses of it should be paid out of the king's revenue. He also commanded that the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged out of the temple, and had carried to Babylon, should be restored to the people of Jerusalem, and that the care of these things should belong to Senabassar, the governor, and president of Syria and Phœnicia, and to his associates; that they may not meddle with that place; but may permit the servants of God, the Jews, and their rulers, to build the temple. He also ordained that they should assist them in the work, and that they should pay to the Jews, out of the tribute of the country where they were governors, on account of the sacrifices, bulls, rams, lambs, and kids of the goats: and fine flour, together with oil and wine, and all other things that the priests should suggest to them, and that they should pray for the preservation of the king and of the Persians; and that for such as transgressed any of these orders thus sent to them, he commanded that they should be hung on a cross, and their substance confiscated to the king's use. He also prayed to God against them, that if any one attempted to hinder the building of the temple, God would strike him dead, and thereby restrain his wickedness."

When Darius had found this book among the records of Cyrus, he wrote the following answer to Sisinnus, and his associates: —

“ King Darius, to Sisinnus the governor, and to Sathrabuzanes, sendeth greeting. Having found a copy of this epistle among the records of Cyrus, I have sent it you: and I will that all things be done as is therein written. Fare ye well.”

So when Sisinnus, and those that were with him, understood the intention of the king, they resolved to follow his directions for the time to come. So they forwarded the sacred work, and assisted the elders of the Jews, and the princes of the Sanhedrim: and the structure of the temple was, with great diligence brought to a conclusion; by the prophecies of Haggai and Zachariah, according to God’s commands, and by the injunctions of Cyrus and Darius* 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 Levites, and the multitude of the Israelites offered sacrifices; as the renovation of their former prosperity, after their captivity; and because they had the temple rebuilt: a hundred bulls, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, according to the number of their tribe:‡ (for so many are the tribes of the Israelites) and this last for the sins of every tribe. The priest also, and the Levites, set the porters at every gate, according to the laws of Moses. The Jews also built the cloisters of the inner temple, that were round about the temple itself.

And as the feast of unleavened bread was at hand, in the first month, which according to the Macedonians is called Xanthicus, but according to us Nisan: all the people ran together out of the villages to the city, and celebrated the festival; having purified themselves with their wives and children, according to the law of their country: and they offered the sacrifice called the passover, on the fourteenth day of the same month, and feasted seven days, and spared no expense, but offered whole burnt-offerings to God, and performed sacrifices of thanksgiving,

* Ezra vi. 14.

† From an. 519 to an. 512, B. C.

‡ Ezra vi. 17.

because God had led them again to the land of their fathers, and to the laws thereto belonging; and had rendered the mind of the king of Persia favourable to them. So these men offered the largest sacrifices on these accounts, and used great magnificence in the worship of God; and dwelt in Jerusalem; and made use of a form of government that was aristocratic, but mixed with an oligarchy. For the high-priests were at the head of the affairs, until the posterity of the Asmoneans set up regal government. For before their captivity and the dissolution of their polity, they at first had kingly government from Saul and David, for five hundred and thirty-two years, six months, and ten days. But before those kings such rulers governed them as were called judges and monarchs. 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 give of the Jews who had been carried into captivity, but were delivered from it in the times of Cyrus and Darius.

But* the Samaritans being enviously disposed toward the Jews wrought them many mischiefs; by reliance on their riches, and by their pretence that they were allied to the Persians. And whatsoever it was that they were enjoined to pay to the Jews, by the king's order, out of their tribute, for the sacrifices, they would not pay it. They had also the governors favourable to them, and assisting them for that purpose. Nor did they spare to hurt them, either by themselves, or by others as far as they were able. So the Jews determined to send an ambassage to king Darius, in favour of the people of Jerusalem; and in order to accuse the Samaritans. The ambassadors were Zorobabel, and four others of the rulers. And as soon as the king knew from the ambassadors the accusations and complaints they brought against the Samaritans, he gave them an epistle to be carried to the governors and council of Samaria. The contents of the epistle were these:—

“ King Darius to Tanganas, and Sambabâs governors of the Samaritans; to Sadraces and Bobelo, and the rest of their fellow servants that are in Samaria: Zorobabel, Ananias, and

* N. B. This part of the history is entirely wanting in all our other copies, both of Ezra and Esdras.

Mordecai, the ambassadors of the Jews, complain of you, that you obstruct them in the building of the temple, and do not supply them with the expenses that I commanded you to do, for the offering their sacrifices. My will is, therefore, that upon reading of this epistle, you supply them with whatsoever they want for their sacrifices; and that out of the royal treasury of the tributes of Samaria, as the priest shall desire; that they may not leave off offering their daily sacrifice, nor praying to God for me, and the Persians."

CHAP. V.

OF THE AFFAIRS OF THE JEWS UNDER XERXES, THE SON OF DARIUS; ALSO CONCERNING ESDRAS AND NEHEMIAH.

UPON the death of Darius,* the government devolved upon his son Xerxes,† who, as he inherited his father's kingdom, so

* The character which our celebrated connector of the Old and New Testament has given us of this Darius is,—That he was a prince of great wisdom, clemency, and justice, and has the honour to be recorded in holy writ, for a favourer of God's people, and a restorer of his temple at Jerusalem, and a promoter of his worship therein. For all this God was pleased to make him his instrument; and, with respect to this, I doubt not, it was, that he blessed him with a numerous issue, a long reign, and great prosperity. For, though he was not so very fortunate in his wars against the Scythians and Grecians, yet every where else he had full success in all his undertakings; and not only restored and fully settled the empire of Cyrus, after it had been much shaken by Cambyses, and the Magian, but also added many large and rich provinces to it, especially those of India, Thrace, Macedon, and the Isles of the Ionian sea. *Prideaux's Connection*, anno 486. B.

† Darius had three sons by his first wife, the daughter of Gobrias, all born before his advancement to the throne, and four others by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who were all born after it. Of the former Artabasanus was the eldest; of the latter Xerxes; and, as Darius advanced in years, between these two was the competition for the succession. Artabasanus urged, that, as he was the eldest son, according to the custom and usage of all nations, he ought to be preferred before any that was younger. But Xerxes replied to this, That he was the son of Darius by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who was the first founder of the Persian empire; for which reason he held it just and reasonable, that the crown of Cyrus should rather come to a descendant of Cyrus, than to one that was not; and to this he added, that though Artabasanus was the eldest son of Darius, yet he was not the eldest son of a king; that he was born when he was only a private person, and could therefore claim no more than to be heir of his private fortunes; but that as to himself, he was the first-born after his father was king, and had therefore

did he inherit his piety toward God, and honour of him. For he did all things agreeably to his father's will relating to divine worship; and was exceeding friendly to the Jews. Now about this time* a son of Jeshua, whose name was Joacim, was the high-priest. Moreover there was now in Babylon a righteous man, and one that enjoyed a great reputation among the multitude. He was the principal priest of the people; and his name was Esdras. He was very skilful in the laws of Moses, and 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 the reader of the divine law, greeting. I think it 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 priests and Levites, that are in our kingdom, to go together to Jerusalem. Accordingly I have given command for that purpose. And let every one that hath a mind, go; according as it hath seemed good to me, and to my seven counsellors; and this in order to their review of the affairs of Judea, to see 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, as dedicated to God; and let all this be carried to Jeusalem

the best right to succeed him in the kingdom. Whereupon he was nominated to the succession, but not so much for the strength of his plea, as for the influence which his mother Atossa had over the inclinations of her husband. *Prideaux's Connection*, anno 486. B.

* An. 479.

† That the histories of Ezra or Esdras the scribe, when he came and settled the Jewish commonwealth, after their return from the Babylonish captivity; and of Nehemiah, when he built the walls of Jerusalem, do not belong to Artaxerxes, the son, but to Xerxes the father, as Josephus here rightly places them, contrary to all our other copies of Ezra and Nehemiah, is largely proved in my *Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies*, Supplement, page 59—75. As also that Daniel's famous seventy weeks take their date, not from the seventh or twentieth of Artaxerxes, as commonly supposed, but from the twenty-fifth of Xerxes, is there proved at large, page 78—91.

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 which have been given thee : and as many more as thou hast a mind to make, and shalt take the expenses out of the king's treasury; I have moreover written to the treasurers of Syria and Phœnicia, that they take care of those affairs that Esdras the priest and reader of the laws of God is sent about. And that God may not be angry with me, or with my children, I grant all that is necessary for sacrifices to God, according to the law; as far as a hundred cori of wheat. And I enjoin you not to lay any treacherous imposition, or any tributes, upon their priests or Levites, sacred singers, porters, sacred servants, or scribes of the temple. And do thou, O Esdras, appoint judges according to the wisdom given thee of God: and those such as understand the law, that they may judge in all Syria and Phœnicia: and do thou instruct those also who are ignorant of it: that if any one of thy countrymen transgress the law of God, or that of the king, he may be punished; as not transgressing it out of ignorance, but as one that knows, but boldly despises and contemns it. And such may be punished by death, or by paying fines. Farewell."

When Esdras had received this epistle, he was very joyful; and began to worship God, and confessed that he had been the cause of the king's great favour to him; and 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 Media. And when these Jews had understood what piety the king had toward God, and what kindness he had for Esdras, they were all greatly pleased. Nay, many of them took their effects with them, and came to Babylon; as very desirous of going down to Jerusalem. But then the entire body of the people of Israel remained in that country. Wherefore there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe, subject to the Romans; while the ten tribes are beyond Euphrates till now; and are an immense multitude, and not to be estimated by numbers. Now there came a great number of priests, Levites, porters, sacred singers, and sacred servants to Esdras. So he gathered those that were in captivity together beyond Euphrates, and

stayed there three days, and ordained a fast for them; that they might make their prayers to God for their preservation; that they might suffer no misfortunes by the way; either from their enemies, or from any other ill accident. For Esdras had said beforehand that he had told the king how God would preserve them; and so he had not thought fit to request that he would send horsemen to conduct them. So when they had finished their prayers, they removed from Euphrates; on the twelfth day of the first month, of the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes; and they came to Jerusalem on the fifth month of the same year. Now Esdras presented the sacred money to the treasurers, who were of the family of the priests, of silver six hundred and fifty talents; vessels of silver one hundred talents; vessels of gold twenty talents; and vessels of brass, that was more* precious than gold, twelve talents by weight. For these presents had been made by the king, and his counsellors, and by all the Israelites that stayed at Babylon. So when Esdras had delivered these things to the priests, he gave to God as the appointed sacrifices of whole burnt-offerings; twelve bulls, on account of the common preservation of the people, ninety-rams, seventy-two lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, for the remission of sins. He also delivered the king's epistle to the king's officers, and to the governors of Coelesyria and Phœnicia. And as they were under a necessity of doing what was enjoined by him, they honoured our nation, and were assistant to them in all their necessities.

Now these things were truly done under the conduct of Esdras; and he succeeded in them; because God esteemed him worthy of the success of his conduct, on account of his righteousness. But some time afterward there came some persons to him, and brought an accusation against certain of the multitude, and of the priests and Levites, who had transgressed 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 take up a general anger against them all, and re-

* Dr. Hadson observes here, that this kind of brass or copper, or rather mixture of gold and brass or copper, was called Aurichalcum; and that this was of old esteemed the most precious of all metals.

duce them to a calamitous condition again. Hereupon he rent his garment immediately, out of his grief, and pulled the hair of his head and beard; and cast himself upon the ground: because this crime had reached 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 hearkened to, he continued lying upon the ground. However all the bettersort came running to him; who also themselves wept, and partook of the grief he was under for what had been done. So Esdras rose up from the ground, and stretched out his hand 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 besought God, who 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, that he would also forgive them the sins they had now committed: which, though they deserved death, yet was it agreeable to the mercy of God to remit the punishments due to them.

After Esdras had said this, he left off praying; and when all those who 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 they had sinned in marrying strange wives; and he persuaded him to adjure them all, to cast those wives out, and the children born of them, and that those should be punished who would not obey the law. So Esdras bearkened to this advice, and made the heads of the priests, and of the Levites, and of the Israelites, swear that they would put away those wives and children according to the advice of Jechonias. And when he had received their oaths, he went in haste out of the temple, into the chamber of Johanan, the son of Eliasib: and as he had hitherto stated nothing at all, for grief; so he abode there that day. And when proclamation was made, that all those of the captivity should gather themselves together to Jerusalem, and that those that did not meet there in two or three days, should be banished from the multitude, and that their substance should be appropriated to the uses of the temple according to the sentence of the elders,

those that were of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin came together in three days; viz. on the twentieth day of the ninth month: which, according to the Hebrews, is called Tebeth,* and according to the Macedonians, Apelleus. Now as they were sitting in the upper room of the temple where the elders also were present, but were uneasy because of the cold; Esdras stood up, and told them, they had sinned, in marrying wives that were not of their own nation. But that now they would do a thing both pleasing to God and advantageous to themselves, if they would put those wives away. Accordingly they all cried out that they would do so: that however the multitude was great, and the season of the year was winter, and this work would require more than one or two days. "Let their rulers therefore," said they, "and those that have married strange wives come hither at a proper time while the elders of every place, that are in common to estimate the number of those that have thus married, are to be there also.† Accordingly this was resolved on. And they began the inquiry after those that had married strange wives, on the first day of the tenth month; and continued the inquiry till the first day of the next month; and found a great many of the posterity of Jeshua the high-priest, and of the priests and Levites, and Israelites, who had a greater regard to the observance of the law, than to their natural affection: and immediately cast out their wives, and the children which were born of them. And in order to appease God, they offered sacrifices and slew rams, as oblations to him. But it does not seem necessary to set down the names of these men. So when Esdras had reformed this sin, about the marriages of

* Casleu.

† Ezra x. 13, 14.

‡ This procedure of Ezra, and of the best part of the Jewish nation, after the return from the Babylonish Captivity, of reducing the Jewish marriages, one for all, to the strictness of the law 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 heathen wives, and their children by them, which made it so hard for Ezra to correct them; deserves greatly to be observed among Christians. The contrary conduct having ever been the bane of true religion, both among Jews and Christians: while political views, human passions, or prudential motives, are suffered to take place, instead of the divine laws; and the blessing of God is forfeited, and the church suffered to continue corrupt, from one generation to another.

the aforementioned persons, he reduced that practice to purity ; so that it continued in that state for the time to come.

Now when they kept the* feast of tabernacles in the seventh month, and almost all the people were come together to it, they went up to the open part of the temple, to the gate that looked eastward, and desired of Esdras that the laws of Moses might be read to them. Accordingly he stood in the midst of the multitude, and read them from the morning to noon. Now by hearing the laws read to them, they were instructed to be righteous men for the present and for the future. But as for their past offences, they were displeased at themselves, 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 miseries which they had experienced. But when Esdras saw them in this disposition, he bade them go home, and *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 rather to proceed immediately to feasting, and to do what was agreeable to a day of joy, but let their repentance and sorrow for their former sins be a security, and a guard to them, that they fall no more into the like offences. So upon Esdras's exhortation, they began to feast ; and when they had so done for eight days in the tabernacles, they departed to their own homes : singing hymns to God, and returning thanks to Esdras, for his reformation of what corruptions had been introduced into their settlement. So it came to pass, that after he had obtained this reputation among the people, he died an old man ; and was buried in a magnificent manner at Jerusalem. About the same time it happened also, that Joacim, the high-priest died ; and his son Eliasib succeeded to the high-priesthood.

Now‡ there was one of those Jews that had been carried captive, who was cup-bearer to king Xerxes. His name was Nehemiah. As this man was walking before Susa, the metropolis of

* This Jewish feast of Tabernacles was imitated in several heathen solemnities : as Spanheim here observes, and proves. He also farther observes presently, what great regard many heathens had to the monuments of their forefathers, as Nehemiah had here.

† This rule of Ezra's, not to fast on a festival day, is quoted in the Apostolical Constitutions, as obtaining among Christians also, V. 20.

‡ An. 462.

the Persians, he heard some strangers that were entering the city, after a long journey, speaking to one another in the Hebrew tongue. So he went to them and asked them, whence they came? and when their answer was that they came from Judea, he began to inquire of them again, in what state the multitude was? and in what condition Jerusalem was? They replied, that they were in a bad state;* for that their walls were thrown down to the ground: and that the neighbouring nations did a great deal of mischief to the Jews; while in the day time they over-ran 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 day time, found full of dead men. Hereupon Nehemiah shed tears, out of commiseration of the calamities of his countrymen: and looking up to heaven, he said, "How long, O Lord, wilt thou overlook our nation, while it suffers so great miseries; and while we are made the prey and the spoil of all men?" And while he stayed at the gate, and lamented thus, one told him that the king was going to sit down to supper. So he made haste, and went as he was, without washing himself, to minister to the king in his office of cup-bearer. But as the king was very pleasant after supper, and more cheerful than usual, he cast his eyes on Nehemiah, and seeing him look sad, he asked him why he was sad? Whereupon he prayed to God to give him favour, and afford him the power of persuading by his words, and said:—"How can I, O king, appear otherwise than thus, and not be in trouble, while I hear that the walls of Jerusalem: the city where the sepulchres of my fathers are, thrown down to the ground, and that its gates are consumed by fire? But do thou grant me the favour to go and build its wall, and to finish the buildings of the temple."† Accordingly the king gave him a signal, that he freely granted him what he asked; and told him, that he should carry an epistle to the governors, that they might pay him due honour, and afford him whatever

* This miserable condition of the Jews, and the capital, must have been after the death of Ezra, their former governor, and before Nehemiah came with his commission to build the walls of Jerusalem. Nor is that at all disagreeable to these histories in Josephus; since Ezra came on the seventh, and Nehemiah not till the twenty-fifth of Xerxes; at the interval of eighteen years.

† Nehemiah ii. 1—5.

assistance he wanted, and as he pleased. "Leave off thy sorrow then," said the king, "and be cheerful in the performance of thy office hereafter." So Nehemiah worshipped God, and gave the king thanks for his promise; and cleared up his sad and cloudy countenance, by the pleasure he had from the king's promises. Accordingly the king called for him the next day, and gave him an epistle to be carried to Adeus the governor of Syria, and Phœnicia, and Samaria; whereïn he sent to him to pay due honour to Nehemiah, and to supply him with what he wanted for his building.

Now when he was come to Babylon, and had taken with him many of his countrymen, who voluntarily followed him, he came to Jerusalem in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Xerxes. And when he had shewn the epistle to God,* he gave them to Adeus, and to the other governors. He also called together all the people to Jerusalem, and stood in the midst of the temple, and made the following speech to them. "Ye know, O Jews, that God hath kept our fathers, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in mind continually; and for the sake of their righteousness hath not left off the care of you. Indeed he hath assisted me in granting this authority of the king to raise up our wall, and finish what is wanting of the temple. I desire you therefore, who well know the ill will the neighbouring nations bear to us, and that when they once are made sensible that we are in earnest about building, they will come upon us, and contrive many ways of obstructing our works, that you will, in the first place, put your trust in God, as in him that will assist us against their hatred; and to intermit building neither night nor day; but to use all diligence, and to hasten on the work, now we have this especial opportunity for it." When he had said this, he gave order that the rulers should measure the wall, and part the work of it among the people, according to their villages and cities; as every one's ability

* This shewing king Xerxes's epistles to God, or laying them open before God in the temple, is very like the laying open the epistles of Sennacherib, before him also by Hezekiah, 2 Kings xix. 14. Isaiah xxxvii. 14. although this last was for a memorial, to put him in mind of the enemies, in order to move the divine compassion; and the present, as a token of gratitude, for mercies already received: as Havercamp well observes on this place.

should require. And when he had added this promise, that he himself, with his servants, would assist them, he dissolved the assembly. So the Jews prepared for the work.

This 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 palaces, and thence both they and the country gained that appellation.

Now when the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Samaritans, and all that inhabited Coelesyria heard that the building went on apace, they took it heinously: and proceeded to lay snares for them, and to hinder their intentions. They also slew many of the Jews; and sought how they might destroy Nehemiah himself, by hiring some of the foreigners to kill him. They also put the Jews in fear, and disturbed them, and spread abroad rumours, as if many nations were ready to make an expedition against them: by which means they were harrassed, and had almost left off the building. But none of these things could deter Nehemiah from being diligent about the work. He only set a number of men about him, as a guard to his body: and so unweariedly persevered therein, and was insensible of any trouble, out of his desire to perfect this work. And thus did he attentively and with great precaution take care of his own safety: not that he feared death; but out of this persuasion, that if he were dead, the walls for his citizens would never be raised. He also gave orders that the builders should keep their ranks, and have their armour on while they were building. Accordingly the mason had his sword on,* as well as he that brought the materials for building. He also appointed that their shields should lie very near them; and he placed trumpets at every five hundred feet, and charged them, that if their enemies appeared, they should give notice of it to the people, that they might fight in their armour, and their enemies might not fall upon them naked. He also went about the compass of the city by night, being never discouraged, neither about the work itself, nor about his own diet and sleep: for he made no use of those things for his pleasure, but out of

* Nehemiah iv. 18.

necessity. And this trouble he underwent for* two years and four months: for in so long a time was the wall built: in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes,† in the ninth month. Now when the walls were finished, Nehemiah and the multitude offered sacrifices to God for building of them; and they continued in feasting eight days. However, when the nations which dwelt in Syria heard that the building of the wall was finished, they had indignation at it. But when Nehemiah saw that the city was thin of people, he exhorted the priests and the Levites, that they would leave the country, and remove themselves to the city, and there continue; and he built them houses at his own expense: and he commanded that part of the people which were employed in cultivating the land, to bring the tithes of their fruits to Jerusalem; that the priests and Levites having whereof they might live perpetually, might not leave the divine worship. Accordingly they hearkened to the constitutions of Nehemiah: by which means the city of Jerusalem came to be fuller of people than it was before. So when Nehemiah had done many other excellent things, and things worthy of commendation, in a glorious manner, he came to a great age, and then died. He was a man of a good and righteous disposition, and very ambitious to make his own people happy. And he left the walls of Jerusalem as an eternal monument for himself. Now this was done in the days of Xerxes.

* It may not be improper to remark here, with what an unusual accuracy Josephus determines these years of Xerxes, in which the walls of Jerusalem were built; viz. that Nehemiah came with his commission in the 25th of Xerxes; that the walls were two years and four months in building; and that they were finished on the 28th of Xerxes. It may also be remarked farther, that Josephus hardly ever mentions more than one infallible astronomical character, I mean an eclipse of the moon: and this a little before the death of Herod the Great, XVII. 6. Now on these two chronological characters, in great measure depend some of the most important points belonging to Christianity; viz. The explication of Daniel's seventy weeks, the duration of our Saviour's ministry, and the time of his death, in correspondence to those seventy weeks. Though Josephus's own chronology was so different from ours, as exhibited in Ptolemy's Canon, that it was impossible he should have regard to any such correspondence.

† An. 459.

CHAP. VI.

CONCERNING ESTHER, MORDECAI, AND HAMAN; AND THE IMMINENT DANGER TO WHICH THE WHOLE NATION OF THE JEWS WAS EXPOSED IN THE REIGN OF ARTAXERXES.

AFTER the death of Xerxes,* the kingdom came to be transferred to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks call Artaxerxes.† When this man had obtained the government over the Persians, the whole nation of the Jews,‡ with their wives and children,

* About an. 457.

† This prince, to distinguish him from others of that name, was called *Μαροχίρ*, or Longimanus, upon the supposed length of his hands, with which it is said that he could have touched his knees, even when he stood upright; but this notwithstanding, it is reported of him, that he was both the handsomest person of the age in which he lived, and a prince likewise of a very mild and generous disposition. *Prideaux's Connection*, anno 465. B.

‡ 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 Canticles, or upon Esther; and seems thereby to give up this book, as well as the Canticles, as indefensible: I shall venture to say, that almost all the objections against this book of Esther are obviated at once, if, as we ought certainly to do, and as Dean Prideaux has justly done, we place this history under Artaxerxes Longimanus: as do both the Septuagint interpreters, and Josephus. I mean in this case we also take our true copies from the Septuagint, and from Josephus; rather than from our Masorete Hebrew. I shall here add farther, on its behalf, the words of the learned Dr. Lee in his posthumous Dissertation on the second book of Esdras, page 25, that "The truth of this history is demonstrated by the feast of Purim, kept from that time to this very day. See 2 Maccabees xv. 36. And this surprising Providential revolution in favour of a captive people, thereby constantly commemorated, standeth even upon a firmer basis than that there ever was such a man as Alexander the Great in the world: of whose reign there is no such abiding monument at this day to be found any where. Nor will they, I dare say, who quarrel at this, or any other of the sacred historians, find it a very easy matter to reconcile the different accounts which are given by historians of the affairs of this king: or to confirm any one fact of his whatever with the same evidence which is here given for the principal fact in this 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 of Esther, or sixth of Esdras: (as it is placed in some of the most ancient copies of the Vulgate:) to be a most true and certain history."

N. B. The oldest and most authentic record we now have of Alexander the Great, is contained in the first seven verses of the first book of Maccabees.

were in danger of perishing: the occasion whereof we shall declare in a little time. For it is proper in the first place to explain somewhat relating to this king, and how he came to marry a Jewish wife; who was also of the royal family, and who is related to have saved our nation. For when Artaxerxes had taken the kingdom, and had set governors over the hundred and twenty-seven provinces, from India even unto Ethiopia, in the third year of his reign,* he made a costly feast for his friends,† and for the nations of Persia, and for 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 eighty 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 following manner. 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 thousands to sit down. The cups which the waiters ministered were of gold, and adorned with precious stones. He also gave order to the servants, that they should not force the guests to drink, by bringing them wine continually, as is the practice of the Persians; but to permit every one to follow his own in-

* An. 454.

† The occasion of this great festival is, verely likely, intimated to us in the phrase, When the king Ahasuerus sat on the throne of his kingdom, chap. i. 2. i. e. enjoying peace and tranquillity through his large dominions; for the history of his accession to the throne is this:—Xerxes his father was privately murdered by Artabanus, captain of his guard. He coming to him, (who was then but the third son,) made him believe, that Darius, his elder brother, had done it, to make his way to the throne, and had a design likewise to cut him off, to secure himself in it. This Ahasuerus believing, went immediately to his brother's apartment, and by the assistance of the wicked Artabanus and his guards, slew him, thinking all the while that he acted but in his own defence. Artabanus's drift was to seize on the throne himself; but for the present he took Ahasuerus, and placed him thereon, with a design to pull him down as soon as matters were ripe for his own ascent: but when Ahasuerus understood this from Magabyzus, who had married one of his sisters, he took care to counterplot Artabanus, and to cut him and his whole party off before his treason was come to maturity; and for this, and some other successes against his brother Hystaspes, which settled him in a peaceable possession of the whole Persian empire, very probably it was, that a festival-season of above a hundred and four score days' continuance was appointed, which, even to this day, according to some travellers, is no uncommon thing in those parts of the world. *Prideaux's Connection*, anno 465, and *Patrick's Commentary* on Esther, chap. i. B.

clination. Moreover he sent messengers through the country, and gave order that they should have a remission of their labours, and should keep a festival many days, on account of his kingdom. In like manner did Vashti,* the queen, gather her guests together, and made them a feast in the palace. Now the king was desirous to shew her, who exceeded all other women in beauty, to those that feasted with him; and sent some 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 to the king. And though he repeatedly sent the eunuchs to her, she did nevertheless refuse to come: till the king was so much irritated, that he broke up the entertainment, and rose up, and called for those seven, who had the interpretation of the laws committed to them, and accused his wife, and said, that he had been affronted by her; because when she was frequently called by him to his feast, she did not obey him. He therefore gave order, that they should inform him what could be done by the law 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 despised by them. For that none of their wives would have any reverence for their husbands, if they had such an example of arrogance in the queen towards him who ruled 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 so done, to publish to the nations what had been decreed about the queen. So the resolution was to put Vashti away, and to give her dignity to another woman.†

* It has been a great inquiry among the learned, who this Vashti was. Those who make the Ahasuerus in Scripture to be Darius the son of Hystaspes, suppose that she was Atossa the daughter of Cyrus, who was first married to Cambyses, her own brother, then to the Magian, who would have passed for Smerdis, and last of all to Darius. Others suppose, that she was Ahasuerus's own sister, because the Persians, in those days, made no scruple in these kind of marriages; though there is much more reason to think, that before her marriage, there had been such a collection of virgins made for the use of the king, as was before Esther's, (this is implied in chap. ii. 19) and that having the good fortune then of obtaining the preference in the king's esteem, she was created queen, but being perhaps a woman of no high descent, her family extraction, for that reason, might be concealed. *Calmet's Dictionary*, under the name. B.

† Esther ii. 3, 4.

But the king having been fond of her, did not well bear a separation : and yet by the law he could not admit of a reconciliation. So he was under trouble as not having it in his power to do what he desired. But when his friends saw him so uneasy, they advised him to cast the memory of his wife, and his love for her out of his mind; and to send abroad over all the habitable earth, and to search out for comely virgins, and to take her whom he should best like, for his wife, because his passion for his former wife would be quenched by the introduction of another; and the kindness he had for Vashti would be withdrawn from her, and be placed on her that was with him. Accordingly he was persuaded to follow this advice; and gave order to certain persons to choose out of the virgins that were in his kingdom, those that were esteemed to be most comely. So when a great number of these virgins were gathered together, there was found a damsel in Babylon, whose parents were dead, and she was brought with her uncle Mordecai; who was of the tribe of Benjamin, and one of the principal persons among the Jews. Now it proved that this damsel, whose name was Esther, was the most beautiful of all the rest; and that the grace of her countenance drew the eyes of the spectators principally upon her. So she was committed to one of the eunuchs, to take the care of her, and she was provided with odours, and with costly ointments, such as her body required to be anointed withal.* And this was used for six months by the virgins; who were in number four hundred. And when the eunuch thought the virgin had been sufficiently purified, in the aforementioned time, and were now fit to go to the king's bed, he sent one to be with the king every day. So when he had accompanied with her, he sent her back to the

* The reason is assigned in the following verse, for their being kept so long in this course, viz. that for six months they might be anointed with the oil of myrrh, which, besides the fragrancy of its smell, was good to make the skin soft and smooth, and clear it from all manner of scurf; and for six more with sweet odours, which in these hot countries, were necessary to take away all ill scents, and, as some think, to make the body more vigorous. But besides this, there might be something of state in making those vassals, (for such they were accounted,) wait before they were admitted to the honour of the king's bed; and something of precaution too, in keeping them recluse for so long a time, that the king might be satisfied, that he was not imposed upon by a child begotten by any other man: *Patrick's Commentary, and Peol's Annotations on Esther ii. 12. B.*

eunuch. And when Esther had come to him, he was pleased with her, and fell in love with the damsel, and married her; and made her his lawful wife,* and kept a wedding feast for her on the twelfth month, of the seventh year of his reign; which was called Adar. He also sent Angari, as they are called, or messengers into every nation; and gave orders that they should keep a feast for his marriage: while he himself treated the Persians, and the Medes, and the principal men of the nations, for a whole month. Accordingly Esther came to his royal palace, and he set a diadem on her head, and thus was she 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 every day about the palace, and inquiring how the damsel did: for he loved her as though she had been his own daughter.

Now the king had made a law, that none of his own people should approach him,‡ unless he were called, when he sat upon his throne. And men with axes in their hands stood round

* Esther ii. 17.

† According to this account of things, this Persian monarch seems to have had but one wife, at least but one in chief favour and esteem with him, though it is certain, he could not fail of having an infinite number of secondary wives or concubines. This was the name of every one that was taken from among the virgins, who had a separate house for themselves, and conducted to the king's bed; where having passed a night, she returned no more to the virgins' apartments, but was, the next morning, received into the house of the concubines, and there treated in the state and port of one of the king's wives: for such they were accounted. No man was permitted to marry them, as long as the king lived; and upon his demise, they generally fell to his successor. Of these Darius Nothus is reckoned to have had no less than three hundred and sixty. *Pool's Annotations.* The manner of the Persian king was to give his queens, at their marriage, such a city to buy them clothes; another for their hair; another for their necklaces; and so on for the rest of their expenses. And as it was customary for him, according to the testimony of Herodotus, upon his accession to the throne, to remit the tribute that was due to him from all the cities; so he might, upon this occasion, out of his abundant joy, make a release to the provinces, and forgive them some of the duties and imposts that they were bound to pay him. *Patrick's Commentary.* B.

‡ Take here Dr. Hudson's note, which is this: Herodotus shews, lib. I. cap. 99. 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 Dejoces, i. e. by him who first withdrew the Medes from the dominion of the Assyrians, and himself first reigned over them. Thus also, says Spanheim, stood guards, with their axes, about the throne of Tenus, or Tenelus, that the offender might by them be punished immediately.

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; which 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.

Some time after this two eunuchs,* Bigthan and Teresh, conspired against the king: and Barnabazus, 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, by the means of Esther, made the conspirators known to the king.† This troubled the king: but he discovered the truth, and hanged the eunuchs upon a cross. At that time, however, he gave no reward to Mordecai, who 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's.

Now there was one Haman, the son of Amedatha, 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 honour should be paid to him. But Mordecai was so wise, and so observant 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, "Whereas the Persians, who are free men, worship me; this man, who is no better than a slave, does not vouchsafe to do so." And when he desired to punish Mordecai, he thought it too small a thing to request of the king, that he alone might be punished.

* Those were too great men, who perhaps kept the door of the king's bed-chamber, and being either incensed at the divorce of Vashti, (whose creatures they were,) or at the advancement of Esther, who in all probability, would raise her kinsman Mordecai to a superiority over them, took disgust thereat, and so resolved to revenge themselves on the king for it. *Prideaux's Connection and Patrick's Commentary.* B.

† Esther ii. 21, 22.

‡ Whether this adoration required of Mordecai to Haman were by him deemed too like the adoration due only to God; as Josephus seems here to think; as well as their Septuagint interpreters also, by their translation of Esther xiii. 12, 13, 14. or whether he thought he ought to pay no sort of adoration to an Amalekite, which nation had been such great sinners, as to have been universally devoted to destruction by God himself, Exod. xvii. 14, 15, 16. 1 Sam. xv. 18. or whether both causes occurred, cannot now be entirely determined.

He rather determined to extirpate the whole nation. For he was naturally an enemy to the Jews: because the nation of the Amalekites, of which he was, had been destroyed by them.* Accordingly he came to the king, and accused them, saying, "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, not using laws like the laws of others; at enmity with thy people, and with all men, both in their manners and practices. Now if thou wilt be a benefactor to thy subjects, thou wilt give order to destroy 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 injured by the loss of the tributes which the Jews paid him, Haman promised to give him out of his own estate forty thousand talents, whenever he pleased. And he said, he would pay this money very willingly, that the kingdom might be freed from such a misfortune.

When Haman had made this petition, the king both forgave him the money, and granted him the men; to do what he would with them. So Haman, having gained what he desired, sent† out immediately a decree, as from the king, to all nations, the contents whereof were these: "Artaxerxes, the great king, to the rulers of the hundred and twenty-seven provinces, from

* See Exod. xvii. 8—16. and 1 Sam. xv.

† The first institution of posts is generally ascribed to the Persians; for the kings of Persia, (as Diodorus Siculus, lib. 19 observes,) that they might have intelligence of what passed in all the provinces of their vast dominions, placed sentinels on eminences, at convenient distances, where towers were built, and these sentinels gave notice of public occurrences to one another, with a very loud and shrill voice, by which means news was transmitted from one extremity of the kingdom to the other with great expedition. But as this could be practised only in the case of general news, which might be communicated to the whole nation, Cyrus, (as Xenophon relates, Cyropæd. lib. 8.) set up couriers, places for post-horses on all high-roads, and offices, where they might deliver their packets to one another. This, says our author, they did night and day; so that no rain or hard weather being to stop them, in the judgment of many, they went faster than cranes could fly. The like is said in Herodotus, lib. 8. And he acquaints us farther, that Xerxes, in his famous expedition against Greece, planted posts from the Ægean sea to Shushan, at certain distances, as far as a horse could ride with speed, that thereby he might send notice to the capital city of whatever might happen in his army. *Calmet's Dictionary* under the word. B.

India to Ethiopia, sends this writing. Whereas I have governed many nations, and obtained the dominion of all the habitable earth, 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 shewn myself mild and gentle, by taking care of their peace and good order, and have sought how they might enjoy those blessings for all time to come. And whereas Haman, who, on account of his prudence, and justice, is the first in my esteem, and in dignity, and only second to myself, for his fidelity and constant good will to me; hath kindly informed me, that there is an ill natured nation intermixed with all mankind, that is averse from our laws, and not subject to kings; and of a different conduct of life from others; and of a disposition pernicious to our affairs: I give order that all these men, of whom Haman, our second father, hath informed us, be destroyed, with their wives and children: and that none of them be spared, and that none prefer pity to them, before obedience to this decree. And this I will to be executed on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month of this present year: so that when all that have enmity to us are destroyed, and this in one day, we may be allowed to lead the rest of our lives in peace hereafter." Now when this decree was brought to the cities, and to the country, all were ready for the destruction and entire extirpation of the Jews, against the appointed day. And they were very hasty about it at Shushan in particular. Accordingly the king and Haman spent their time in feasting together, with good cheer and wine: but the city was in *disorder†.

Now when Mordecai was informed of what was done, he rent his clothes, and put on sackcloth, and sprinkled ashes upon

* Esther iii. 15.

† Not only the Jews, but a great many others in Shushan, might be concerned at this horrid decree, either because they were related to them, or engaged with them in worldly concerns, or perhaps out of mere humanity and compassion to so vast a number of innocent people, now appointed as sheep for the slaughter. They might apprehend likewise, that upon the execution of the decree, some sedition or tumult might ensue; that, in so great a slaughter, it was hard to tell, who should escape without being killed or plundered, because those who were employed in this bloody work would be more mindful to enrich themselves than to observe their orders. *Pool's Annotations, and Patrick's and Le Clerc's Commentaries.* B.

his head, and went about the city,* crying out, that a nation that had been injurious to no man, was to be destroyed. And he went on saying thus as far as to the king's palace, and there he stood. For it was not lawful for him to go into it, in that habit. The same thing was done by all the Jews that were in the several cities, wherein this decree was published; with lamentation and mourning, on account of the calamities denounced against them. But as soon as certain persons had told the queen, that Mordecai stood before the court in a mourning habit, she was disturbed at this report; and sent out such as should change his garments. But when he could not be induced to put off his sackcloth, because the sad occasion that forced him to put it on was not yet ceased; she called the eunuch Aera-theus, for he was then present; and sent him to Mordecai, in order to learn what sad accident had befallen him, for which he was in mourning, and would not put off that habit, at her desire. Then did Mordecai inform the eunuch of the occasion of his mourning, and of the decree which was sent by the king into all the country, and of the promise of money whereby Haman bought the destruction of their nation. He also gave him a copy of what was proclaimed at Shushan, to be carried to Esther: and he charged her to petition the king about this matter, and not to think it a dishonourable thing in her to put on a humble habit, for the safety of her nation: wherein she might deprecate 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 to Mordecai again, and told him that she was not called by the

* The latter Targum, upon the book of Esther, gives us this account of Mordecai's behaviour upon this sad occasion, viz. that in the midst of the streets he made his complaint, saying, What a heavy decree is this, which the king and Haman have passed, not against a part of us but against us all, to root us out of the earth! Whereupon all the Jews flocked about him, and having caused the book of the law to be brought to the gate of Shushan, he, being covered with sackcloth, read therein these words out of Deut. iv. 30, 31. "When thou art in tribulation, and all these things are come upon thee, in the latter days, if thou turn to the Lord thy God, and shalt be obedient to his voice, (for the Lord thy God is a merciful God,) he will not forsake thee, nor destroy thee, nor forget the covenant of thy fathers, which he swore unto them:" After which he exhorted them to fasting, humiliation, and repentance, according to the example of the Ninevites. *Patrick's Commentary.* B.

king, and that he who should presume to go in to him without being called, would certainly be slain;* unless it happened that the king held out his golden sceptre to him; in which case alone he could obtain pardon, and be entirely preserved. Now when the eunuch carried this message from Esther to Mordecai, he bade him tell her, that she must not only provide for her own safety, but for the common preservation of her nation. For that if she now neglected this opportunity, there would certainly arise help to them from God some other way; but she and her father's house would be destroyed by those whom she now despised. But Esther sent the same eunuch back to Mordecai, to desire him to go to Shushan, and to gather the Jews that were there together to a congregation; and to fast, and to abstain from all sorts of food on her account; and to let him know that she with her maidens would do the same; and then she promised that she would go to the king, though it were against the law; and that if she must die, she would not refuse it.†

Accordingly Mordecai did as Esther had enjoined him, and made the people fast,‡ and he besought God, together with

* Ever since the reign of Dejioces king of Media, Herodotus, lib. I. informs, that for the preservation of royal majesty, it was enacted, "That no one should be admitted into the king's presence; but that, if he had any business with him, he should transact it by the intercourse of his ministers." The custom passed from the Medes to the Persians; and therefore we find it in the same historian, lib. 3. that after the seven Persian princes had killed the Magian, who had usurped the throne, they came to this agreement, that whoever should be elected king, should allow the others to have at all times a ready access to his presence, which is an implication, that they had it not before, whenever they should desire it, except only when he was accompanied with any of his wives. This, therefore, was the ancient law of the country, and not procured by Haman, as some imagine; though it cannot be denied, but that the reason of the law at first might be, not only the preservation of the majesty and safety of the king's person, but a contrivance likewise of the great officers of state, that they might engross the king to themselves, by allowing admittance to none but whom they should think proper to introduce. *Pool's Annotations*, and *Le Clerc's Commentary*. B.

† Esther iv. 16.

‡ This is not to be understood, as if the people were to take no manner of sustenance for three days, because few or none could undergo that, but only, either that they should abstain from all delicacies, and content themselves with coarse fare, as Josephus expounds it, or that they should make no set meals of dinner or supper in their families, but eat and drink no more than would suffice to sustain nature, and support them in prayer to God for a blessing upon her undertaking. *Patrick's* and *Le Clerc's Commentaries*. B.

them, not to overlook his nation, particularly at this time, when it was going to be destroyed. But that, as he had often before provided for them, and forgiven them, when they had sinned, so he would now deliver them from that destruction which was denounced against them. For although it was not the nation that had at all offended, yet must they so ingloriously be slain; and that he was himself the occasion of the wrath of Haman; "because," said he, "I did not worship him; nor could I endure to pay that honour 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 the multitude put up: and entreated that God would provide for their deliverance; and free the Israelites that were in all the earth from this calamity which was now coming upon them. For they had it before their eyes and expected its coming. Accordingly Esther made supplication to God after the manner of her country; by prostrating herself 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 by both her words and beauty she might succeed, for the averting of the king's anger, in case he was irritated against her; and for the consolation of those of her own country, now they were in the utmost danger of perishing: as also that he would excite a hatred in the king against the enemies of the Jews, and those that had contrived their future destruction, if they proved to be contemned by him.

When Esther had offered this supplication, for three days, she put off those garments; and changed her habit, and adorned herself as became a queen; and took two of her handmaids with her: one of whom supported her, as she gently leaned upon her; and the other followed after, and held up her large train with the extremities of her fingers. And thus she came to the king; having a blushing redness in her countenance; with a pleasant agreeableness in her behaviour. Yet did she go in to him with fear. And as soon as she was come over against him, as he was sitting on his throne, in his royal apparel; which was a garment interwoven with gold and precious stones, which made

him seem to her more terrible; especially when he looked at her somewhat severely, and with a countenance on fire with anger, her joints failed her, out of the dread she was in; and she fell down sideways in a swoon. But the king changed his mind; which happened, as I suppose by the will of God; and was concerned for his wife, lest her fear should bring some ill thing upon her: and he leaped from his throne, and took her in his arms, and recovered her, by embracing her, and speaking comfortably to her, and exhorting her to be of good cheer, and not to suspect any thing that was sad on account of her coming to him without being called; because the law was made for subjects: but that she, who was a queen, might be entirely secure. And as he said this, he put the sceptre into her hand;* and laid his rod upon her neck, on account of the law; and so freed her from her fear. And after she had recovered herself by these encouragements, she said, "My lord, it is not easy for me, on the sudden, to say what hath happened: for as soon as I saw thee to be great, and comely, and terrible, my spirit departed from me; and I had no soul left in me." And while it was with difficulty, and in a low voice, that she could say thus much, the king was in great agony and disorder, and encouraged Esther to be of good cheer, and to expect better fortune: since he was ready, if occasion should require it, to grant to her the half of his kingdom. Accordingly Esther desired that he and his friend Haman would come to her to a banquet: for she said she had prepared a supper for him. Accordingly, he consented; and when they were there, as they were drinking, he bade Esther tell him what she desired; for that she should not be disappointed, though she should desire the half of his kingdom. But she put off the discovery of her petition till the next day: if he would come again, together with Haman, to her banquet.†

Now when the king had promised so to do, Haman went away

* A sceptre was the ensign of the highest and most absolute authority; and therefore some have observed, that when Mordecai was advanced to the greatest dignity next the king, having the royal robes, and other ensigns of royal dignity, no mention is made of any sceptre, for that was proper and peculiar to the king; and the queen's touching, or, as some say, kissing it, was a token of her subjection and thankfulness for his favour. B.

† Esther v. 8.

very joyful ; because he alone had the honour of supping with the king, at Esther's banquet ; and because no one else partook of the same honour with kings but himself. Yet when he saw Mordecai in the court, he was very much displeased ; for he paid him no manner of respect when he saw him. So he went home, and called for his wife Zeresb, and his friends ; and when they were come, he shewed them what honour he had enjoyed not only from the king, but from the queen also. For as he alone had that day supped with her, together with the king, so was he also invited again for the next day. " Yet," said he, " I am not pleased to see Mordecai the Jew in the court." Hereupon his wife Zeresh advised him to give order that a gallows should be made, fifty cubits high, and that in the morning he should ask it of the king, that Mordecai might be hanged thereon. So he commended her advice, and gave order to his servants to prepare the gallows, and to place it in the court, for the punishment of Mordecai thereon : which was accordingly prepared. But God laughed to scorn the wicked expectations of Haman : for that night he took away the king's sleep ; and as the king was not willing to lose the time of his lying awake, but to spend it in some thing that might be of advantage to his kingdom, he commanded the scribe to bring him the chronicles of the former kings, and the records of his own actions. And when he had brought them, and was reading them, one was found to have received a 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 had a present made him on account of his fidelity. Then the scribe came to Bigthan and Teresh, the eunuchs, who had formed a conspiracy against the king ; which Mordecai had discovered. And when the scribe said no more but that ; and was going on to another history, the king stopped him ; and inquired, if it were not added that Mordecai had a reward given him ? And when he said there was no such addition, he bade him leave off : and he inquired of those that were appointed for that purpose, what hour of the night it was ? And when he was informed that it was already day, he gave order, that if they found any one of his friends already come, and standing before the court they should tell him. Now it happened that Haman was found there, for he was come sooner than ordinary to petition the king

to have Mordecai put to death.* And when the servants said, that Haman was before the court, he bade them call him in. And when he was come in, he said, "Because I know that thou art a sincere friend, I desire thee to give me advice, how I may honour one that I greatly love, and that after a manner suitable to my magnificence." Now Haman reasoned with himself, that what opinion he should give, it would be for himself, since it was he alone who was beloved by the king. So he gave that advice which he thought of all other the best. For he said, "If thou wouldest truly honour a man whom thou dost love, give order that he may ride on horseback, with the same garment which thou wear-est, and with a gold chain about his neck; and let one of thy intimate friends go before him, and proclaim through the whole city, that whosoever the king honoureth, obtaineth this mark of his honour."† This was the advice which Haman gave, out of a supposal that such reward would come to himself.‡ Here-

* It may seem a little strange, that so proud a man as Haman was, should not be prompted immediately to avenge himself on Mordecai for his contemptuous usage of him, since he had enough about him, no doubt, who, upon the least intimation of his pleasure, would have done it; and since he, who had interest enough with his prince to procure a decree for the destruction of a whole nation, might easily have obtained a pardon for having killed one obscure and infamous member of it. But herein did the wise and powerful providence of God appear, that it disposed Haman's heart, contrary to his own inclination and interest, instead of employing his power against his enemies, to put fetters, as it were upon his own hands. *Poole's Annotations.* B.

† Esther vi. 6—9.

‡ To form a notion of that height of pride and arrogance, to which Haman, (who thought all the honours he specified were designed for him) was arrived, we may observe, that for any one to put on the royal robe, without the privy and consent of the king, was, among the Persians, accounted a capital crime. To which purpose Plutarch, in his life of Artaxerxes, has related this story:—"That one day, when in hunting, the king happened to tear his garment, and Tiribazus was telling him of it, the king asked him, what he should do? Why, put on another, says Tiribazus, and give that to me. That I will, says the king, but then I enjoin you not to wear it. Tiribazus, however, who was a good kind of man enough, but a little weak and silly, adventured to put it on, with all its fine ornaments: and when some of the nobles began to resent it, as a thing not lawful for any subject to do, I allow him, says the king, laughing at the figure he made, to wear the fine trinecks as a woman, and the robe as a madman;" *Le Clerc's Commentary.* There was a custom, not unlike this, among the Hebrews, as appears from the history of Solomon, 1 Kings i. 33. for the person that was declared to be successor to the crown, on the day of his inauguration, to be mounted on the king's horse: and, to the like custom among the Persians, it is highly probable, that the poet Statius, in his description of a young king succeeding to his father's throne, may allude.

upon the king was pleased with the advice, and said, "Go thou, therefore, for thou hast the horse, the garment, and the chain. Ask for Mordecai the Jew, and give him those things; and go before his horse, and proclaim accordingly: for thou art my intimate friend, and hast given me good advice. Be thou then the minister of what thou hast advised: for this shall be his reward from us, for preserving my life." When he heard this order, which was entirely unexpected, he was confounded in his mind, and knew not what to do. However he went out, and led the horse,* and took the purple garment, and the golden chain for the neck: and finding Mordecai before the court, clothed in sackcloth, he bade him put that garment off, and put the purple garment on. But Mordecai, not knowing the truth of the matter, but thinking that it was done in mockery, said, "O thou wretch, the vilest of all mankind: dost thou thus laugh at our calamities?" But when he was satisfied that

Sicut Ahæmenius solium gentesque paternas
 Excepti si forte puer, cui vivere patrem
 Tutius, incerta formidine gaudia librat,
 An fidi proceres, an pugnet vulgus habenis,
 Cui latus Euphratæ, cui Caspia limina mandet,
 Samere nunc arcus, ipsumque onerare veretur
 Patris equum, visusque sibi nec sceptrâ capaci
 Sustentare manu, nec adhuc implere tiaram.

Thebaid, lib. 8. B.

* Commentators are not agreed whether this crown was placed upon the king's head, or his horse's. Those who refer it to the king, will have it to be what we call a turban, made of fine white and pure linen, which it was death for any one to put on his head, without the king's express order; to which purpose Arrian (*Alex. exped. lib. 7.*) tells us this story:—"That as Alexander was sailing on the Euphrates, and his turban happened to fall off among some reeds, one of the watermen immediately jumped in and swam to it; but as he could not bring it back in his hand without wetting it, he put it upon his head, and so returned with it. Whereupon most historians that have wrote of Alexander (says he) tells us, that he gave him a talent of silver for this expression of his zeal to serve him, but, at the same time, ordered his head to be struck off for presuming to put on the royal diadem." Other commentators are of opinion, that this Keter, which we render crown, being a word of a large signification, will equally denote that ornament which the horse that the king rode, wore upon his head. As it must be acknowledged, that this application of the thing agrees better with the signification and order of Hebrew words; with the following verses, wherein no mention is made of the Keter, but only of the robe and the horse to which this crown belonged; and with the custom of the Persians, who used to put a certain ornament, in Italian called *fiocco*, upon the head of that horse whereon the king was mounted. *Le Clerc's and Patrick's Commentaries; and Pool's Annotations.* B.

the king bestowed this honour upon him, for the deliverance he had procured him when he convicted the eunuchs, who 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 before, and proclaimed, "This shall be the reward which the king will bestow on every one whom he loves, and esteems worthy of honour." And when they had gone round the city, Mordecai went in to the king. But Haman went home out of shame; and informed his wife and friends of what had happened, and this with tears: upon which they said, he would never be able to be revenged on Mordecai; for that God was with him.*

Now while his friends were talking one to another, Esther's eunuchs hastened Haman away, to come to supper. But one of the eunuchs, named Sabuchadas, saw the gallows that was fixed in Haman's house, and inquired of one of his servants for what purpose they had prepared it? So he 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 gift she desired to obtain; 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 that account, made this petition. That she would not have troubled him if he had only given order that they should be sold into servitude: for such a misfortune would not have been intolerable. But she desired that they might be delivered from such a destruction. And when the king inquired of her who was the author of this misery to them? she only accused Haman: and convicted him, that he had been the wicked instrument of this; and had formed this plot against them. When the king was hereupon in disorder, and was gone hastily out of the banquet into the gardens, Haman began to intercede with Esther; and to beseech her to forgive him, as to what he had offended; for he perceived that he was in a very bad case. And as he had fallen upon the

* Esther vi. 13.

queen's bed,* and was making supplication to her, the king came in; and being still more provoked at what he saw, "O thou wretch!" said he, "thou vilest of all mankind! dost thou aim to force my wife?" And when Haman was astonished at this, and not able to speak one word more, Sabuchadas the eunuch came in, and accused Haman; and said, he found a gallows fifty cubits high at his house prepared for Mordecai: for that the servant told him so much, upon his inquiry, when he was sent to him to call him to supper. When the king heard this, he determined that Haman should be punished after no other manner than that which had been devised by him against Mordecai. So he gave order immediately, that he should be hung upon that gallows, and be put to death after that manner.† And from hence I cannot forbear to admire God; and to learn hence his wisdom and his justice: and not only in punishing the wickedness of Haman, but in so disposing it, that he should undergo the very same punishment which he had contrived for another. As also because thereby he teaches others this lesson, that what mischiefs any one prepares against another, he, without knowing of it, first contrives it against himself.

Wherefore Haman, who had immoderately abused the honour he had from the king, was destroyed after this manner: and the king granted his estate to the queen. He also called for Mordecai, (for Esther had informed him that she was related to him:) and gave him that ring which he had before given to Haman. The queen also gave Haman's estate to Mordecai; and prayed the king to deliver the nation of the Jews from the fear of death; and shewed him what had been written over all the country by Haman, the son of Amedatha. For that if her country were destroyed, and her countrymen were to perish she could not bear to live any longer. So the king promised

* It was a custom of the Persians, as well as other nations, to sit, or rather to lie upon beds, when they eat or drank; and therefore, when Haman fell down as a supplicant at the feet of Esther, and, as the manner was among the Greeks and Romans, and not improbably among the Persians, embraced her knees, the king might pretend that he was offering violence to the queen's chastity. Not that he believed that this was his intention, but, in his furious passion, he turned every thing to the worst sense, and made use of it to aggravate his crime. *Patrick's Commentary*. B.

† Esther vij. 10.

that he would not do any thing that should be disagreeable to her, nor contradict what she desired; but he bade her write what she pleased about the Jews, in the king's name and seal it with his seal; and send it to all his kingdom; for that those who read epistles whose authority was secured by having the king's seal to them, would no way contradict what was written therein. So he commanded the king's scribes to be sent for, and to write to the nations, on the Jews' behalf: and to his lieutenants, and governors, that were over his hundred and twenty-seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia. Now the contents of the epistle were these: "The* great king Artaxerxes to our rulers, and those that are our faithful subjects, greeting. Many men there are who, on account of the greatness of the benefits bestowed on them, and because of the honour which they have obtained from the kind treatment of those that bestowed it, are not only injurious to their inferiors, but do not scruple to do evil to those who have been their benefactors; as if they would take away gratitude from among men. And by their insolent abuse of such benefits as they never expected, they turn the abundance they have against those that are the authors of it; and suppose they shall lie concealed from God in that case, and avoid that vengeance which comes from him. Some of these men, when they have had the management of affairs committed to them by their friends, and bearing private malice against some others, by deceiving those that have the power, persuade them to be angry at such as have done them no harm; till they are in danger of perishing; and this by lying accusations and calumnies. Nor is this state of things to be discovered by ancient examples, or such as we have merely learned by report; but by some examples of such impudent attempts under our own eyes. So that it is not fit to attend any

* The true reason why king Artaxerxes did not here properly revoke his former barbarous decree, for the universal slaughter of the Jews; but only empowered and encouraged the Jews to fight for their lives, and to kill their enemies, if they attempted their destruction, seems to have been, that old law of the Medes and Persians, not yet laid aside, that whatever decree was signed both by the king, and his lords, could not be changed, but remained unalterable, Daniel vi. 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17. Esther i. 19. viii. 8. And Haman having engrossed the royal favour, might perhaps have himself signed this decree for the Jews' slaughter, instead of the ancient lords; and so might have rendered it, by their rulers, irrevocable.

longer to calumnies, and accusations; nor to 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 favours to such as are innocent. This hath been the case of Haman, the son of Amedatha; by birth an Amalekite, and alien from the blood of the Persians: who, when he was hospitably entertained by us, and partook of that kindness which we bear to all men to so great a degree, as to be called our father; and to be all along worshipped, and to have honour paid him by all in the second rank after the royal honour due to ourselves, he could not bear his good fortune, nor govern the magnitude of his prosperity with sound reason. Nay he made a conspiracy against me, who gave him his authority; by endeavouring to take away Mordecai my benefactor, and my saviour; and by basely and treacherously requiring to have Esther, the partner of my life, and of my dominion, brought to destruction. For he contrived by this means to deprive* me of my faithful friends, and transfer the government 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 in the best manner; and were men dedicated to the worship of that God who hath preserved the kingdom to me and 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 refuse obedience you shall do well: but I will that they have all honour paid them. Accordingly I have hanged up the man that contrived such things against them, with his family, before the gates of Shushan: that punishment being sent upon him from God, who seeth all things. And I give you in charge,

* These words give an intimation, as if Artaxerxes suspected a deeper design in Haman than openly appeared; viz. that knowing the Jews would be faithful to him, and that he could never transfer the crown to his own family, who was an Agagite, Esther iii. 1, 10. or of the posterity of Agag the old king of the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xv. 8, 32, 33. while they were alive, and spread over all his dominions, he therefore endeavoured to destroy them. Nor is it to me improbable, that those 75,000 of the Jews' enemies who were soon destroyed by the Jews, on the permission of the king, which must be on some great occasion, were Amalekites, their old and hereditary enemies, Exod. xvii. 14, 15. and that thereby was fulfilled Balaam's prophecy, "Amalek was the first of the nations; but his latter end shall be that he perish for ever." Numb. xxiv. 20.

that you publicly propose a copy of this epistle through 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 whereto their miserable estate did belong, they may defend themselves the very same day from unjust 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 wish us well; and a memorial of the punishment of the conspirators against us! And I will that you take notice that every city and every nation that shall disobey any thing contained in this epistle, shall be destroyed by fire and sword. However, let this epistle be published through all the country that is under our obedience; and let all the Jews, by all means, be ready against the day beforementioned; that they may avenge themselves upon their enemies."

Accordingly the horsemen who carried the epistle proceeded on the ways which they were to go, with speed. But as for Mordecai, as soon as he had assumed the royal garment, and the crown of gold, and had put the chain about his neck, he went forth in a public procession. And when the Jews who were in Shushan, saw him in so great honour with the king, they thought his good fortune was common to themselves also: and joy, and a beam of salvation, encompassed the Jews: both those that were in the cities, and those that were in the countries, upon the publication of the king's letters: insomuch, that many even of other nations circumcised themselves for fear of the Jews: that they might procure safety to themselves thereby.* For on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which accord-

* It might be presumed that some, out of hatred to the Jews, might be inclinable to obey Haman's decree: for though he himself was gone, yet it cannot be imagined, that all the friends and creatures that he had made perished with him. He might have a great party every where, and some of them so furiously enraged at his fall, as (even at the hazard of their own lives) would not fail to shew their indignation at those who were the occasion of it: and therefore this second decree, procured by Mordecai, gave them authority, if any attempt was made upon them, either in great bodies, or small parties, not only to defend themselves and repel them, but to make as great a slaughter of them as they were able, and even to take possession of their goods, as Haman had procured them license (chap. iii. 13.) to seize the goods of the Jews. *Patrick's Commentary.* B.

ing to the Hebrews is called Adar, but according to the Macedonians Dystrus; those that carried the king's epistle gave them notice, that the same day wherein their danger was to have been, on that very day should they destroy their enemies. But now the rulers of the provinces, and the tyrants, and the kings, and the scribes, had the Jews in esteem. For the fear they were in of Mordecai forced them to act with discretion. Now when the royal decree was come to all the country that was subject to the king, 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; but did not well know what had been done 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 to do so, as desirous not to contradict Esther.

So they gathered themselves together again on the fourteenth day of the month Dystrus, and slew about three hundred of their enemies; but touched† nothing of what riches they had. Now there were slain by the Jews that were in the country, and in the other cities, seventy-five thousand of their enemies: and

* It is not unlikely, that many might be enraged at his death, and his sons, in particular, might set themselves at the head of those who were bold enough to attempt the destruction of the Jews in Shushan, being resolved to revenge their father's death, though in so doing they were sure to meet their own. And this seems to suggest one reason why Esther was so solicitous to have their dead bodies (for they were slain already) hung upon the gallows, chap. ix. 13. even because they had shewn more malice and indignation against the Jews, and on the day when the cruel edict came to take place, had made more desperate attacks upon them than any; though the reason of the state, in this severity, might be to expose the family to the greater infamy, and to deter other counsellors from abusing the king at any time with false representations. For though the Jews suffered none to hang on the tree (as they call the gallows) longer than till the evening of the day whereon they were executed; yet other nations let them hang until they were consumed, (as appears from the story of the Gibeonites, 2 Sam. xxi. 9, 10.) or devoured by crows, vultures, or other ravenous creatures; from whence that vulgar saying among the Romans, pascere in cruce corvos, had its rise. *Patrick's Commentary*, and *Pool's Annotations*. B.

† See 1 Sam. xv. 9, 14, 16, 19, 21.

these 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 Shushan gathered themselves together, and feasted on the fourteenth day, and that which followed it. Whence it is,

* Pur, in the Persian language, signifies a lot, and the feast of Purim, or lots, (which had its name from Haman's casting lots in order to divine which would be most lucky to prefix for the murder of all the Jews in the whole Persian dominions) is, to this very day, celebrated by the Jews, with some peculiar ceremonies, but most of them reducible to these three things, reading, resting, and feasting. Before the reading, which is performed in the synagogue, and begins in the evening, as soon as the stars appear, they make use of three forms of prayer: in the first of these, they praise God for counting them worthy to attend this divine service; in the second they thank him for the miraculous preservation of their ancestors; and in the third, they bless his holy name, for having continued their lives to the celebration of another festival in commemoration of it. Then they read over the whole history of Haman from the beginning to the end, but not out of any printed book, (for that is not lawful,) but out of a Hebrew manuscript, written on parchment. There are five places in the text, wherein the reader raises his voice with all his might: when he comes to the place that mentions the names of the ten sons of Haman, he repeats them very quick, to shew that they were all destroyed in a moment; and every time that the name of Haman is pronounced, the children, with great fury, strike against the benches of the synagogues, with the mallets that they bring for that purpose. After that the reading is finished, they return home and have a supper, not of flesh, but of spoon-meat; and early next morning they arise, and return to the synagogue; where, after they have read that passage in Exodus, which makes mention of the war of Amalek, they begin again to read the book of Esther, with the same ceremonies as before; and so conclude the service of the day, with curses against Haman and his wife Zeresh, with blessings upon Mordecai and Esther, and with praises to God, for having preserved his people. Their resting on this day is observed so religiously, that they will not so much as set or sow any thing in their gardens, with full persuasion that it would not come up if they did; and therefore they either play at chess, and such like games, or spend the time in music and dancing, until it be proper to begin their feasting, wherein they indulge themselves to such an immoderate degree, that their feast of Purim has, with great justice, been called the Bacchanals of the Jews. They allow themselves to drink wine to excess, nay, even to such a pitch, as not to be able to distinguish between the blessings of Mordecai and the curse of Haman, as themselves speak; and amidst the other sports and diversions of the day, they used formerly to erect a gibbet, and burn upon it a man made of straw, whom they called Haman; but herein it was thought, that they might have a design to insult Christians, upon the death of our crucified Saviour; and therefore Theodosius the second (anno Dom. 408) forbade them to use this ceremony, under the penalty of forfeiting all their privileges. We have only further to remark concerning this festival, that it is always kept for two days together, and the reason hereof is this—The Jews at Shushan had two days allowed them to revenge themselves of their enemies, Esther ix. 13. but the rest of the Jews in other nations had but one. This caused, at first, some difference in their time of feasting; for the Jews in all other parts of the kingdom, having done execution on their ene-

that even now all the Jews that are in the habitable earth keep these days as a festival; and send portions to one another. Mordecai also wrote to the Jews that lived in the kingdom of Artaxerxes, to observe these days, and celebrate them as festivals: and to deliver them down to posterity: that this festival might continue for all time to come; and that it might never be buried in oblivion. For since they were about to be destroyed by Haman, they would do a right thing, upon escaping the danger in them, and on their inflicting punishment 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 Purim. And Mordecai became a great and illustrious person with the king, and assisted him in the government of the people. He also lived with the queen. So that the affairs of the Jews were, by their means, better than they could ever have hoped for. And this was the state of the Jews under the reign of Artaxerxes.†

mies on the thirteenth day, kept their rejoicing feast on the fourteenth; but the Jews at Shushan, being engaged in this work both on the thirteenth and fourteenth days, kept their festival for their deliverance on the fifteenth. When Mordecai however had made a record of this great deliverance, he sent letters to all the Jews throughout the dominions of Ahasuerus, to establish it as a standing ordinance among them, that they should keep both the fourteenth and fifteenth of the month Adar every year, as the days whereon the Jews rested from their enemies: and this is the reason why the festival continues for two days, though the former of them is only kept with great solemnity *Patrick's Commentary; Howel's History*, in the notes; and *Calmel's Dictionary*, under the word *Purim*. B.

* Take here part of Reland's Note on this disputed passage; "In Josephus's copies these Hebrew words, days of Purim, or Lots, as the Greek copies of Esther ix. 26, 28, 29, 31, 32. is read days of phurim, or days of protection, but ought to be read days of purim, as in the Hebrew. Than which emendation nothing is more certain." And had we any assurance that Josephus's copy mentioned the casting of lots, as our copies do, Esther iii. 7. I should fully agree with Reland; but as it now stands, it seems to me by no means certain.

† 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, that the Septuagint and Josephus have so much of religion, that it has not so much as the name of God once in it; and it is hard to say who made that epitome which the Masorites have given us for the genuine book itself. No religious Jews could well be the authors of it: whose education obliged them to have a constant regard to God, and whatsoever related to his worship: nor do we know that there ever was so imperfect a copy of it in the world, till after the days of Barchocab, in the second century.

CHAP. VII.

OF JOHN'S ASSASSINATION OF HIS BROTHER JESUS IN THE TEMPLE, AND OF THE INJURIES OFFERED TO THE JEWS BY BAGOSSES; AND WHAT SANBALLAT DID.

WHEN Eliashib the high-priest was dead, his son Judas succeeded in the high-priesthood. And when he was dead his son John took that dignity. On whose account it was also that Bagoses, the general of another* of Artaxerxes's army, polluted the temple, and imposed tributes on the Jews; that out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels. Now Jesus was the brother of John, and was a friend of Bagoses: who had promised to procure him the high-priesthood. In consequence 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 John, when he was high-priest, to perpetrate so great a crime; and so much the more horrible, that there never was so cruel and impious a thing done, either

* Concerning this other Artaxerxes, called Mnemon, and the Persian affliction and captivity of the Jews under him, occasioned by the murder of the high-priest's brother in the holy house, see Authent. Rec. at large, page 49, 50, 116—161. And if any one wonder why Josephus wholly omits the rest of the kings of Persia, after Artaxerxes Mnemon; till he came to their last king, Darius, who was conquered by Alexander the Great; I shall give them Vossius's and Dr. Hudson's answer, though in my own words: viz. that Josephus did not do ill in omitting those kings of Persia with whom the Jews had no concern: because he was giving the history of the Jews, and not of the Persians. Which is a sufficient reason also, why he entirely omits the history and the book of Job; as not particularly relating to that nation. He justly therefore returns to the Jewish affairs, after the death of Longimanus, without any mention of Darius II. before Artaxerxes Mnemon, or of Ochus, or Arogus, as the canon of Ptolemy names them, after him. Nor had he probably mention this other Artaxerxes, unless Bagoses, one of the governors and commanders under him, had occasioned the pollution of the Jewish temple, and had greatly distressed the Jews upon that pollution. But still, how very wide are those learned men from truth, who, from such bare omissions in Josephus, collect that he was unacquainted with those reigns he omitted; and with the modern Jews, greatly shortened the Persian monarchy. For Josephus was in fact so far from diminishing, that he has increased its duration; and that no fewer than 38 or 39 years.

by the Greeks or 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 going to go into the temple, they forbade him so to do. But he said, "Am not I purer than he that was slain in the temple ?" And when he had said those words, he went into the temple. Accordingly Bagoses made use of this pretence ; and punished the Jews seven years for the murder of Jesus.

Now when John was departed this life, his son Jaddua succeeded in the high-priesthood. He had a brother, whose name was Manasseh. Now there was one Sanballat,* who was sent by Darius, the last king of Persia, into Samaria. He was a Cuthaan by birth ; of which stock were the Samaritans also. This man knew that the city of Jerusalem was a famous city ; and that their kings had given a great deal of trouble to the Assyrians, and the people of Coelesyria. So that he willingly gave his daughter, whose name was Nicaso, 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.

* Many have here, very weakly, supposed that this Sanballat, under the last Darius, is by Josephus confounded with Sanballat the Horonite in Nehemiah xiii. 28. under Xerxes or Artaxerxes Longimanus : who yet lived, by Josephus's own chronology, about 120 years before him. So palpable a mistake is hardly worth a particular confutation, and only pardonable on account of the same persons' former mistake, as to the duration of this Persian monarchy, in Josephus's opinion ; just now observed and confuted.

CHAP. VIII.

OF SANBALLAT, AND MANASSEH, AND OF THE TEMPLE WHICH THEY BUILT IN MOUNT GERIZZIM; ALSO OF THE CONQUESTS OF ALEXANDER; HIS ENTRY INTO THE CITY OF JERUSALEM; AND THE BENEFITS HE BESTOWED ON THE JEWS.

ABOUT this time* Philip, king of Macedon, was treacherously assaulted and slain at Ægeæ, by Pausanias, the son of Cerastes; who was derived from the family of the Orestæ. His son Alexander succeeded in the kingdom; and passing over the Hellespont, overcame the generals of Darius's army in a battle fought at Granicum. So he marched over Lydia, and subdued Ionia, and over-ran Caria, and fell upon the places of Pamphylia.

But the elders of Jerusalem being very uneasy that the brother of Jaddua the high-priest, though married to a foreigner, should be a partner with him in the high-priesthood, quarrelled with him. For they esteemed this man's marriage a step to such as should be desirous of transgressing about the marriage of strange wives; and that this would be the beginning of a mutual intercourse 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 altar. Whereupon Manasseh came to his father-in-law, Sanballat, and told him, that although he loved his daughter Nicaso, yet he was not willing to be deprived of his sacerdotal dignity on her account; which was the principal dignity in their nation, and always continued in the same family. But Sanballat promised not only to preserve to him the honour of his priesthood, but to procure for him the power and

* An. 336.

dignity of a high-priest, and to make him governor of all the places he himself now ruled, if he would keep his daughter for his wife. He also told him farther, that he would build him a temple like to that at Jerusalem, upon mount Gerizzim; which is the highest of all the mountains that are in Samaria: and he promised that he would do this with the approbation of Darius the king. Manasseh was elevated with these promises; and staid with Sanballat; upon a supposal that he should gain a high-priesthood, as bestowed on him by Darius. For it happened that Sanballat was then in years. But there was now a great disturbance among the people of Jerusalem, because many of those priests and Levites were entangled in such matches. For they all revolted to Manasseh: and Sanballat afforded them money; and divided among them land for tillage, and habitations also; and all this in order to gratify his son-in-law.

About this* time Darius heard how Alexander had passed over the Hellespont; and had beaten his lieutenants, in the battle at Granicum; and was proceeding farther. Whereupon he assembled an army of horse and foot, and determined that he would meet the Macedonians, before they should assault and conquer all Asia. So he passed over the river Euphrates; and came over Taurus, the Celician mountain; and at Issus of Cilicia he waited for the enemy, as ready there to give him battle. Now Sanballat was glad that Darius was come down; and told Manasseh that he would perform his promises to him as soon as Darius should come back, after he had beaten his enemies. For not he only, but all those that were in Asia also, were persuaded that the Macedonians would not so much as come to a battle with the Persians; on account of their multitude. But the event proved otherwise than they expected. For the king joined battle with the Macedonians, and was beaten, and lost a great part of his army. His mother also, with his wife, and children, were taken captives; and he fled into Persia. So Alexander came into Syria, and took Damascus: and when he had obtained Sidon, he besieged Tyre. He then sent an epistle to the Jewish high-priest, requiring him to send him some auxiliaries; and to supply his army with provisions: and that

* An. 334.

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 so doing. But the high-priest answered the messengers, that he had given his oath to Darius, not to bear arms against him: and he said he would not transgress it, while Darius was in the land of the living. Upon hearing this answer, Alexander was very angry; and though he determined not to leave Tyre, which was just ready to be taken; yet as soon as he had taken it, he threatened that he would make an expedition against the Jewish high-priest, and through him teach all men to whom they must keep their oaths. So when he had, with a good deal of pains, during the siege, taken Tyre, and had settled its affairs, he came to the city of Gaza, and besieged both the city, and him that was governor of the garrison, whose name was Babemeses.

But Sanballat thought he had now a proper opportunity of making his attempt. So he renounced Darius; and, taking with him seven thousand of his own subjects, he came to Alexander. And finding him beginning the siege of Tyre, he said to him, that he delivered up to him these men, who came out of places under his dominion; and gladly accepted of him for his lord, instead of Darius. So when Alexander had received him kindly, Sanballat thereupon took courage, and spake to him about his present affair. He told him, that he had a son-in-law, Manasseh, who was brother to the high-priest Jaddua; and that there were many others of his own nation now with him, that were desirous to have a temple built in the places subject to him: that it would be for the king's advantage to have the strength of the Jews divided into two parts; lest the nation being of one mind and united, upon any attempt for innovation, might prove troublesome to kings; as it had formerly proved to the kings of Assyria. Hereupon Alexander gave the desired permission to Sanballat; who used the utmost diligence, and built the temple, and made Manasseh the priest: and deemed it a great reward, that his daughter's children should have that dignity. But when the seven months of the siege of Tyre were over, and the two months of the siege of Gaza, Sanballat died. Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go up to Jerusalem. And Jaddua the high-priest, when he heard that, was in an agony, and under ter-

ror: as not knowing how he should meet the Macedonians; since the king was displeased at his disobedience. He therefore ordained that the people should make supplications, and should join with him in offering sacrifice to God; whom he besought to protect that nation, and to deliver them from the perils that were coming upon them. God however warned him in a dream, which came upon him after he had offered sacrifice, that he should take courage, and adorn the city, and open the gates; that the rest should appear in white garments; but that he and the priests should meet the king in the habits proper to their order; without the dread of any ill consequences; which the providence of God would prevent. When Judua rose from his sleep, he greatly rejoiced; and declared to all the warning he had received from God: and having acted entirely according to his dream, he awaited the coming of the king.

When he understood that Alexander was not far from the city, he went out in procession, with the priests, and the multitude of the citizens. 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 thence a prospect both of Jerusalem and of the temple: and when the Phœnicians and the Chaldees* 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 happened. For when the multitude appeared at a distance in white garments, while the priests stood clothed with fine linen, and the high-priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with his mitre on his head; having the golden plate whereon the name of God was engraven; Alexander approached by himself, and adored that name, and first saluted the high-priest. The Jews also did altogether salute Alexander, and encompass him about. Hereupon the kings 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 asked him how it came to pass, that when all others adored him, he should adore the high-priest of the Jews? To

* Cutheans.

whom he replied, "I did not adore him, but that God who hath honoured him with his high-priesthood. For I saw this 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 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 habit, and now seeing this person in it, and remembering that vision, and the exhortation which I had in my dream, I believe that I bring this army under the divine conduct, and shall therewith conquer Darius, and destroy the power of the Persians; and that all things will succeed according to what is in my own mind."

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 sacrifice to God, according to the high-priest's direction: and magnificently treated both the high-priest, and the priests. And when† the book of Daniel was shewn to him wherein Daniel declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he supposed that himself was the person intended. And as he was then glad, he dismissed the multitude for the present: but the next day he called them to him, and bade them ask what favours they pleased of him. Accordingly the high-priest desired that they might enjoy the laws of their fore-fathers, and might pay no tribute the seventh year. This was readily granted. And when they intreated that he would permit the Jews in Babylon 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

* The time of the year when Alexander came to Jerusalem, seems rightly determined by the Rabbins in Megillath Taanith; when they keep the 21st of Casleu, a festival in memory of their superiority over the Samaritans at this time: as Reland here informs us. See the same discourse, page 56. Reland informs us farther that the same book says, the principal Jews were in white garments; with other circumstances agreeing with Josephus.

† The passages shewn to the king upon this occasion might be Dan. vii. 6. viii. 3—8, 20, 21, 22. xi. 3. some or all of them very plain predictions of Alexander's conquests and successes.

of them would enlist themselves in his army, on the condition that they should continue under the laws of their forefathers, and live according to them, he was willing to take them with him; many were ready to accompany him in his wars.

When Alexander had thus settled matters at Jerusalem, he led his army into the neighbouring cities. And when all the inhabitants, to whom he came, received him with great kindness, the Samaritans, who had then Shechem for their metropolis, (a city situate at mount Gerizzim, and inhabited by apostates of the Jewish nation;) seeing that Alexander had so greatly honoured the Jews, determined to profess themselves Jews. For such is the disposition of the Samaritans, as we have already* declared, 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 communion with them, saying, that they belong to them; and derive their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh. Accordingly, they made their address to the king with splendour; and shewed great alacrity in meeting him, at a little distance from Jerusalem. And when Alexander had commended them, the Shechemites approached to him: taking along with them the troops that Sanballat had sent him: and they desired that he would come to their city, and do honour to their temple also. To whom he promised, that when he returned he would come to them. And when they petitioned that he would remit the tribute of the seventh year to them, because they did not sow thereon; he asked who they were that made such a petition; and when they said that they were Hebrews, but had the name of Sidonians, living at Shechem: he asked them again whether they were Jews? And when they said they were not Jews, "It was to the Jews," said he, "that I granted that privilege: however, when I return, and am thoroughly informed by you of this matter, I will do what I shall think proper." And in this manner took leave of the Shechemites: but ordered that the troops of Sanballat should follow him into Egypt, because there he de-

* See Book IX. Chap. 14.

signed to give them lands, which he did a little after in Thebais, when he ordered them to guard that country.

On the death of Alexander* the government was divided among his successors, but the temple upon mount Gerizzim remained. And if any one were accused by those of Jerusalem of having eaten things† common, or of having broken the sabbath, or of any other crime of the like nature, he fled away to the Shechemites, and said that he was accused unjustly. About this time it was that Jaddua, the high-priest, died: and Onias, the son, took the high-priesthood. This was the state of the affairs of the people of Jerusalem at this time.

* An. 323.

† Here Josephus uses the very word "eating κοινωγυια, things common," for "eating things unclean;" as does our New Testament, Acts x. 14, 15, 28, xi. 8, 9, Rom. xiv. 14. See the like in Josephus, XII. 7.

BOOK XII.

Containing an Interval of One Hundred and Seventy Years.

FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, TO THE DEATH OF
JUDAS MACCABEUS.

CHAP. I.

OF THE TREACHEROUS SEIZURE OF JERUSALEM AND JUDEA BY
PTOLEMY, THE SON OF LAGUS; WHO CARRIED MANY OF THE
JEWS THENCE, AND PLANTED THEM IN EGYPT.

WHEN Alexander king of Macedon, had put an end to the dominion of the Persians, and had settled the affairs in Judea after the aforementioned manner, he ended his life. And as his government fell among many, Antigonus obtained Asia; Seleucus, Babylon; and of the other nations which were there, Lysimachus governed the Hellespont; Cassander possessed Macedonia; and Ptolemy the son of Lagus seized upon Egypt. And while these princes ambitiously strove one against another, every one for his own principality, it came to pass that there were continually wars; and the cities were sufferers, and lost a great many of the inhabitants in these times of distress: inso-much that all Syria, by the means of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, underwent the reverse of that denomination of Saviour which he then had. He also seized upon Jerusalem: and for that end made use of deceit and treachery. For as he came into the city on a sabbath day, as if he would offer sacrifice, he, without any trouble, gained the city: while the Jews did not oppose him. For they did not suspect him to be their enemy; and he gained it thus, because they were free from suspicion of him;

and because on that day they were at rest and quietness: and when he had gained it, he ruled over it in a cruel manner. Nay, Agatharchides of Cnidus, who wrote the acts of Alexander's successors, reproaches us with superstition: as if we, by it, had lost our liberty: where he says thus: "There is a nation called the nation of the Jews; who inhabit a city strong and great, named Jerusalem. These men took no care, but let it come into the hands of Ptolemy: as not willing to take arms: and thereby they submitted to be under a hard master, by reason of their unseasonable superstition." But when Ptolemy had taken a great many captives, both from the mountainous parts of Judea, and from the places about Jerusalem and Samaria; and the places near mount Gerizzim; he led them all into Egypt* and settled them there. And as he knew that the people of Jerusalem were most† faithful in the observance of oaths and covenants; and this from the answer‡ they made Alexander, when he sent an ambassage to them, after he had beaten Darius in battle; so he distributed many of them into garrisons; and at Alexandria gave them equal privileges of citizens with the Macedonians|| themselves: and required of them to take their oaths, that they would keep their fidelity to the posterity of those who committed these 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 libe-

* The great number of these Jews and Samaritans that were formerly carried into Egypt by Alexander, and now by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, appeared afterwards in the vast multitude who, as we shall see presently, were soon ransomed by Philadelphus, and by him made free, before he sent for the seventy-two interpreters; in the many garrisons and other soldiers of that nation in Egypt in the famous settlement of the Jews, and the number of those synagogues at Alexandria, long afterward, and in the vehement contention between the Jews and the Samaritans under Philometor, about the place appointed for public worship in the law of Moses; whether at the Jewish temple of Jerusalem, or at the Samaritan temple at Gerizzim: of all which our author treats hereafter. And as to the Samaritans carried into Egypt under the same princes, Scaliger supposes that those who have a great synagogue at Cairo; as also those whom the Arabic geographer speaks of, as having seized on an island in the Red Sea, are remains of them at this very day; as the notes here informs us.

† Of the sacredness of oaths among the Jews in the Old Testament, see Scripture Politics, page 54—65.

‡ See Book XI. chap. 8.

|| See this fully proved, Book XIV. chap. 10.

rality of Ptolemy. However, there were disorders among their posterity, with relation to the Samaritans; on account of their resolution to preserve that conduct of life which was delivered to them by their forefathers: and 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 Gerizzim.

CHAP. II.

OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE LAWS OF THE JEWS INTO THE GREEK TONGUE, BY ORDER OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS; WHO SET MANY CAPTIVES FREE; AND DEDICATED GIFTS TO GOD.

WHEN Alexander had reigned twelve* years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty years, Philadelphus took the kingdom of Egypt, and held it forty years within one. He procured the law† to be interpreted: and liberated those that were come from Jerusalem into Egypt, and were in slavery there; who were a hundred and twenty thousand. The occasion was this: Demetrius Phalerius, library keeper to the king, was now endeavouring, if it were possible, to gather together all the books that were in the habitable earth; and buying whatsoever was any where valuable or agreeable to the king's inclination; (who was very earnestly set upon collecting of books:) to which inclination of his, Demetrius was zealously subservient. And when once Ptolemy asked him how many thousands of books he had collected, he replied, that he had already about two hun-

* These numbers; 12 years for Alexander; 40 for Ptolemy the son of Lagus; and 39 for Ptolemy Philadelphus, are very nearly the same which Ptolemy's canon ascribes to them respectively.

† Of the translation of the other parts of the Old Testament by seventy Egyptian Jews, in the joint reigns of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and Philadelphus; as also of the translation of the Pentateuch by seventy-two Jerusalem Jews, in the seventh year of Philadelphus, at Alexandria; has given us an account of by Aristeus, and thence by Philo and Josephus; with a vindication of Aristeus's history, see the Appendix to the Literal Accomplishment of the Prophecies at large, page 117—152. which has hitherto received no confutation.

dred thousand; but that, in a little time, he should have five hundred thousand. But he said he had been informed that there were many books of laws among the Jews, worthy of inquiring after, and worthy of the king's library; but which being written in characters and in a dialect of their own, would cause no small difficulty in getting them translated into the Greek tongue: that the character in which they were written seemed like to that of the Syrians; and that its sound, when pronounced, appeared to be peculiar to themselves. Wherefore he said, that nothing hindered why they might not get those books to be translated also. "For," said he, "while nothing is wanting that is necessary for that purpose, we may have their books also in this library." So the king thought Demetrius was very zealous to procure him abundance of books, and that he suggested what was exceeding proper for him to do: and accordingly, he wrote to the Jewish high-priest, that he should act accordingly.

Now there was one Aristeus, who was among the king's most intimate friends, and on account of his modesty very acceptable to him. This Aristeus had frequently resolved to petition the king, that he would set all the captive Jews in this kingdom free. And he thought this to be a convenient opportunity for making that petition. So he discoursed in the first place with the captains of the king's guards, Sosibius of Tarentum, and Andreas; and persuaded them to assist him in what he was going to intercede with the king for. Accordingly Aristeus embraced the same opinion with those that have been beforementioned; 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 truth open. For since we have determined not only to get the laws of the Jews transcribed, but interpreted also, for thy satisfaction; by what means can we do this, while so many of the Jews are now slaves in thy kingdom? Do thou then what will be agreeable to thy magnanimity, and to thy good nature: free them from the miserable condition they are in; because that God who supporteth the kingdom, was the author of their laws: as I have learned by particular inquiry. For both these people, and we also, worship the same God; the framer of all things. We call him, and

that truly by the name of Ζηνα, or Life,* because he breathes life into all men. Wherefore do thou restore these men to their own country; and give them permission to live in it; and this do to the honour of God; because these men pay a peculiar excellent worship to him. And know this farther, that though I be not of kin to them by birth, nor one of the same country with them, yet do I desire these favours to be done them: since all men are the workmanship of God; and I am sensible that he is well pleased with those that do good. I therefore put up this petition to thee, to do good to them."

When Aristeus was saying thus, the king looked upon him with a cheerful countenance, and said, "How many thousands dost thou suppose there are of such as want to be made free?" To which Andreas replied, as he stood by, and said, "A few more than a hundred thousand." The king made answer, "And is this a small gift that thou askest, Aristeus?" But Sosibius, and the rest that stood by, said, 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 drachmæ for every one of the slaves. And he promised to publish a magnificent decree, about what they requested; which should confirm what Aristeus had proposed, and especially what God willed should be done; whereby he said he would not only set those free who had been led away captive by his father, and his army; but those who were in his kingdom before; and those also, if any such there were, who had been brought away since. And when they said that their redemption

* Of Jupiter.

† Although this number, 120 drachmæ of Alexandria, or 60 Jewish shekels, be here three times repeated, and that in all Josephus's copies Greek and Latin: yet since all the copies of Aristeus whence Josephus took his relation have this sum several times, and still has no more than 20 drachmæ, or 10 Jewish shekels; and since the sum of the talents, to be set down presently, which is little above 460, for somewhat more than 100,000 slaves, and is nearly the same in Josephus and Aristeus does better agree to 20 than 123 drachmæ; and since the value of a slave of old was, at the utmost, but 30 shekels, or 60 drachmæ, see Ex. xxi. 32. while in the present circumstances of these Jewish slaves, and those so very numerous, Philadelphus would rather redeem them at a cheaper than a dearer rate; there is great reason to prefer Aristeus's copies before Josephus's.

money would amount to above four hundred talents, he granted it. A copy of which decree I have determined to preserve, that the magnanimity of this king may be made known. Its contents were as follows:—

“ Let all those who were soldiers, under our father; and who, when they over-ran Syria and Phœnicia, and laid waste Judea, took the Jews captives, and made them slaves, and brought them into our cities, and into this country, and then sold them; as also those that were in my kingdom before them: and if there be any that have lately been brought thither, be made free by those who possess them; and let them accept of a hundred and twenty drachmæ for every slave. And let the soldiers receive this redemption money with their pay; but the rest out of the king’s treasury. For I suppose that they were made captives without our father’s consent, and against equity: and that their country was harassed by the insolence of the soldiers; and that, by removing them into Egypt, the soldiers have made a great profit by them. Out of regard therefore to justice, and out of pity to those who have been tyrannized over, contrary to equity, I enjoin those that have such Jews in their service to set them at liberty; upon receipt of the beforementioned sum; and that no one use any deceit about them, but obey what is here commanded. And I will that they give in their name 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. For I think it will be for the advantage of my affairs. And let every one that will, inform against those that do not obey this decree: and I will, that their estates be confiscated into the king’s treasury.”

When this decree was read to the king, that first contained the rest that is here inserted, and omitted only those Jews that had formerly been brought, and those brought afterwards; which had not been distinctly mentioned: so he added these clauses out of his humanity, and with great generosity. He also gave order that the payment, which was likely to be 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 brought to a conclusion in seven days’ time: the number of the talents paid for the captives being above four hundred and sixty: and this, because their mas-

ters required the hundred and twenty drachmæ 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 aforementioned sum for every slave.

When this had been done after so magnificent a manner according to the king's inclination, he gave order to Demetrius to give him in writing his sentiments concerning the transcribing of the Jewish books. For no part of the administration is done rashly by these kings; but all things are managed with great circumspection. On which account I have subjoined a copy of these epistles, and set down the multitude of the vessels sent 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 was to this purpose:

“ DEMETRIUS TO THE GREAT KING.

“ WHEN thou, O king, gavest me a charge concerning the collection of books that were wanting to fill your library: and concerning the care that ought to be taken about such as are imperfect; I have used the utmost diligence about these matters. And I let you know, that we want the books of the Jewish legislation, with some others. For they are written in Hebrew characters: and being in the language of that nation are to us unknown. It hath also happened to them, that they have been transcribed more carelessly than they ought to have been; because they have not had hitherto royal care taken about them. Now it is necessary that thou shouldst have accurate copies of them. And indeed this legislation is full of hidden wisdom, and entirely blameless; as being the legislation of God. For which cause it is, as Hecateus of Abdora says, that the poets and historians make no mention of it, nor of those men who lead their lives according to it: since it is a holy law, and ought not to be published by profane mouths. If then it please thee, O king, thou mayest write to the high-priest of the Jews, to send six of the elders out of every tribe; and those such as are most skilful in the laws: that by their means we may learn

the clear and agreeing sense of these books, and may obtain an accurate interpretation of their contents: and so may have such a collection of these as may be suitable to thy desire."

When this epistle was sent to the king, he commanded that an epistle should be drawn up for Eleazar the Jewish high-priest, concerning these matters; and that they should inform him of the release of the Jews that had been in slavery among them. He also sent fifty talents of gold for the making of large basons, and vials, and cups; and an immense quantity of precious stones. He also gave order to those who had the custody of the chests that contained those stones, to give the artificers leave to choose out what sorts of them they pleased; at the same time appointing that a hundred talents in money should be sent to the temple, for sacrifices, and for other uses. Now I will give a description of these vessels, and the manner of their construction; but not till after I have set down a copy of the epistle which was written to Eleazar, the high-priest; who had obtained that dignity on the following occasion. When Onias, the high-priest, was dead, his son Simon became his successor. He was called Simon* the Just; because of both his piety towards God, and his kind disposition to those of his own nation. When he was dead, and had left a young son, who was called Onias, Simon's brother Eleazar, of whom we are speaking, took the high-priesthood. And he it was to whom Ptolemy wrote, and that in the manner following:—

“King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high-priest sendeth greeting. There are many Jews who dwell now in my kingdom, whom the Persians, when they were in power, carried captives. These were honoured by my father: some of them he placed in the army, and gave them greater pay than ordinary; to others of them, when they came with him into Egypt, he committed his garrisons, and the guarding of them, that they might be a terror to the Egyptians. And when I had taken the government, I treated all men with humanity; and especially 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

* We have a very great encomium of this Simon the Just, the son of Onias I. in the fiftieth chapter of Ecclesiasticus, through the whole chapter. Nor is it improper to consult that chapter itself upon this occasion.

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 great 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 your law, and to have it translated out of Hebrew into Greek, and to be deposited in my library. Thou wilt therefore do well to choose out and send to me men of a good character, who are now elders in age, and six in number, out of every tribe. These, by their age, must be skilful in the laws; and of abilities to make an accurate interpretation of them. And when this shall be finished, I shall think that I have done a work glorious to myself. And I have sent to thee Andreas, the captain of my guard, and Aristeus, men whom I have in very great esteem; by whom I have sent those first fruits which I have dedicated to the temple, and to the sacrifices, and to other uses to the value of a hundred talents. And if thou wilt send to let me know what thou wouldest have farther, thou wilt do a thing acceptable to me."

When this epistle was brought to Eleazar, he wrote an answer to it, with all the respect possible: "Eleazar, the high-priest, to king Ptolemy, sendeth greeting. If thou, and thy queen* Arsinoe, and thy children be well, we are entirely satisfied. When we received thy epistle, we 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 shewed them twenty vials of gold, and thirty of silver; and the five large basons, and the table for the shew-bread: as also the hundred talents for the sacrifices, and for the making what shall be needful at the temple. Which thing Andreas and Aristeus, those most

* When we have, here and presently, mention made of Philadelphus's queen and sister, Arsinoe, we are to remember, with Spanheim, that Arsinoe was both his sister and his wife; according to the whole custom of Persia, and of Egypt at this very time; nay of the Assyrians long afterward. See XX. 2. Whence we have, upon the coins of Philadelphus, this known inscription *Θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν*, or the divine brother and sister.

honoured 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 advantage, though we do what we used not to do before. For we ought to make a return for the numerous acts of kindness which thou hast done to our countrymen. We immediately therefore offered sacrifices for thee, and thy sister, with thy children and friends; and the multitude made prayers that thy affairs may be to thy mind; and that thy kingdom may be preserved in peace; and that the translation of our law may come to the conclusion thou desirest, and be for thy advantage. We have also chosen six elders out of every tribe; whom we have sent, and the law with them. It will be thy part, out of thy piety and justice, to send back the law, when it hath been translated; and to return those to us that bring it in safety. Farewell."

This was the reply which the high-priest made. But it does not seem necessary to set down the names of the seventy-two elders, who were sent by Eleazar, and carried the law; which yet were subjoined at the end of the epistle. However, I think it not improper to give an account of those very valuable and artificially contrived vessels, which the king sent to God; that all may see how great a regard the king had for God. For he allowed a vast deal of expenses for these vessels; and came often to the workmen, and viewed their works; and suffered nothing of carelessness or negligence to be any damage to their operations. And I will relate how rich they were, as well as I am able. Although perhaps the nature of this history may not require such a description: but I imagine I shall thereby recommend the elegant state and magnanimity of this king to those who read this history.

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 order, that they should learn what was the magnitude of the table which already was at Jerusalem; and how large it was: and whether there was a possibility of making one larger than it. And when he was informed how large that was which was already there; and that nothing hindered, but a larger might be made: he said, that he was willing to have one made that should be five times as

large as the present table: but his fear was, that it might be then useless in their sacred ministrations by its too great largeness. For he desired that the gifts he presented them, should not only be there for show; but should be useful also in their sacred ministrations. According to which reasoning, that the former table was made of so moderate a size for use, and not for want of gold, he 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 as he was sagacious in observing the nature of all things, and in having a just notion of what was new and surprising; and where there were no sculptures, he would invent such as were proper by his own skill, and would shew them to the workmen; 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.

When therefore the workmen had undertaken to make the table, they framed it in length two cubits and a half,* in breadth one cubit, and in height one cubit and a half: and the entire structure of the work was of gold. They also made a crown, of a hand breath round it; with wave-work wreathed 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 disposition of its sculptures: that when he turned them about, the very same form of them was turned about, without any variation. Now that part of the crown work that was enclosed under the table, had its sculptures very beautiful: but that part which went round on the outside, was more elaborately adorned with most beautiful ornaments; because it was exposed to sight, and to the view of the spectators. For which reason both those sides which were extant above the rest were acute; and none of the angles appeared less than another, when the table was turned about. Now into the cord-work thus turned, were precious stones inserted, in rows parallel one to the other, enclosed in golden buttons, which had ouches in them. But the parts that were on the side of the crown, and were exposed to the sight,

* Two cubits. Aristæus; as Exod. xxv. 23. xxxvii. 10. and Antiq. iii. 6.

were adorned with a row of oval figures obliquely placed, of the most excellent sort of precious stones; which imitated rods laid close, and encompassed the table round about. But under these oval figures, thus engraven, the workmen had put a crown all round it; where the nature of all sorts of fruit was represented, by the work of the engraver; insomuch that the bunches of grapes hung up. And when they had made the stones to represent all the aforementioned kinds of fruits, and each in its proper colour; they made them fast with gold round the whole table. The like dispositions of the oval figures, and of the engraved rods, was framed under the crown; that the table might on each side shew the same appearance of variety, and elegance of its ornaments; that so neither the position of the wave-work, nor of the crown might be different; although the table were turned on the other side; but that the prospect of the same artificial contrivances might be extended as far as the feet. For there was made a plate of gold, four fingers broad, through the entire breadth of the table into which they inserted the feet; and then fastened, them to the table by buttons and button-holes, at the place where the crown was situate; that so on what side soever of the table one should stand, it might exhibit the very same view of the exquisite workmanship, and of the vast expense bestowed upon it. But upon the table itself they engraved a meander: inserting into it very valuable stones, in the middle, like stars of various colours; the carbuncle, and the emerald; each of which sent out agreeable rays of light to the spectators; with such stones of other sorts also as were most curious, and best esteemed, as being most precious in their kind. This meander was surrounded by a texture of net work: the middle of which appeared like a rhombus, into which were inserted rock crystal, and amber: which, by the appearance they made, gave wonderful delight to those that saw them. The chapters of the feet imitated the first buddings of lilies; while their leaves were bent, and laid under the table: but so that the chives were seen standing upright within them. Their bases were made of a carbuncle; and the plate at the bottom, which rested on that carbuncle, was one palm deep, and eight fingers in breadth. Now they had engraved upon it, with a very fine tool, and with a great deal of pains, a branch of ivy and

tendrils of the vine, sending forth clusters of grapes: that you would guess they were no way different from real tendrils. For they were so very thin, and so far extended at their extremities, that they were moved with the wind, and made one believe they were the product of nature, and not the representation of art. They also made the entire workmanship of the table appear to be three-fold; 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. Now the thickness of the table was not less than half a cubit. So that this gift by the king's great generosity, by the great value of the materials, and the variety of its exquisite structure, and the artificers' skill in imitating nature with graving tools, was at length brought to perfection; while the king was very desirous, that though in largeness it were not to be different from that which was already dedicated to God; yet that in the exquisite workmanship, novelty of contrivance, and splendour of construction, it should far exceed it.

Now there were two cisterns of gold; each of which was engraven with scale-work, from its basis to its belt-like circle, with various sorts of stones incased in the spiral circles. Next to which there was upon it a meander, of a cubit in height, and composed of stones of all sorts of colours. And next to this was the rod-work engraven; and next to that was a rhombus, in a texture of net-work, drawn out to the brim of the bason; while small shields made of beautiful stones, and of four fingers' depth, filled up the middle parts. About the top of the bason were wreathed the leaves of lilies, and of the convolvulus, and the tendrils of vines, in a circular manner. And this was the construction of the two cisterns of gold; each containing two firkins. But those which were of silver were much more bright and splendid than looking-glasses; and you might in them see the images that fell upon them more plainly than in the other. The king also ordered thirty vials, those of which the parts that were of gold, and not filled up with precious stones, were shadowed over with the leaves of ivy, and of vines artificially engraven. And these were the vessels that were after an extraordinary manner brought to this perfection; partly by the skill of the workman, who were admirable in such fine work; but much more by the diligence and generosity of the

king; who not only supplied the artificers abundantly, and with what they wanted, but even suspended public audiences for the time; and came and stood by the workman, and saw the whole operation. And this was the cause why the workmen were so accurate in their performance: because they had regard to the king, and to his great concern about the vessels: and so the more indefatigably attended to the work.

And these gifts were sent by Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and dedicated to God there. But when Eleazar, the high-priest, had devoted them to God, and had paid due respects to those that brought them; and had given them presents to be carried to the king, he let them go back to the king. And when they were come, and the seventy elders were come also, he presently sent for Andreas and Aristeus, his ambassadors. Accordingly they came to him, and delivered him the epistle which they brought from the high-priest, and answered all the questions he put to them by word of mouth. He then hastened to meet the elders, that came from Jerusalem, for the interpretation of the laws; and he gave command that other men who came on other occasions, should be sent away: which was a thing surprising, and what he did not use to do. For those that were drawn thither upon such occasions used to come to him on the fifth day; but ambassadors at the month's end. But when he had sent those away, he waited for these that were sent by Eleazar. But as the old men came in with the presents, which the high-priest had given them to bring to the king, and with the membranes, upon which they had their laws written in golden letters:* he put questions to them concerning those books. And when they had taken off the covers wherein they were wrapt up, they shewed him the membranes. So the king stood admiring the thinness of those membranes, and the exactness of the junctures; which could not be perceived; so exactly were they connected one with another: and this he did for a considerable time. He then said, that he returned them thanks for coming to him, and still greater thanks to him that sent them, and above all to that God whose laws they appeared to be.

* The Talmudists say, that it is not lawful to write the law in letters of gold: contrary to this certain and very ancient example. See Hudson's and Reland's notes here.

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 was so affected that he burst into tears. It being natural to men to afford the same indications in great joy, that they do under sorrows. And when he had bidden them to deliver the books to those who 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. He promised, however, 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 to be on the very same day. He also gave orders that they should sup with him: and gave in charge that they should have excellent lodgings provided in the upper part of the city.

Now he that was appointed to take care of the reception of strangers, Nicanor by name, called for Dorotheus; whose duty it was to make provisions for them; and bade him prepare for every one of them what should be requisite for their diet and way of living. Which thing was ordered by the king after this manner. He took care for those that belonged to every city, which did not use the same way of living, that all things should be prepared for them according to the custom of those that came to him; that being feasted according to the usual method of their own way of living, they might be the better pleased, and might not be uneasy at any thing done to them, from which they were naturally averse. And this was now done in the case of these men by Dorotheus; who was put into this office because of his skill in such matters. For he took care of all things which concerned this reception of strangers; and appointed them double seats for them to sit on, according as the king had commanded. For he had ordered that half of their seats should be set at his hand, and the other half behind his table: and he took care that no respect should be omitted that could be shewn them. And when they were thus set down, he bade Dorotheus minister to all those who were come to him from Judea, after the manner they used to be ministered to. For which cause he sent away their sacred heralds; and those that slew the sacrifices, and the rest that used to say

grace. But called to one of those that were come to him, whose name was Eleazar, who was a priest, and desired him to say grace:* who then stood in the midst of them, and prayed, "that all prosperity might attend the king, and those that were his subjects." Hereupon an acclamation was made by the whole company; and when that was over, they fell to eating their supper, and to the enjoyment of what was set before them. And at a little interval afterward, when the king thought a sufficient time had elapsed, he began to talk philosophically to them, and he asked every one of them a philosophical question;† and such a one as might give light in those inquiries. And when they had explained all the problems that had been proposed by the king, about every point, he was pleased with their answers. This took up the twelve days in which they were treated. And he that pleases may learn the particular questions in that book of Aristeus's, which he wrote on this very occasion.

And while not the king only, but the philosopher Menedemus also, admired them, and said, that "All things were governed by Providence; and that it was probable, that thence it was that such force and beauty was discovered in these men's words," they then left off asking any more such questions. But the king said, he had gained very great advantages by their coming; for that he had received this profit from them, that he had learned how he ought to rule his subjects. And he gave order that they should have every one three talents given them; and that those that were to conduct them to their lodging should do it. Accordingly, when three days were over, Demetrius took them, and went over the causeway seven furlongs long. It was a bank in the sea, to an island. And when they had gone

* This is the most ancient example that I have met with, of a grace, or a short prayer before meat: which as it used to be said by a heathen priest, who was one of these seventy-two interpreters. The next example I have met him, is that of the Essenes, Of the War II. 8. both before and after it. The next are those of our Saviour before it, Mark viii. 6. John vi. 11, 23. and St. Paul, Acts xvii. 35. The next is a form of such a grace or prayer for Christians, at the end of the 5th book of the Apostolical Constitutions; which seems to have been intended for both times, both before and after meat.

† They were rather political questions and answers; tending to the good and religious government of mankind.

over the bridge, he proceeded to the northern parts, and shewed 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. When he had brought them thither, he intreated them, now they had all things about them which they wanted for the interpretation of their law, that they would suffer nothing to interrupt them in their work. Accordingly they made an accurate interpretation, with great zeal, and great pains. And this they continued to do till the ninth hour of the day. After which time they relaxed and took care of their body; while their food was provided for them in great plenty; besides which, Dorotheus, at the king's command, brought them a great deal of what was provided for the king himself. But in the morning they came to the court, and saluted Ptolemy; and then went away to their former place: where, when they had washed* their hands, and purified themselves, they betook themselves to the interpretation of the laws. Now when the law was transcribed, and the labour of interpretation was over, which came to its conclusion in seventy-two days; Demetrius gathered all the Jews together to the place where the laws were translated, and where the interpreters were; and read them over. The multitude did also approve of those elders that were the interpreters of the law. They also commended Demetrius, for his proposal, as the inventor of what was greatly for their happiness; and desired that he would give leave to their rulers also to read the law. Moreover, they all, both the priests, and the most ancient of the elders, and the principal men of their common-weal, made it their request, that since the interpretation was happily finished, it might continue in the state it now was, and might not be altered. And when they all commended that determination of theirs, they enjoined, that if any one observed either any thing superfluous, or any thing omitted, that he would take a view of it again, and have it laid before them, and corrected; which was a wise action of

* 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 IV. 3 V. 36. VIII. I and with the places of the Prosenchæ, or of prayer, which were sometimes built near the sea or rivers also. Of which matter, see XIV. 10. and Acts xvi. 13, 16.

them, that when the thing was judged to have been well done, it might continue for ever.

So the king rejoiced, when he saw that his design was brought to perfection, to so 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 ask of Demetrius, how it came to pass, that when this legislation was so wonderful, no one either of the poets, or of the historians had made mention of it? Demetrius replied, that no one durst be so bold as to touch upon the description of these laws, because they were divine and venerable; and because some that had attempted it were afflicted by God. He also told him, that Theopompus was desirous of writing somewhat about them; but was thereupon disturbed in his mind, for above thirty days's time. And upon some intermission of his distemper, he appeased God by prayer: as suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause. Nay, indeed, he farther saw in a dream, that his distemper befell him, while he indulged too great a curiosity about divine matters; and was desirous of publishing them among common men. But when he left off that attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover he informed him of Theodectes, the tragic poet; concerning whom it was reported, that when in a certain dramatic representation, he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in these 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 free from that affliction.

When the king had received these books from Demetrius, as we have said already, he adored them: and gave order that great care should be taken of them, that they might remain uncorrupted. He also desired that the interpreters would come often to him out of Judea, and that both on account of the respect that he would pay them, and on account of the presents he would make them. For he said, it was now but just to send them away: although if, of their own accord, they would come to him hereafter, they should obtain all that their own wisdom might justly require, and what his generosity was able to give them. So he then dismissed them: and gave to every one of them three garments of the best sort, two talents of gold, a cup

of the value of one talent, and the furniture of the room wherein they were feasted. And these were the things he presented to them. But by them he sent to Eleazar, the high-priest, ten beds, with feet of silver, and the furniture to them belonging; and a cup of the value of thirty talents. And besides these ten garments, and purple, and a very beautiful crown, and a hundred pieces of the finest wove linen: as also vials, 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 these interpreters leave, if any of them were desirous of coming to him; because he highly valued a conversation with men of such learning, and would be very willing to lay out his wealth upon such men. And this was what came to the Jews, and was much to their glory and honour, from Ptolemy Philadelphus.

CHAP. III.

OF THE HONOURS AND PRIVILEGES BESTOWED UPON THE NATION OF THE JEWS, BY THE KINGS OF ASIA.

THE Jews also obtained honours from the kings of Asia, when they became their auxiliaries. For Seleucus Nicator made them citizens in those cities which he built in Asia, and in the lower Syria, and in the metropolis, 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 a certain sum of money from the proper officers belonging to their exercises, as the value of that oil; which money, when the people of Antioch would have de-

* The use of oil was much greater, and the donatives of it, much more valuable in Judea, and the neighbouring countries than it is amongst us. It was also, in the days of Josephus, thought unlawful for Jews to make use of any oil that was prepared by heathens: perhaps on account of some superstitions intermixed with its preparation by those heathens. When therefore the heathens were to make them a donative of oil, they paid them money instead of it. See *Of the War*, II. 19. and Hudson's note on the place before us.

prived them of, in the last war, Mucianus, who was then president of Syria, preserved it to them. And when the people of Alexandria and of Antioch did after that, at the time that Vespasian and Titus his son governed the habitable earth, pray that these privileges of citizens might be taken away, they did not obtain their request. In which behaviour any one may discern the equity and generosity of the Romans,* especially of Vespasian and Titus: who although they had been at a great deal of pains in the war against the Jews, and were exasperated against them because they did not deliver up their weapons, but continued the war to the very last; yet did they not take away any of the privileges belonging to them as citizens; but restrained their anger, and overcame the prayers of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, who were a very powerful people: insomuch that they did not yield to them, neither out of their favour to these people, nor out of their old grudge at those whose wicked opposition they had subdued in the war. Nor would they alter any of the ancient favours granted to the Jews: but said, that those who had borne arms against them, and fought them, had suffered punishment already; and that it was not just to deprive those that had not offended of the privileges they enjoyed.

We also know, that Marcus Agrippa was of the like disposition towards the Jews. For the people of Ionia were very angry at them, and besought Agrippa, that they, and they only, might have those privileges of citizens, which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, who by the Greeks was called † “the God,” had bestowed on them; and desired that if the Jews were to be joint partakers with them, they might be obliged to worship the gods they themselves worshipped; but when these matters were brought to the trial, the Jews prevailed, and obtained leave to make use of their own customs, and this under

* This, and the like great and just characters of the justice, equity, and generosity, of the old Romans, both to the Jews and other conquered nations, afford us a very good reason why Almighty God, upon the rejection of the Jews for their wickedness, chose them for his people; and first established Christianity in that empire. Of which matter, see Constitut. Apost. V. 90. and Euseb. ap. Prim. Christ. Reviv'd, III. page 456, 457. and Josephus XIV. 10. XVI. 11.

† That this Antiochus was called *Ἀντίοχος ὁ Θεός*, or Antiochus the god, by the Milesians, see Appian Syriac. p. 210, quoted in the notes on this place.

the patronage of Nicolaus of Damascus. For Agrippa gave sentence, that he could not innovate. And if any one hath a mind to know this matter accurately, let him peruse the hundred and twenty-third, and hundred and twenty-fourth books of the history of this Nicolaus. Now as to this determination of Agrippa, it is not to be admired; for that time our nation had not made war against the Romans. But one may well be astonished at the generosity of Vespasian and Titus; that after so great wars and contests which they had with us, they should use such moderation. But I will now return to that part of my history, whence I made the present digression.

It happened in the reign of* Antiochus the Great, who ruled over all Asia, that the Jews, as well as the inhabitants of Cœlesyria, suffered greatly; and their land was sorely harrassed. For while he was at war with Ptolemy† Eupator, and with his son, who was called Epiphanes, it fell out, that these nations were equally sufferers, both when he was beaten and when he defeated the others. So that they were like a ship in a storm, which is tossed by the waves on both sides: and just thus as they were in their situation in the middle between Antiochus's prosperity, and its change to adversity. But at length when Antiochus had beaten Ptolemy, he seized upon Judea. And when Philopator was dead, his son sent a great army under Scopas, the general of his forces, against the inhabitants of Cœlesyria: who took many of their cities, and in particular our nation; which when he fell upon them, went over to him. Yet was it not long 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 Cœlesyria 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 Jerusalem: and gave plentiful provision to all his army, and to his ele-

* Of this Antiochus the Great, and his wars with Ptolemy Philopator, and Ptolemy Epiphanes, Spanheim and Hudson bid us here consult Polybius V. 85, and the Excerpta out of Polybius, published by Valesius, page 76, 77, 79, and Hieronymus in Dantel xi. But note, that those parts of Polybius's XVth book that are quoted presently by Josephus, are lost.

† Or rather Philopator.

phants: and readily assisted him when he besieged the garrison which was in the citadel of Jerusalem. Wherefore Antiochus thought it but just to requite the Jews' diligence and zeal in his service. So he wrote to the generals of his armies, and to his friends; and gave testimony to the good behaviour of the Jews towards him; and informed them what rewards he had resolved to bestow on them for that behaviour. I will set down presently the epistles themselves, which he wrote to his generals concerning them: but will first produce the testimony of Polybius of Megalopolis: for thus does he speak, in the sixteenth book of his history, "Now Scopas, the general of Ptolemy's army, went in haste to the superior parts of the country, and in the winter time overthrew the nation of the Jews." He also saith in the same book, "When Scopas was conquered by Antiochus, Antiochus received Batanea, Samaria, Abila, and Gadara: and that, some time afterwards, there came in to him those Jews that inhabited near that temple which was called Jerusalem: concerning which although I have more to say, and particularly concerning the presence of God about that temple, yet do I put off that history till another opportunity." This it is which Polybius relates. But we will return to the series of the history: when we have first produced the epistles of king Antiochus.

KING ANTIOCHUS, TO PTOLEMY, SENDETH GREETING.

"Since the Jews, upon our first entrance on their country, 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 joined with 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 befallen its inhabitants, and to bring those that have been scattered abroad back to the city. And, in the first place, we have determined, on account of their piety towards God, to bestow on them, as a pension, for their sacrifices of animals, that are fit for sacrifice; for wine, and oil, and frankincense, the value of twenty thousand pieces of silver:

and six sacred artabæ of fine flour: with one thousand four hundred and sixty medimni of wheat; and three hundred and seventy-five medimni of salt. And these payments I would have fully paid them as I have sent orders to you. I would also have the work about the temple finished, and the cloisters; and if there be any thing else that ought to be rebuilt. And for the materials of wood, let them be brought out of Judea, 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 will 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 the scribes of the temple, and 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 its present inhabitants; and to such as shall come to it until the month Hyperbereteus. We also discharge them for the future from a third part of their taxes: that the losses they have sustained may be repaired. And all those citizens that have been carried away, and are become slaves, we grant them and their children their freedom; and give order that their substance be restored to them."

Antiochus also published a decree, through all his kingdom, in honour of the temple: which contained what follows:—

"It shall be lawful for no foreigner to come within the limits of the temple round about: which thing is forbidden also to the Jews, unless to those who, according to their own custom, have purified themselves. Nor let any flesh of horses, or of mules, or of asses, be brought into the city, whether they be wild or tame: nor that of leopards or foxes, or hares: and in general, that of any animal which is forbidden for the Jews to eat. Nor let their skins be brought into it: not let any such animal be bred up in the city. Let them only be permitted to use the sacrifices derived from their forefathers: with which they have been obliged to make acceptable atonements to God. And he that transgresseth any of these orders, let him pay to the priests three thousand drachmæ of silver." Moreover this Antiochus bare testimony to our piety and fidelity, in an epistle of his, when he was informed of a sedition in Phrygia and Lydia, at which time he was in the superior provinces; wherein he

commanded Zeuxis, the general of his forces, and his most intimate friend, to send some of our nation out of Babylon into Phrygia. The epistle was this:

KING ANTIOCHUS, TO ZEUXIS HIS FATHER, SENDETH GREETING.

“ If thou be in good health, it is well: for I am also in health. Having been informed that a sedition is arisen in Lydia and Phrygia, I thought that matter required great care. And upon advising with my friends what was fit to be done, it hath been thought proper to remove two thousand families of Jews, with their effects, out of Mesopotamia and Babylon, unto the castles and places that lie most convenient. For I am persuaded that they will be well disposed guardians of our possessions; because of their piety towards God; and because I know that my predecessors have borne witness to them, that they are faithful, and with alacrity perform what they are desired. I will therefore, though it be a laborious work, that thou remove these Jews; under a promise that they shall be permitted to use their own laws. And when thou shalt have brought them to the aforementioned places, thou shalt give every one of their families a place for building their houses, and a portion of land for their husbandry, and for the plantation of their vines; and thou shalt discharge them from paying taxes of the fruits of the earth, for ten years. And let them have a proper quantity of wheat for the maintenance of their servants, until they receive bread-corn out of the earth. And let a sufficient share be given to such as minister to them in the necessaries of life: that by enjoying the effects of our humanity, they may shew themselves the more willing and ready about our affairs. Take care also of that nation, as far as thou art able; that they may not have any disturbance given them by any one.”

Now these testimonials which I have produced, are sufficient to declare the friendship that Antiochus the Great bare to the Jews.

CHAP. IV.

OF A LEAGUE BETWEEN ANTIOCHUS AND PTOLEMY; THE OFFENCE GIVEN TO PTOLEMY EUERGETES BY ONIAS; THE PRUDENT CONDUCT OF JOSEPH; AND THE AFFAIRS OF HIS SON HYRCANUS.

AFTER this, Antiochus made a friendship and a league with Ptolemy; and gave him his daughter Cleopatra to wife,* and yielded up to him Coelesyria, Samaria, Judea, and Phœnicia, by way of dowry. And upon the division of the taxes between the two kings, all the principal men farmed the taxes of their several countries; and, collecting the sum that was settled for them, paid the same to the two kings. Now at this time the Samaritans were in a flourishing condition, and much distressed the Jews: cutting off part of their land, and carrying off slaves. This happened when Onias was high-priest. For after Eleazar's death, his uncle Manasseh 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; which Simon was the brother of Eleazar, as I 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 that tax of twenty talents of silver, which his forefathers paid to these kings, out of their own estates, he provoked king Ptolemy Euergetes to anger; who was the father of Philopator. This Euergetes sent an ambassador to Jerusalem, and complained that Onias did not pay his taxes; and threatened that if he did not receive them, he would seize upon their land, and send soldiers to live upon it. When the Jews heard this message of the king's, they were confounded. But so sordidly covetous was Onias, that nothing of this nature made him ashamed.

There was now one Joseph, ‡ young in age but of great repu-

* Spanheim notes here, that this marriage of Ptolemy with Cleopatra is related by Appian, in his *Syriacca*, p. 88.

† Chap. III.

‡ About an. 226.

tation among the people of Jerusalem, for gravity, prudence, and justice. His father's name was Tobias, and his mother was the sister of Onias, the high-priest: who informed him of the coming of the ambassador: for he was then sojourning at a village named Phicol,* where he was born. Hereupon he came to Jerusalem, and reproved Onias for not taking care of the preservation of his countrymen; but bringing the nation into dangers, 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, in case he was so great a lover of money, as to endure to see his country in danger on that account, and his countrymen suffer the greatest damages, he advised him to go to the king, and to petition him to remit either the whole, or a part of the sum demanded. Onias replied, that he did not care for his authority; and that he was ready, if the thing was practicable, to lay down his high-priesthood; and that he would not go to the king; because he troubled not himself at all about such matters. Joseph then 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. Hereupon Joseph went up into the temple, and called the multitude together to a congregation; and exhorted them, not to be disturbed, nor 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 that he would be their ambassador to the king, and persuade him, that they had done him no wrong. And when the multitude heard this they returned thanks to Joseph.

So he went down from the temple, and treated Ptolemy's ambassador in a hospitable manner. He also presented him with rich gifts and feasted him magnificently for many days; and then sent him to the king before him; and told him that he would soon follow him. For he was now more willing to go to the king by the encouragement of the ambassador; who earnestly persuaded him to come into Egypt, and promised

* The name of this place, Phicol, is the very same with that of the chief captain of Abimelech's host in the days of Abraham, Genesis xxi. 22. and might possibly be the place of that Phicol's nativity or abode. For it seems to have been in the south part of Palestine, as that was.

that he should obtain every thing that he desired of Ptolemy. For he was highly pleased with his frank and liberal temper, and with the gravity of his deportment.

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, to excuse the multitude, as not having done him any harm; for that he was their patron. In short, he was so very warm in his encomiums 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 sent to his friends at Samaria, and borrowed money of them; and got ready what was necessary for his journey; garments, and cups, and beasts for burden, which amounted to about twenty thousand drachmæ; 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 Phœnicia, to bid for their taxes. For every year the king sold them to the men of the greatest power in every city. So these men saw Joseph journeying on his way; and laughed at him for his poverty and meanness. But when he came to Alexandria, and heard that king Ptolemy was at Memphis; he went up thither to meet with him; which happened as the king was sitting in his chariot, with his wife, and his friend Athenion; who was the very person who had been ambassador at Jerusalem, and been entertained by Joseph. As soon, therefore, as Athenion saw him, he presently made known to the king, how good and how generous a young man he was. So Ptolemy saluted him, and desired him to come up in his chariot; and as Joseph sat there, he began to complain of the management of Onias. To which he answered, "Forgive him on account of his age; for thou canst not certainly be unacquainted with this, that old men and infants have their minds exactly 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 humour and pleasantry of the young man, the king was so delighted, that he began already, as though he had long experience of him, to have a still greater affection for him; insomuch that he bade him take his diet in the king's palace; and be a guest at his own table every day. But when the king was come to Alexandria, the principal men of Syria saw him sitting with the king, and were much offended at it.

When the day came on which the king was to let the taxes of the cities to farm; and those that were the principal men of dignity in their several countries were to bid for them; the sum of the taxes together, of Coelesyria and Phœnicia, and Judea, with Samaria, as they were bidden for, came to eight thousand talents. Hereupon Joseph accused the bidders, as having agreed together to estimate the value of the taxes at too low a rate; and he promised that he would himself give twice as much for them; but for those who did not pay, he would send the king home their whole substance: for this privilege was sold together with the taxes themselves. The king was pleased to hear that offer; and because it augmented his revenues, he said he would confirm the sale of the taxes to him. But then he asked whether he had any sureties that would be bound for the payment of the money? He answered very pleasantly, "I will give securities, and those of persons good and responsible; and which you shall have no reason to distrust." And when he bade him name them, who they were, he replied, "I give thee no other persons, O king, for my sureties than myself, and this thy wife; and you shall be security for both parties." So Ptolemy laughed at the proposal, and granted him the farming of the taxes without any sureties. This procedure was a sore grief to those that came from the cities into Egypt; who were utterly disappointed, and they returned every one to their own country with shame.

But Joseph took with him two thousand foot soldiers from the king. For he desired he might have some assistance, in order to force such as were refractory in the cities to pay. And borrowing of the king's friends at Alexandria five hundred talents, he hastened into Syria. When he was at Ascalon, and demanded the taxes of the people, they refused to pay any thing, and affronted him also: but he seized upon about twenty of the principal men, and slew them, and gathered what they had together, and sent it all to the king; and informed him what he had done. Ptolemy admired at the prudent conduct of the man, and commended him for what he had done; and gave him leave to do as he pleased. When the Syrians heard of this they were astonished; and having before them a sad example in the men of Ascalon, that were slain, they opened their gates, and willingly admitted Joseph, and paid their taxes. And

when the inhabitants of Scythopolis attempted to affront him, and would not pay him those taxes which they formerly used to pay, without disputing about them; he slew also the principal men of that city, and sent their effects to the king. By this means he gathered great wealth together; and made vast gains 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 prudence to keep what had been the occasion and foundation of his present good fortune; and this he did by the assistance of what he was already possessed of. For he privately sent many presents to the king, and to Cleopatra, and to their friends, and to all that were powerful about the court; and thereby purchased their good will to himself.

This good fortune he enjoyed for twenty-two years; and was become the father of seven sons, by one wife; as he had one other son, whose name was Hyrcanus, by his brother Solymius's daughter, whom he married on the following occasion. He once came to Alexandria with his brother; who had along with him a daughter already marriageable; in order to give her in wedlock to some of the Jews of chief dignity there. He then supped with the king; and falling in love with an actress, that was of great beauty, and came into the room where they feasted, he told his brother of it, and intreated him, (because a Jew is forbidden by their law to come near a foreigner,) to conceal his offence, and to be kind and subservient to him, and to give him the opportunity of fulfilling his desires. Upon which his brother willingly entertained the proposal of serving him; and adorned his own daughter, and brought her to him by night, and put her into his bed. And Joseph being disordered with drink, knew not who she was; and so lay with his brother's daughter; and this he did 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 if he must part with her; and yet probably the king would not give him leave to take her with him. But his brother bade him be in no concern about that matter, and told him he might retain her whom he loved without any danger, and might have her for his wife; and opened the truth of the matter to him, and assured him that he chose rather to have his own daughter abused, than to overlook him, and see him come to public disgrace. So Joseph

commended him for his brotherly love, and married his daughter; by whom he had a son, whose name was Hyrcanus, as we said before. And when this his youngest son shewed, at thirteen years old, a mind that was both courageous and wise; and was greatly envied by his brethren, as being of a genius much above them, and such a one as they might well envy; Joseph had once a mind to know which of his sons had the best disposition to virtue; and when he sent them severally to those that had then the best reputation for instructing youth, the rest of his children, by reason of their sloth, and unwillingness to take pains, returned to him foolish and unlearned. After them he sent out the youngest, Hyrcanus; and gave him three hundred yoke of oxen, and bade him go two days' journey into the wilderness, and sow 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 with him, he contemned the drivers of the oxen, who advised him to send some to his father to bring them some yokes; but 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 what suited an age elder than his own. For he slew ten yoke of the oxen; and distributed their flesh among the labourers; and cut their hides into several pieces, and made him yokes, and yoked the oxen together with them. By which means he sowed as much land as his father had appointed him to sow; and returned to him. And when he was come back, his father was mightily pleased with his sagacity; and commended the sharpness of his understanding, and his boldness in what he did. And he still loved him the more, as if he were his only genuine son; while his brethren were much troubled at it.

But when* one told him that Ptolemy had a son just born; 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 birth-day, and went away in haste with great retinues to Alexandria; he was himself hindered from going by old age; but he made trial of his sons, whether any of them would be willing to go the king. And when the elder sons excused them-

* An. 187.

selves from going, and said they were not courtiers enough for such conversation; and advised him to send their brother Hyrcanus, he gladly hearkened to that advice, and called Hyrcanus, and asked whether he would go to the king? And upon his promise that he would go, and his saying that he should not want much money for his journey, because he would live moderately; and that accordingly ten thousand drachmæ would be sufficient, he was pleased with his son's prudence. After a little while, the son advised his father not to send his presents to the king from thence; but to give him a letter to his steward at Alexandria, that he might furnish him with money for purchasing what should be most excellent and most precious. So he, thinking that the expense of ten talents would be enough for presents to be made the king, and commending his son, as giving him good advice, 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 payment of the taxes to the king came, he wrote to Arion to pay them. So when the son had asked his father for a letter to this steward, and had received it, he hastened to Alexandria. And when he was gone, his brethren wrote to all the king's friends, that they should destroy him.

But when he was come to Alexandria, he delivered his letter to Arion; who asked him, how many talents he would have? hoping he would ask no more than ten or a little more. He said, he wanted a thousand talents: at which the steward was angry, and rebuked him; as one that intended to live extravagantly; and he let him know how his father had gathered together his estate by pains-taking, and resisting his inclinations; and wished him to imitate the example of his father: he assured him withal, that he would give him but ten talents; and that for the present to the king also. The son was irritated at this; and threw Arion into prison. But when Arion's wife had informed Cleopatra of this; with her entreaty, that she would rebuke the child for what he had done, (for Arion was in great esteem with her;) Cleopatra informed the king of it. And Ptolemy sent for Hyrcanus, and told him, that he wondered, when he was sent to him by his father, that he had not yet come into

his presence, but had laid the steward in prison; and he gave order therefore 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 forbade 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 to one who had been his father's benefactor; and that he had punished the slave for disobeying his commands:" "For," said he, "it matters not whether a master be little or great, so that unless we punish such as these, thou thyself mayest expect to be despised by thy subjects." Upon hearing this answer, the king burst into laughter, and wondered at the great soul of the child.

When Arion was apprised that this was the king's disposition, and that he had no way to help himself; he gave the child a thousand talents; and was liberated from prison. So after three days were over, Hyrcanus came and saluted the king and queen. They saw him with pleasure, and feasted him in an obliging manner; out of the respect they bare to his father. So he came to the merchants privately, and bought a hundred boys that had learning, and were in the flower of their age, each at a talent a piece; as also he bought a hundred maidens, each at the same price as the other. And when he was invited to feast with the king among the principal men of the country, he sat down the lowest of them all; because he was little regarded, as a child in age still; and this by those that placed every one according to their dignity. Now when all those that sat with him had lain the bones of the several parts on a heap before Hyrcanus; (for they had themselves taken away the flesh belonging to them) till the table where he sat was filled full with them, Trypho, who was the king's jester, and was appointed for jokes and laughter at festivals, was now asked by the guests that sat at the table to expose him to laughter. So he stood by the king, and said, Dost thou not see, my lord, the bones that lie by Hyrcanus? By this similitude thou mayest conjecture that his father made all Syria as bare as he hath made these bones." And the king laughing at what Trypho said, and asking of Hyrcanus, "How he came to have so many bones

before him?" He replied, "Very rightfully, my lord. For they are dogs that eat the flesh, and the bones together; as these thy guests have done; (looking in the mean time at those guests;) for there is nothing before them; but they are men that eat the flesh, and cast away the bones; as I, who am also a man, have now done." The king admired this answer, which was so wisely made; and bade them all make an acclamation, as a mark of their approbation of his jest; which was truly a facetious one.

On the next day Hyrcanus went to every one of the king's friends, and of the men powerful at court, and saluted them; but still inquired of the servants what present they would make the king on his son's birth-day? and when some said, that they would give twelve talents, and that others of greater dignity would every one give according to the quantity of their riches; he pretended to be grieved, that he was not able to bring so large a present; for that he had no more than five talents. And when the servants heard what he said, they told their masters; and they rejoiced in this prospect that Joseph would be disapproved, and would make the king angry, by the smallness of his present. When the day came, the others, even those that brought the most, offered the king not above twenty talents; but Hyrcanus gave to every one of the hundred boys, and hundred maidens that he had bought, a talent a piece, for them to carry; and introduced them, the boys to the king, and the maidens to Cleopatra; every body wondering at the unexpected richness of the presents, even the king and queen themselves. He also presented those that attended about the king with gifts, to the value of a great number of talents; that he might escape the danger he was in from them: for to these it was that Hyrcanus's brethren had written 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 by the king, than 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 his brethren, and all his commanders and officers about him, he sent him away. But when his brethren heard that Hyrcanus had received such favours from the king, and was returning home with great honour,

they went out to meet him, and to destroy him; and that with the privity of their father. For he was angry at him for the large sum of money that he bestowed for presents: and so had no concern for his preservation. However, Joseph concealed the anger he had at his son, out of fear of the king. And when Hyrcanus's brethren came to fight him, he slew many others of those that were with them; as also two of his brethren themselves: but the rest of them escaped to Jerusalem, to their father. But when Hyrcanus came to the city, where nobody would receive him, he was afraid for himself; and retired beyond the river Jordan, and there abode: obliging the Barbarians to pay their taxes.

At this time Seleucus, who was called Soter, reigned over Asia; being the son of Antiochus the Great. And now Hyrcanus's father Joseph died. He was a good man, and of great magnanimity; and brought the Jews out of a state of poverty and meanness, to one that was more splendid. He retained the farm of the taxes of Syria, and Phœnicia, and Samaria twenty-two* years. His uncle, Onias, also died about this time, and left the high-priesthood to his son Simon. And when he was dead, Onias his son succeeded him in that dignity. To him† it was that Areus, king of the Lacedæmonians, sent an ambassage, with an epistle: the copy whereof here follows:—

AREUS, KING OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS, TO ONIAS, SENDETH GREETING.

“ WE have met with a certain writing, whereby we have discovered, that both the Jews and the Lacedæmonias are of one

* Thirty-six years in one manuscript; which is perhaps the true number. See Prideaux at an. 226.

† Take here Dean Prideaux's account of this letter, at the year 163, which I suppose to be the truth of this case. “It is,” says he, “most likely Josephus mistook the Onias to whom this letter was directed, and ascribed that to Onias III. which was done only in the time of Onias I. For while Onias, the first of that name, the son of Jaddua, was high-priest of the Jews, there was one Areus king of Lacedæmon; (which it no way appears there was in the days of Onias the third.) And from him most likely it was that this letter was written. According to Jonathan, in his letter to the Lacedæmonians, (1 Macc xii. 10. Antiq. XIII. 5.) wherein he makes mention of this letter of Areus's, says, There was a long time

stock; and are derived from the kindred* of Abraham. It is but just, therefore, that you, who are our brethren, should send to us about any of your concerns as you please. We will also do the same: and esteem your concerns as our own: and will look upon our concerns as in common with yours. Demoteles, who brings this letter, will bring your answer back to us. This letter is four square: and the seal is an eagle, with a dragon in his claws."

These were the contents of the epistle, which was sent from the king of the Lacedæmonians. But upon the death of Joseph, the people grew seditious, on account of his sons. For whereas the elders made war against Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph's sons, the multitude was divided: but the greater part joined with the elders in this war: as did Simon the high-priest, by reason he was of kin† to them. However, Hyrcanus determined not to return to Jerusalem any more; but seated himself beyond Jordan; and was at perpetual war with the Arabians, and slew many of them, and took many 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 upon it; and also encompassed it with a great

passed since it had been sent to them. Which could not have been said by Jonathan in respect of the time in which Onias III. was high-priest: since from the death of that Onias, to the time that Jonathan was made prince of the Jews, there had passed no more than twelve years."

* Whence it comes that these Lacedæmonians declare themselves here to be of kin to the Jews, as derived both from the same ancestor Abraham, I cannot tell. Unless, as Grotius supposes, they were derived from the Dores, that came of the Pelasgi. These are by Herodotus, in effect, called, Barbarians: and perhaps were derived from the Syrians and Arabians, the posterity of Abraham by Keturah, see *Antiq.* XIV. 10; *Of the War*, I. 26. and Grotius on *1 Macc.* xiii. 7. We may farther observe from the recognitions of Clement I. 33. that Eliezer of Damascus, the servant of Abraham, *Gen.* xv. 2. and xxiv. was of old by some taken for his son. So that if the Lacedæmonians were sprung from him, they might think themselves to be of the posterity of Abraham; as well as the Jews, who were sprung from Isaac. And perhaps this Eliezer of Damascus is that very Damascus, whom Tragus Pompeius, as abridged by Justin, makes the founder of the Jewish nation itself. Though he afterward blunders, and makes Azelus, Adores, Abraham, and Israel, kings of Judea; and successors to this Damascus: XXXVI. 2. It may not be improper to observe farther, that Moses Chorenensis, in his history of the Armenians, informs us, that the nation of the Parthians also was derived from Abraham, by Keturah, and her children.

† Chap. iv.

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 made large rooms in it; some for feasting, and some for sleeping, and living in. 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 mouths of the caves so very narrow, that no more than one person could enter by them at once. And the reason why he built them after that manner was for his own preservation: lest he should be besieged by his brethren, and run the hazard of 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 Arabia and Judea, beyond Jordan, not far from the country of Heshbon. And he ruled over those parts for seven years: even all that time that Seleucus was king of Syria. But when he was dead, his brother Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, took the kingdom. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, also died; who was besides called Epiphanes. He left two sons, and both young in age; the elder of whom was called Philometor, and the younger Physcon. As for Hyrcanus, when he saw that Antiochus had a great army, and feared lest he should be caught by him, and brought to punishment for what he had done to the Arabians, he slew himself with his own hand: and Antiochus seized upon all his substance.

CHAP. V.

OF THE QUARRELS WHICH AROSE RESPECTING THE HIGH-PRIESTHOOD; THE EXPEDITION OF ANTIOCHUS AGAINST JERUSALEM; THE CRUELTIES EXECUTED ON THE JEWS; AND THE CONDUCT OF THE SAMARITANS.

UPON the death of Onias, the high-priest, they gave the high-priesthood to Jesus, his brother; for that son which Onias left, (Onias IV.) was yet but an infant. And in its proper place we will inform the reader of all the circumstances that befell this child. But this Jesus, who was the brother of Onias, was

deprived of the high-priesthood by the king, who was angry with him, and gave it to his younger brother; whose name also was Onias. For Simon had these three sons; to each of whom the high-priesthood came; as we have already* informed the reader. This Jesus changed his name to Jason; but Onias was called Menelaus. Now as the former high-priest, Jesus, raised a sedition against Menelaus, who was ordained after him, the multitude were divided between them both. And the sons of Tobias took the part of Menelaus, but the greater part of the people assisted Jason; and by that means Menelaus and the sons of Tobias were distressed, and retired to Antiochus, and informed him that they were desirous to leave the laws of their country, and the Jewish customs; and to follow the king's laws, and the Grecian mode of living. Wherefore they desired his permission to build them a gymnasium at Jerusalem. Accordingly they left off all the customs that belonged to their own country, and imitated the practices of the other nations.

Now Antiochus, upon the agreeable situation of the affairs of his kingdom, resolved to make an expedition against Egypt: both because he had a desire to gain it, and because he contemned the sons of Ptolemy, as not yet of abilities to manage affairs of such consequence. So he came with great forces to Pelusium, and circumvented Ptolemy Philometor by treachery, and seized upon Egypt. He then came to the places about Memphis; and when he had taken them, he hastened to Alex-

* We have hitherto had but few of those citations where Josephus says, that he had elsewhere formerly treated of many things, of which yet his present books have not a syllable. Our commentators have hitherto been able to give no tolerable account of these citations; which are far too numerous, and that usually in all his copies, both Greek and Latin, to be supposed later interpolations: which is almost all that has been hitherto said upon this occasion. What I have to observe farther is this; that we have but very few of these references before, and very many in and after the history of Antiochus Epiphanes and that Josephus's first work, the Hebrew or Chaldee, as well as the Greek history of the Jewish war, long since lost, began with that very history. So that the references are most probably made to the edition of the seven books of the war. See the several other examples: I mean besides those in the chapter before us: in Antiq. XIII. 2. and chap. 4, 5, 8, and 13. and Book XVIII. chap. 2. As for his latter Greek books of that war, now extant, they are frequently cited hereafter also: and those citations are still extant therein. See Antiquity XIII. 3, and chap. 5 and 10. See also some other places that may give some light to this matter. Antiq. XIV. 6, and chap. 7, and XX. chap. 7. Of the War, I. 8. IV. 8. V. 5.

andria, in hopes of taking it by siege, and of subduing Ptolemy, who reigned there. But he was driven not from Alexandria, but out of all Egypt by the declaration of the Romans, who charged him to let that country alone. I will now give a particular account of what concerns this king, how he subdued Judea and the temple. For in my former work I mentioned those things very briefly: and have therefore now thought it necessary to go over that history again, and that with great accuracy.

King Antiochus* returning out of Egypt, for fear† of the Romans, made an expedition against the city of Jerusalem; and when he was there, in the hundred and forty-third‡ year of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, he took the city without fighting; those of his own party opening the gates to him. And when he had gotten possession of Jerusalem, he slew many of the opposite party; and when he had plundered it of a great deal of money, he returned to Antioch.

Now it came to pass, after two years, in the hundred and forty-fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of that month, which is by

* Hereabout Josephus begins to follow the first Book of the Maccabees; a most excellent and authentic history. And accordingly it is here, with great fidelity and exactness, abridged by him. Between whose present copies there seem to be fewer variations than in any other sacred Hebrew book of the Old Testament whatsoever: (for this book also was originally written in Hebrew;) which is very natural: because it was written so much nearer to the times of Josephus than the rest were.

† What Josephus says here, that Antiochus returned out of Egypt from his first expedition thither, out of fear of the Romans; if it refer to Popilius Lænas, and the other Roman ambassadors' peremptory threatenings, is a great mistake; that not happening till two years afterwards at his second expedition. And that Antiochus now assaulted Jerusalem, the 2d of the Maccabees says nothing. But since the words before us may possibly refer to some other cause of fear from the Romans, of which we know nothing from any other author now extant, we cannot, with any certainty, pronounce it to be a mistake. However, Spanheim takes notice of this second expedition of Antiochus, as made mention of by Polybius, in Valesius's Excerpta, page 132, and out of Polybius, by Diodorus Siculus, in the Supplement to those Excerpts, page 312. By whom, and by Dr. Hudson, we are referred for his exclusion out of Egypt by the Romans to Livy. XIV. 18 and to Justin Histor. XXXIV. who give us remarkable accounts of it. See the places already cited. However, I cannot agree with Dean Prideaux, who multiplies these two expeditions into Egypt into four, at the year 171, 170, 169, 168. B. C.

‡ See 1 Macc. i. 20. But verses 21, 22. contain what Josephus ascribes to the second expedition of Antiochus against Jerusalem.

us called Casleu, and by the Macedonians, Apelleus; in the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad, that the king came up to Jerusalem; and pretending peace, he got possession 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 he saw there was in it a great deal of gold, and many ornaments that had been dedicated to it of very great value,) and in order to plunder its wealth, he returned 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 shewbread, and the altar of burnt-offering; and did not abstain from even the veils, which were made of fine linen and scarlet. He also emptied it of its secret treasures, and left nothing at all remaining; and by this means cast the Jews into great lamentation. For he forbade them to offer those daily sacrifices which they used to offer to God, according to the law. And when he had pillaged the whole city, some of the inhabitants he slew, and some he carried captive, together with their wives and children: so that the multitude of those captives that were taken alive amounted to about ten thousand. He also burnt down the finest buildings: and when he had overthrown the city walls, he built a† citadel in the lower part of the city, for the place was high, and overlooked the temple. On which account he fortified it with high walls and towers, and put into it a garrison of Macedonians. However, in that citadel dwelt the impious and wicked part of the Jewish multitude: from whom it proved that the citizens suffered many and sore calamities. And when the king had built an idol altar upon God's altar, he slew swine upon it, and so offered a sacrifice neither

* 1 Macc i. 29, 30.

† This citadel, of which we have such frequent mention in the following history, both in the Maccabees, and in Josephus, seems to have been a castle built on a hill, lower than mount Sion, though upon its skirts, and higher than mount Moriah, but between them both: which hill the enemies of the Jews now got possession of, and built on it this citadel, and fortified it; till a good while afterward, the Jews regained it, demolished it, and levelled the hill itself with the common ground, that their enemies might no more recover it, and thence might overlook the temple, and do them such mischief as they had long undergone from it, XIII. 6.

according to the law, nor the Jewish religious worship in that country. He also compelled them to forsake the worship which they paid their own God, and to adore those whom he took to be gods, and made them build temples, and raise idol altars in every city and village, and offer swine upon them every day. He also commanded them not to circumcise their sons; and threatened to punish any that should be found to have transgressed his injunction. He also appointed overseers, who should compel them to do what he commanded. And indeed many Jews there were who complied with the king's commands, either voluntarily or out of fear of the penalty that was denounced. But the best men, and those of the noblest spirits, did not regard him; but continued to pay a greater respect to the customs of their country, than concern as to the punishment which he threatened to the disobedient. On this account they every day underwent great miseries and bitter torments: for they were whipped with rods, and their bodies were torn to pieces, and were crucified, while they were still alive. They also strangled those women and their sons whom they had circumcised, as the king had appointed; hanging their sons about their necks as they were upon the crosses. And if there were any sacred book or law found, it was destroyed; and those with whom they were found miserably perished also.

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 Gerizzim belonged to Almighty God. But 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; whose contents are these:—

“To king Antiochus Epiphanes, the god: 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

* See the note in Book IX. chap. XIV.

† This allegation of the Samaritans is remarkable; that though they were not Jews, yet did they, from ancient times, observe the Sabbath day; and, as they elsewhere pretend, the Sabbatic year also. XI. 8.

temple at the mountain called Gerizzim, though without a name, they offered upon it the proper sacrifices. Now upon the just treatment of these wicked Jews; those that manage thy 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 Apollonius, the governor of this part of the country, and Nicanor, the procurator of thy affairs, to give us no disturbance, nor to lay to our charge what the Jews are accused for, since we are aliens from their nation, and from their customs; but let our temple, which at present hath no name at all, be named the Temple of Jupiter Hellenius. If this were once done, we should be no longer disturbed; but should be more intent on our occupations with quietness; and so bring in a greater revenue to thee."

When the Samaritans had petitioned for this, the king sent them back the following answer in an epistle:—

"King Antiochus to Nicanor. The Sidonians, who live at Shechem, have sent me the memorial enclosed. When therefore we were advising with our friends about it, the messengers sent by them represented to us, that they are no way concerned 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, agreeable to their petition, their temple be named the* Temple of Jupiter Hellenius." He also sent the like epistle to Apollonius, the governor of that part of the country, in the forty-sixth† year, and the eighteenth day of the month Hecatombæon.

* This title of Jupiter, Ζῆς Ἑλληνικός, or Grecian Jupiter, is mentioned in the coins of Syracuse, and by Aristophanes, and by Pindar also: as Spanheim here informs us.

† Instead of the 46th year in the copies, we ought no doubt, to read here the 146th year: i. e. of the Seleucidæ: to which this rescript naturally belongs. But how Hecatombæon, an Attic or Athenian name of a month, comes into a Syromacedonian rescript, we cannot tell. Nobody can think it original. Nor ought we to suppose it so written by Josephus: who does not use to corrupt his ancient monuments so absurdly. But how it ought to be corrected does not appear.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE EXPLOITS OF MATTATHIAS, GRANDSON TO ASMONEUS; HIS DEATH, AND THE SUCCESSION OF JUDAS.

NOW at this time there was one Mattathias,* who dwelt at Modin, the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asmoneus; a priest of the order of Joarib,† and a citizen of Jerusalem. He had five sons: John, who was called Gaddis; Simon, who was called Matthes; Judas, surnamed Maccabeus;‡ Eleazar, who was called Auran; and Jonathan, who was called Apphus. Now this Mattathias lamented to his children the sad state of their affairs, and the ravage made in the city, and the plunder-

* See 1 Macc. ii. 1—14.

† This was the first of the twenty-four courses of the priests that served in the temple, 1 Chron. xxiv. 7. and because Mattathias undertook to determine for the necessity of fighting on the sabbath, in case they were assaulted by the enemy, some have from hence inferred, that the people had made choice of him for their high-priest: but, besides that, this decision is not sufficient to prove this, and that it no where appears, that he ever performed the office of high-priest, but only put himself at the head of a poor distressed people, as being a person of the greatest power and authority among them; it is certain that both Menelaus and Aloimus were then alive; and though they were wicked men, and intruders into the office, yet they were nominated by king Antiochus, (who then assumed the right of nomination,) and so were looked upon as high-priests. *Calmet's Dictionary*, under the word *Mattathias*. B.

‡ That this appellation of Maccabee, was not first of all given to Judas Maccabeus, nor was derived from any initial letters of the Hebrew words on his banner, *Mi Kamoka Be Elim, Jehovah? Who is like unto thee among the gods, O Jehovah?* Exod. xv. 11. as the modern Rabbins vainly pretend, see *Authentic Records*, part I. page 205, 206. Only we may note, that the original name of these Maccabees, and their posterity, was Asmoneans, which was derived from Asmoneus, the great grandfather of Mattathias, as Josephus here informs us.

Dean Prideaux observes, that abbreviations of this and several other kinds, were very frequent among the Jews, and that the Romans bore upon their ensigns the letters S. P. Q. R. *Senatus Populusque Romanus*; but still (he adds) it must be owned, that Judas was called by this name, 1 Macc. ii. 4—66. before ever he set up this standard; and therefore others choose rather to derive it from the Hebrew words *Mak-ke baiah*, i. e. a conqueror in the Lord, which explication both the double of which occurs in the word Maccabee, and his father's account of Judas, viz. that he had been mighty and strong even from his youth, seem to favour. *Prideaux's Connection*, anno 167, and *Calmet's Commentary* on 1 Macc. ii. 4. B.



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ing of the temple, and the calamities the multitude were under ; and he told them, that it was better for them to die for the laws of their country, than to live so ingloriously as they then did.

When those that were appointed by the king were come to Modin, that they might compel the Jews to do what they ordered, and to enjoin those that were there to offer sacrifice, as the king had commanded, they desired that Mattathias, a person of the greatest character among them, both on other accounts, and particularly on account of such a numerous, and so deserving a family of children, would begin the sacrifice ; because his fellow-citizens would follow his example, and because such a procedure would make him honoured by the king. But Mattathias boldly replied he would not do it ; and that if all the other nations would obey the commands of Antiochus, either out of fear, or to please him ; yet would not he nor his sons forsake the religious worship of their country. But as soon as he had ended his speech, there came one of the Jews into the midst of them, and sacrificed, as Antiochus had commanded : at which Mattathias had great indignation, and run upon him violently, with his sons, who had swords with them ; and slew both the man himself that sacrificed, and Apelles the king's general, who compelled them to sacrifice, with a few of his soldiers. He also overthrew the idol altar ; and cried out, " If any one be zealous for the laws of his country, and for the worship of God, let him follow me." And when he had said this, he hastened into the desert with his sons, and left all his substance in the village. Many others did the same, and fled with their children and wives into the desert ; and dwelt in caves. But when the king's generals heard this, they took all the forces they then had in the citadel at Jerusalem, and pursued the Jews into the desert. And when they had overtaken them, they, in the first place, endeavoured to persuade them to repent, and to choose what was most for their advantage ; and not put them to the necessity of using them according to the law of war. But when they would not comply with their persuasions, but continued to be of a different mind, they fought against them on the sabbath day ; and they burnt them, as they were in the caves, without resistance ; and without so much as stopping up the entrances of the caves. And they avoided to defend themselves on that day, because they were not willing to break in upon the hon-

our they owed the sabbath, even in such distresses. For our law requires that we rest upon that day. There were about a thousand, with their wives and children, who were smothered, and died in these caves. But many of those that escaped, joined themselves to Mattathias, and appointed him to be their ruler; who taught them to fight, even on the sabbath day;* and told them, that unless they would do so, they would become their own enemies, by observing the law so rigorously, while their adversaries would still assault them on this day, and they would not then defend themselves; and that nothing could hinder, but they must all perish, without fighting. This speech persuaded them; and this rule continues among us to the present time; that if there be a necessity, we may fight on sabbath days. So Mattathias assembled a great army and overthrew their idol altars, and slew those that brake the laws; even all

* By the law of Moses, the Jews were commanded to do no manner of work on the sabbath day; but this was a precept which would admit of some exceptions, and what some people took in a more rigorous sense than others. The Samaritans, for instance, thought themselves obliged to observe it to such a degree of strictness, as not to stir out of their places on that day, because the law is literally so expressed, Exod. xvi. 29. but the Jews were of opinion, that they were permitted to make their escape from danger, or to walk such a compass of ground, (which they call a sabbath day's journey,) if it were for any necessary occasion on that day. In our Saviour's time, it was allowable, they thought, to pull any animal out of a pit, or a ditch, on that day, Matt. xii. 11. but the Talmudical doctors were for revoking that permission, and found fault with him for even healing the sick and the lame, on the sabbath. Mattathias and his company, by sundry experiences, were convinced, that too scrupulous an observance of the sabbath had brought several calamities upon their nation; that Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, the first king of Egypt of that name, by assaulting Jerusalem on the sabbath day, (wherein the Jews would do nothing to defend themselves,) became master of it without opposition; and that (but just lately,) a great number of their brethren had been passively slain, because they would not so much as handle their arms on that day; and thereupon they came to a resolution to defend themselves, whenever they were attacked, be the day what it would; but we do not find, that they came to any decision, whether they themselves were to attack the enemy on the sabbath. On the contrary, it seems as if they had determined that they were only permitted to repel force by force; and therefore we read, that, when Pompey besieged the temple, observing that the Jews did barely defend themselves on the seventh day, he ordered his men to offer no hostilities, but only to raise the batteries, plant their engines, and make their approaches on that day, being well assured, that in doing of this, he should meet with no molestation from them; and, by this means he carried the place much sooner than he otherwise would have done. *Jewish Antiq.* lib. 14 c. 8. *Jewish Wars*, lib. 1 c. 5 and *Calmel's Commentary* on 1 Maccabees ii. 14. B

that he could get under his power. For many of them were dispersed among the nations round about them, for fear of him. He also commanded that those boys which were not yet circumcised, should be circumcised now; and he drove those away that were appointed to hinder such circumcision.

But when he had ruled one year, and was fallen into a distemper, he called for his sons,* and set them round about him, and said, "O my sons, I am going the way of all the earth, and I recommend to you my resolution; and beseech you not to be negligent in keeping it; but to be mindful of the desires of him who begat you, and brought you up; and to preserve the customs of your country; and to recover your ancient form of government, which is in danger of being overturned; and not be carried away with those that, either by their own inclination, or out of necessity betray it; but to become such sons as are worthy of me, to be above all force 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 disposed, he will not overlook you, but will have a great value for your virtue; and will restore to you again what you have lost, and will return to you that freedom in which you shall live quietly, and enjoy your own customs. Your bodies are mortal and subject to fate; but they receive a sort of immortality by the remembrance of what actions they have done. And I would have you so in love with this immortality, that you may pursue after glory; and that, when you have undergone the greatest difficulties, you may not scruple for such things, to lose your lives. I exhort you especially to agree one with another; and in what excellence any one of you exceeds another, to yield to him so far; and by that means to reap the advantage of every one's own virtues. Do you then esteem Simon as your father; because he is a man of extraordinary prudence; and be governed by him, in what counsels he gives you. Take Maccabeus for the general of your army; because of his courage and strength. For he will avenge your nation, and will bring vengeance on your enemies. Admit among you the righteous and religious, and augment their power."

* 1 Macc. ii. 49.

When Mattathias had thus discoursed 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 Modiu; all the people making great lamentation for him. His son Judas then took upon him the administration of public affairs; in the hundred and forty-sixth year.* And thus by the ready assistance of his brethren, and of others, Judas cast their enemies out of the country; and put those of their own country to death who had transgressed its laws; and purified the land of all the pollutions that were in it.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE SUCCESSES OF THE JEWISH ARMS UNDER JUDAS MACCABEUS; AND THE PURIFICATION OF THE TEMPLE.

WHEN Apollonius,† the general of the Samaritan forces, heard this, he took his army and hastened to go against Judas. But having joined battle, he was defeated and slain by Judas, who seized upon his sword, and kept it for himself, as a trophy of victory.‡ The number of Apollonius's army that were slain, was also very great; that of the wounded was still more considerable; and the victors took a great deal of prey. But when Seron, who was general of the army of Coëlesyria, heard that many had joined themselves to Judas; and that he had about him an army sufficient for making war, he determined to make an expedition against him; as thinking it became him to endeavour to punish those that transgressed the king's injunctions. He then got together an army,|| as large as he was

* 1 Macc. ii. 70.

† This, in all probability, was the same Apollonius whom Antiochus sent at first to plunder Jerusalem, and afterwards to set up the statue of Jupiter Olympius, and to compel the Jews to relinquish their religion. *Cabnet's Commentary*. B.

‡ 1 Macc. iii. 12.

|| At this time Jerusalem was in the hands of the Heathens, and the sanctuary trodden under foot; so that Judas could not assemble his men there, to implore the assistance of God in this time of imminent danger: and therefore he repaired to Mizpeh, a place where the people oftentimes used to assemble to prayer, Judges xx. 1. 1 Kings xv. 22. 2 Chron. xvi. 6. Here he and all his army addressed them-

able, and joined it to the runagate and wicked Jews, and came as far as Beth-horon, a village of Judea, and there pitched his camp. Judas met him, and resolved to give him battle; but as his soldiers were backward to fight, because their number was small, and because they wanted food, for they were fasting; he encouraged them, and reminded them, that victory and conquests of enemies are not derived from the multitude in armies, but in the exercise of piety towards God; and that they had the plainest 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 thousands. By this speech he induced his men to contemn the multitude of the enemy, and to fall upon Seron. And upon joining battle with him, he defeated the Syrians; and when their general fell among the rest, they all ran away with speed; as thinking that to be their best way of escaping. So he pursued them into the plain, and slew about eight hundred of the enemy; but the rest escaped to the region which lay near to the sea.

When king Antiochus heard of these things he was very angry at what had happened. So he assembled all his own army;* with many mercenaries whom he had hired from the islands, and took them with him, and prepared to break into Judea, about the beginning of the spring. But upon mustering his soldiers, he perceived that his treasures were deficient, and there was a want of money in them; for all the taxes were not paid, by reason of the seditions 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 resolved first to go into Persia, and collect the taxes of that country. Hereupon he left one 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 ele-

selves to God, in solemn fasting and prayer, for his assistance and protection: and herein he acted the part of a wise and religious commander, as knowing that the battle was the Lord's, and that therefore it would be impious to begin any such enterprize, without first imploring the divine aid. *Prideaux's Connection*, anno 166. B.

* 1 Macc. iii. 27.

phants; and charged him to bring up his son Antiochus with all possible care, until he came back; and that he should conquer Judea, and take its inhabitants for slaves, and utterly destroy Jerusalem, and abolish the whole nation. And when king Antiochus had given these things in charge to Lysias, he went into Persia, and in the hundred and forty-seventh year he passed over Euphrates, and went up to the superior provinces.

Upon this Lysias chose Ptolemy, the son of Dorymenes, and Nicanor, and Gorgias, very potent men among the king's friends; and delivered to them forty thousand foot soldiers, and seven thousand horsemen; and sent them against Judea. Accordingly, they came as far as the city Emmaus, and pitched their camp in the plain country. There came also to them auxiliaries out of Syria, and the country round about; as also many of the runaway Jews. And besides these came some merchants, to buy those that should be carried captives; (having bonds with them, to bind those that should be made prisoners;) with that silver and gold which they were to pay for their price. 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 to make supplication to him, according to the custom of their country, clothed in sackcloth; and to shew what was their usual habit of supplication in the greatest dangers; and thereby to prevail with God to grant them the victory over their enemies. So he set them in the ancient 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 any inordinate love of life, in order to enjoy those blessings. When he had thus disposed his soldiers, he encouraged them to fight by the following speech: "O my fellow-soldiers, no other time remains more opportune than the present for courage and contempt of danger; for if you fight manfully, you may recover your liberty, which, as it is a thing of itself agreeable to all men, so it proves to be to us much more desirable, by its affording us the liberty of worshipping God. You are in such circumstances at present, that you must either recover that liberty, and so regain a happy and blessed way of living, which is according to our

laws, and the customs of our country; or submit to the most opprobrious sufferings; nor will any seed of your nation remain, if you be beaten in this battle. Fight therefore 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, and of your religion, you shall obtain everlasting glory. Prepare yourselves therefore, and put yourselves into such a posture, that you be ready to fight with the enemy, as soon as it is day to-morrow morning.”*

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, certain of the runagate Jews as guides; the son of Mattathias perceived it, and resolved to fall upon those enemies that were in their camp, now their forces were divided. When they had therefore supped in good time, and had left many fires in their camp, he marched all night to those enemies that were at Emmaus. So that when Gorgias found no enemy in their camp, but suspected they were retired, and had hidden themselves among the mountains, he resolved to go and seek them, wheresoever they were. But about break of day Judas appeared to those enemies that were at Emmaus, with only three thousand men, and those ill armed, by reason of their poverty. And when he saw the enemy skilfully 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 against such as were more in number, and were armed also; out of regard to their great courage. So he commanded the trumpeters to sound for the battle. And by thus falling upon the enemies when they did not expect it, and thereby astonishing and disturbing their minds, he slew many of those that resisted him; and went on pursuing the rest as far as Gadara, and the plains of Idumea, and Ashdod, and Jamnia. And of these there fell about three thousand. Yet did Judas exhort his soldiers not to be too desirous of the spoils: for that still they must have a battle with Gorgias, and the forces that

* 1 Macc. iii. 58.

were with him: but that when they had once overcome them, then they might securely plunder the camp; because these 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 overthrown, and the camp burnt; for the smoke that arose from it shewed them, 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 ready to fight them, they also were affrighted, and put to flight. But then Judas, as though he had already beaten Gorgias's soldiers without fighting, returned and seized on the spoils. He took a great quantity of gold, and silver, and purple, and blue; and then returned home with joy, and singing hymns to God for their good success. For this victory greatly contributed to the recovery of their liberty.*

Lysias was confounded at the defeat of the army, which he had sent; and the next year he assembled sixty thousand chosen men. He also took five thousand horsemen, and fell upon Judea: and he went up to the hill country, at Bethsur,† a village of Judea, 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 him; and joined battle with the first of the enemy that appeared, and slew about five thousand of them; and became thereby terrible to the rest. 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 enlisted foreigners into the service, and prepared to fall upon Judea with a greater army.

When therefore the generals of Antiochus's armies had been defeated so often, Judas assembled the people, and told them,

* 1 Macc. iv. 24.

† It had been fortified by king Rehoboam, 2 Chron. xi. 7. and was, at this time, a very important fortress, as being one of the keys of Judea on the south side of Idumea. *Universal History*, lib. 2. c. 11. B.

that after these many victories which God had given them, they ought to go up to Jerusalem, and purify the temple, and offer the appointed sacrifices.* But as soon as he, with the whole multitude, was come to Jerusalem, and found the temple deserted, and its gates burnt down, and plants growing in the temple of their own accord, on account of its desertion; he and those that were with him began to lament, and were quite confounded at the sight of the temple. So he chose out some of his soldiers, and gave them order to fight against those guards that were in the citadel; until he should have purified the temple. When therefore he had carefully purged it, and had brought in new vessels; the candlestick, the table of shew-bread, and the altar of incense, which were made of gold; he hung up the veils at the gates, and added doors to them. He also took down the altar of burnt-offering; and built a new one of stones that he gathered together, and not of such as are hewn with iron tools.† So on the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, which the Macedonians called Apelleus, they lighted the lamps that were on the candlestick; and offered incense upon the altar of incense; and laid the loaves upon the table of shew-bread, and offered burnt-offerings upon the new altar of burnt-offering. Now it happened that these things were done on the very same day on which their divine worship had fallen off, and was reduced to a profane and common use, after three years' time. For so it was, that the temple was made desolate by Antiochus, and so continued for three years. For this desolation happened to the temple in the hundred and forty-fifth year; on the twenty-fifth day of the month Apelleus; and on the first year of the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad. But it was dedicated anew, on the same day, the twenty-fifth of the month Apelleus, on the hundred and forty-eighth year; and on the fourth year of the hundred and fifty-fourth Olympiad. And this desolation came to pass according to the prophecy of Daniel,‡ which was given

* See 1 Macc. iv. 36—55.

† Exodus xx. 25.

‡ Therefore Daniel, in Josephus's copies, saw the vision in his 8th chapter, not on the 3d of Belshazzar, but on the first of Darius the Mede. Lit. Accompl. of Proph. Suppl. page 106, 107, 108. And we may also take notice, as we did before, on a like case, in the note on XI. 5. with what an unusual accuracy Josephus here determines the beginning and ending of these three years of Antiochus's pro-

four hundred and eight years before. For he declared that the Macedonians would dissolve that worship,* for some time.

Now Judas celebrated the festival of the restoration of the sacrifices at the temple for eight days:† and omitted no sort of pleasures thereon: but he feasted the people upon very rich and splendid sacrifices;‡ and he honoured God, and delighted them, by hymns and psalms. Nay they were so very glad at the revival of their customs, when, after a long time of intermission, they unexpectedly had regained the freedom of their worship, that they made it a law for their posterity, that they should keep a festival 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 suppose the reason was, because this liberty beyond our hopes appeared to us; and thence was the name given to that festival. Judas also re-

fanation of the temple; and adds to the exact numbers of the years of the Seleucids, which he had out of the first book of the Maccabees, the Olympiads, under which both its beginning and ending fell: and this seems done on purpose by him, because of the exact fulfilling of Daniel's prophecy hereby; as he observes in this place.

* For 1096 days, or three years.

† This festival is commemorated in the Gospel, John ii 23. and our blessed Saviour, we are told, came up to Jerusalem on purpose to bear a part in the solemnizing of it. Some indeed are of opinion, that it was another dedication feast, which Christ thus honoured with his presence: but besides that the dedications both of Solomon's and Zerubabel's temples who (though they were very solemnly celebrated at the first erection of these temples,) had never any anniversary feast afterwards kept in commemoration of them, the very history of the Gospel (which tells us, that it was kept in winter,) confines us to this dedication of Judas only. That of Solomon was on the seventh month, which fell about the time of the autumnal equinox: and that of Zerubabel was on the twelfth month, which fell in the beginning of the spring; but that of Judas Maccabeus was on their twenty-fifth day of the ninth month, which fell in the middle of winter. So that the feast of the dedication which Christ was present at in Jerusalem, was no other than that which was instituted by Judas, in commemoration of his dedication of the temple anew, after that it had been cleansed from idolatrous pollutions: and from hence Grotius, (in his Commentary on the Gospel of St. John, chap. x. 22.) very justly observes, that festival days, in memory of public blessings, may be piously instituted by persons in authority, without a divine command. *Prideaux's Connection*, an. 166. B.

‡ Sacrifices, as to their primary object, were designed to appease or honour the Deity: and as the accomplishment of that object was of great importance to those who offered them, it appears a proper expression of their joy that they should feast at the same time. Hence it became universal to feast upon the sacrifices offered unto God. B.

built the walls round about the city; and reared towers of great height against the incursions of the enemies; and set guards therein. He also fortified the city Bethsura, that it might serve as a citadel against any distresses that might come from our enemies.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE CONTINUED SUCCESSES OF THE MACCABEES.

· WHEN these things were over, the nations round about the Jews were very uneasy at the revival of their power; and rose up together, and destroyed many of them: as gaining advantage over them by laying snares for them, and making secret conspiracies against them.* Judas made perpetual expeditions against these men: and endeavoured to restrain them from those incursions, and to prevent the mischiefs they did to the Jews. So he fell upon the Idumeans, the posterity of Esau, at Acra-battene; and slew a 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 that were in them. After this he went thence in haste against the Anmonites; 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 captives, and burnt the city, and then returned into Judea. But when the neighbouring nations understood that he was returned, they assembled, in great numbers, in the land of Gilead; and came against those Jews that were at their borders: who then fled to the garrison of Dathema, and sent to Judas to inform him, that Timotheus was endeavouring to take the place whither they were fled. And as soon as these epistles 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.

* 1 Macc. v. 1, 2.

Accordingly Judas, upon considering what was proper to be done, with relation to the necessity both these cases required, gave order, that his brother Simon should take three thousand chosen men, and go to the assistance of the Jews in Galilee: while he and another of his brothers, Jonathan, made haste into the land of Gilead, with eight thousand soldiers. And he left Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, to be over the rest of the forces, and charged them to keep Judea very carefully, and to fight no battles with any person, until his return. Accordingly Simon went into Galilee, and fought the enemy and put them to flight, and pursued them to the very gates of Ptolemais, and slew about three thousand of them; and took the spoils of those that were slain, and those Jews whom they had made captives, with their baggage and then returned home.

Now as for Judas Maccabeus, and his brother Jonathan, they passed over the river Jordan:* and when they had gone three days' journey, they met with the Nabateans, who came to meet them peaceably, and told them how the affairs of those in the land of Gilead stood; and how many of them were in distress, and driven into garrisons, and into the cities of Galilee; and exhorted him to make haste to go against the foreigners, and to endeavour to save his own countrymen out of their hands. Accordingly Judas returned into the wilderness: and in the first place fell upon the inhabitants of Bosor; and took the city, and beat the inhabitants, and destroyed all the males, and all that were able to fight; and burnt the city. Nor did he stop even when night came on, but he journeyed in it to the garrison where the Jews happened to be shut up; and where Timotheus lay round the place with his army. And Judas came upon the city in the morning: and when he found that the enemy were making an assault upon the walls; and that some of them brought ladders, on which they might get upon those walls, and that others brought engines to batter them; he bade the trumpeter sound his trumpet, and encouraged his soldiers to undergo dangers cheerfully for the sake of his brethren and kindred: he also parted his army into three bodies, and fell upon the backs of their enemies. But when Timotheus's men

* 1 Macc. v. 24.

perceived that it was Maccabeus that was upon them: of whose courage and good success in war they formerly had sufficient experience; they were put to flight. But Judas followed them with his army, and slew about eight thousand of them. He then turned aside to a city of the foreigners, called Malle, and took it, and slew all the males, and burnt the city itself. He then removed from thence, and overthrew Casphom, and Bosor, and many other cities of the land of Gilead.

But not long after this Timotheus prepared a great army, and took many others as auxiliaries; and induced some of the Arabians, by the promise of rewards, to go with him in this expedition; and came with his army beyond the brook, over against the city 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, "If they come over it 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 his enemy: and when he had passed over the brook, he fell upon his enemies: and some of them he slew, and others of them he so terrified, that he compelled them to throw down their arms and fly. And some of these escaped: but some of them fled to what was called the temple at Carnaim; and hoped thereby to preserve themselves. But Judas took the city, and slew them, and burnt the temple, and so used several ways of destroying his enemies.

When he had done this, he gathered the Jews together, with their children and wives, and the substance that belonged to them, and was going to bring them back into Judea. But as soon as he was come to a certain city, called Ephron, that lay upon the road; (and it was not possible for him to go any other way, he was not willing to go back again:) he sent to the inhabitants, and desired that they would open their gates, and permit them to go on their way through the city: for they had stopped up the gates with stones, and cut off their passage through it. And when the inhabitants of Ephron would not agree to this proposal, he encouraged those that were with him, and encompassed the city round, and besieged it, and lying round it by day and by night, took the city, and slew every male in it, and burnt it down: and so obtained a way through

it. And the multitude of those that were slain was so great, that they went over the dead bodies. So they came over Jordan; and arrived at the great plain; over against which is situate the city Bethshan, which is called by the Greeks Scythopolis.* And going away hastily from thence, they came into Judea; singing psalms and hymns as they went; and indulging such tokens of mirth as are usual in triumphs, upon victory. They also offered thank-offerings both for their good success, and for the preservation of their army. For not† one of the Jews was slain in these battles.

But Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias whom Judas left generals of the forces; at the same time when Simon was in Galilee, fighting against the people of Ptolemais, and Judas himself, and his brother Jonathan, were in the land of Gilead; did also affect the glory of being courageous generals in war; in order whereto they took the army that was under their command, and came to Jamnia. There Gorgias, the general of the forces of Jamnia, met them: and upon joining battle with him they lost two‡ thousand of their army; and fled away, and were pursued to the very borders of Judea. And this misfortune befell them by their disobedience to Judas, who had enjoined them not to fight with any one before his return. For besides the rest of Judas's sagacious counsels, one may wonder that

* The reason why Bethshan was called Scythopolis, is well known from Herodotus, I. page 106, and Syncellus, page 214, that the Scythians, when they overran Asia, in the days of Josiah, seized on this city; and kept it as long as they continued in Asia. From which time it retained the name of Scythopolis, or the city of the Scythians. It is so called by the author of the second book of Maccabees, from Jason of Cyrene, xii. 29 as well as by Josephus, and long before him: while yet Josephus could not well take it from either of them; whose writings, or any other such Greek sacred authors, he never appears to have seen. See essay on the Old Testament, page 184—195, and Supplement page 45, 46

† This most providential preservation of all the religious Jews in this expedition, which was according to the will of God, is observable often among God's people the Jews: and some very like it in the changes of the four monarchies, which were also highly providential. See Prideaux at the years 334, 333, and 331.

‡ 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 defence of their laws and religion; these other generals of the Jews who went to fight for honour, in a vain-glorious way, and without any commission from God, or the family he had raised up to deliver them, were miserably disappointed and defeated. See 1 Macc. v. 61, 62.

this concerning the misfortune that befell the forces commanded by Joseph and Azarias; which he understood would happen, if they brake any of the injunctions he had given them. But Judas and his brethren did not leave off fighting with the Idu-means; but pressed upon them on all sides, and took from them the city of Hebron, and demolished all its fortifications, and set its towers on fire, and burnt the country of the foreigners, and the city Marissa. They came also to Ashdod, and took it, and laid it waste, and took away a great deal of the spoils and prey that were in it, and returned to Judea.

CHAP. IX.

CONCERNING THE DEATH OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES; AND THE CONDUCT OF ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR TOWARDS JUDAS MACCABEUS.—ALSO OF ALCIMUS AND ONIAS.

ABOUT this time king Antiochus, as he was going over the upper countries, heard that there was a very rich city in Persia, called Elymais; and therein a very rich temple of Diana; and that it was full of all sorts of donations dedicated to it, as also of weapons and breast-plates: which, upon inquiry, he found had been left there by Alexander, the son of Philip, king of Macedon. And being incited by these motives, he went in haste to Elymais, and assaulted and besieged it. But as those that were in it were not terrified at his assault, nor at his siege, but opposed him courageously, he was beaten off his hopes. For they drove him away from the 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 defeat of his commanders whom he had left to fight against Judea; and what strength the Jews had already gotten. When this concern about these affairs were added to the former, he was confounded: and, by the anxiety he was in, fell into a distemper; which, as it lasted a great while, and as his pains increased upon him, so he at length perceived he should die in a little time. So he called his friends to him; and told them, that his distemper was severe upon him: and confessed withal that this

calamity was sent upon him for the miseries he had brought upon the Jewish nation;* while he plundered their temple, and contemned their God. And when he had said this, he gave up the ghost. Whence one may wonder at Polybius of Megalopolis; who, though otherwise a good man, yet saith, that "Antiochus died because he had a purpose to plunder the temple of Diana† in Persia." For the 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 at Jerusalem. But we will not contend about this matter, with those who may think that the cause assigned by this Polybius of Megalopolis, is nearer the truth than that assigned by us.

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 charged him to deliver them to his son Antiochus; and desired|| him to take care of his education, and to preserve the kingdom for him. This Antiochus died in the hundred and forty-ninth year. But it was Lysias that declared his death to the multitude, and appointed his son Antiochus to be king, of whom at present he had the care; and called him Eupator.

At this time it was that the garrison in the citadal at Jerusalem, with the Jewish runagates, did a greal deal of harm to the

* 1. Macc. vi. 12.

† Dr. Hudson observes here, that Jerom upon Daniel xi. says, "Polybius and Diodorus both relate how this Antiochus attempted to seize upon the spoils of the temple of Elymais, which was full of riches." Hudson also notes that "Strabo places this temple of Diana at Elymais." XVI. page 744. See Authentic Records, part I. page 226, and Prideaux at the year 164.

‡ Since St. Paul, a Pharisee, confesses that he had not known concupiscence, or desires to be sinful, had not the tenth commandment said. "Thou shalt not covet," Rom. vii. 7. the case seems to have been much the same with our Josephus, who was of the same sect, that he had not a deep sense of the greatness of any sins that proceeded no farther than the intention. However, since Josephus speaks here properly of the panishment of death, which is not inflicted by any law either of God or man for the bare intention, his words need not be strained to mean that sins intended, but not executed, were no sins at all.

|| No wonder that Josephus here describes Antiochus Eupator as young, and wanting tuition, when he came to the crown: since Appian informs us, (Dr. Hudson notes here.) Syriac. page 177. that he was then but nine years old.

Jews. For the soldiers that were in that garrison rushed out upon the sudden, and destroyed such as were going up to the temple, in order to offer their sacrifices: for this citadel adjoined to and overlooked the temple. When these misfortunes had often happened to them, Judas resolved to destroy that garrison. Accordingly he got all the people together, and vigorously besieged those that were in the citadel. This was in the hundred and fiftieth year of the dominion of the Seleucidæ. So he made engines of war, and erected bulwarks; and very zealously pressed on to take the citadel. But there were not a few of the runagates who were in the place, that went out by night, into the country, and got together some other wicked men like themselves; and went to Antiochus the king, and desired of him, that he would not suffer them to be neglected under the great hardships that lay upon them, from those of their own nation: and this because their sufferings were occasioned on his father's account; while they left the religious worship of their fathers, and preferred that which he had commanded them to follow: that there was danger lest the citadel and those that were appointed to garrison it by the king, should be taken by Judas, and those that were with him; unless he would send them succours. When Antiochus, who was but a* child, heard this, he was angry, and sent for his captains, and his friends; and gave order that they should get an army of mercenaries together, with such men also, of his own kingdom, as were of an age fit for war. Accordingly an army was collected of about a hundred thousand footmen, twenty thousand horsemen, and thirty-two elephants.

So the king took this army, and marched hastily out of Antioch, with Lysias, who had the command of the whole; and came to Idumea, and thence went up to Bethsura, a city that was strong, and not to be taken without great difficulty: he sat about this city, and besieged it. And while the inhabitants of Bethsura courageously opposed him, and sallied out upon him,

* Dr. Hudson observes here, that Jason of Cyrene, as epitomized in the second book of the Maccabees, chap. xiii. tells this story very differently from Josephus. but then, since, as I have lately remarked, Josephus never appears to have seen those books; and since that much more authentic history in 1 Macc. vi. 28, &c. agrees with him, we have no reason to suppose him therein mistaken.

and burnt his engines of war; a great deal of time was spent in the siege. But when Judas heard of the king's coming, he raised the siege of the citadel, and met the king, and pitched his camp in certain straits, at a place called Bethzachariah, at the distance of seventy furlongs from the enemy. But the king soon drew his forces from Bethsura, and brought them to those straits. And as soon as it was day he put his men in battle array, and made his elephants follow one another through the narrow passes: because they could not be set sideways one by another. Now round about every elephant there were a thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen. The elephants also had high towers upon their backs, and archers in them. And he also made the rest of his army to go up the mountains, and put his friends before the rest; and gave orders for the army to shout aloud: and so he attacked the enemy. He also exposed to sight their golden and brazen shields: so that a glorious splendour was sent from them; and when they shouted the mountains echoed again. When Judas saw this, he was not terrified; but received the enemy with great courage, and slew about six hundred of the first ranks. But when his brother Eleazar, whom they called Auran, saw the tallest of all the elephants armed with royal breast-plates, and supposed that the king was upon him, he attacked him with great quickness and bravery. He also slew many of those that were about the elephant, and scattered the rest; and then went under the belly of the elephant, and smote him, and slew him. So the elephant fell upon Eleazar; and by his weight crushed him to death.* And thus did this man come to his end, when he had first courageously destroyed many of his enemies.

But Judas, seeing the strength of the enemy, retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to endure a siege. As for Antiochus, he sent part of his army to Bethsura, to besiege it; and with the rest of his army he came against Jerusalem. But the inhabitants of Bethsura were terrified at his strength; and seeing that their provisions grew scarce, they delivered themselves up upon the security of oaths, that they should suffer no hard treatment from the king. And when Antiochus had thus taken the

* 1 Macc. vi. 46.

city, he did them no other harm than sending them out naked. He also placed a garrison of his own in the city. But as for the temple of Jerusalem, he lay at its siege a long time; while they within bravely defended it. For whatsoever engines the king set against them, they set other engines again to oppose them. But then their provisions failed; what fruits of the ground they had laid up were spent; and the land not being ploughed that year, continued unsowed, because it was the seventh year; on which, by our law, we are 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.

These happened to be the circumstances of such as were besieged in the temple. But then, because Lysias, the general of the army, and Antiochus, the king, were informed, that Philip was coming upon them out of Persia; and was endeavouring to gain the management of public affairs to himself; they came into these sentiments, to leave the siege, and to make haste to go against Philip. Yet did they resolve not to let this be known to the soldiers or to the officers. But the king commanded Lysias to speak openly to the soldiers and the officers, without saying a word about the business of Philip; and to intimate to them that the siege would be very tedious; that the place was very strong; that they were already in want of provisions; that many affairs of the kingdom wanted regulation; and that it was much better to make a league with the besieged, and to become friends to their whole nation, by permitting them 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 Lycias had discoursed thus, both the army and the officers were pleased with this resolution.

Accordingly the king sent to Judas, and to those that were besieged with him; and promised to give them peace, and to permit them to make use of, and live according to, the laws of their fathers. And they gladly received his proposals. And when they had gained security upon oath, for their performance, they went out of the temple. But when Antiochus came into it, and saw how strong the place was, he broke his oaths, and ordered his army that was there, to pluck down the walls

to the ground;* and when he had so done, he returned to Antioch: he also carried with him Onias, the high-priest, who was also called Menelaus. For Lysias advised the king to slay Menelaus, if he would have the Jews be quiet, and cause him no farther disturbance: for that this man was the origin of all the mischief the Jews had done them; by persuading his father to compel the Jews to leave the religion of their fathers. So the king sent Menelaus to Berea, a city of Syria; and there had him put to death, when he had been high-priest ten years. He had been a wicked and an impious man; and, in order to get the government to himself, had compelled his nation to transgress their own laws. After the death of Menelaus,† Alcimus, who was also called Jacimus, was made high-priest. But when king Antiochus found that Philip had already possessed himself of the government, he made war against him, and subdued him, and took him, and slew him. Now as to Onias, the son of the high-priest, who, as we before informed you, was left a child when his father died: when he saw that the king had slain his uncle Menelaus, and given the high-priesthood to Alcimus, who was not of the high-priests' stock; but as induced by Lysias to translate that dignity from this family to another house, he fled to Ptolemy, king of Egypt. And when he found he was in great esteem with him, and with his wife Cleopatra, he desired and obtained a place in the Nomus of Heliopolis, wherein he built a temple, like to that at Jerusalem; of which therefore, we shall hereafter give an account.

CHAP. X.

OF THE UNSUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION OF BACCHIDES, THE GENERAL OF DEMETRIUS'S ARMY, AGAINST JUDEA; THE SUBSEQUENT DEFEAT OF NICANOR; THE DEATH OF ALCIMUS, AND THE SUCCESSION OF JUDAS.

ABOUT the same time Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, fled away from Rome, and took Tripoli, a city of Syria, and set the

* 1 Macc. vi. 62.

† If we here understand by Alcimus's or Jacimus's being made high-priest, his being confirmed in that dignity, which he had claimed and usurped before; both in this place, and in the parallel place, 1 Macc. vii. 6. whence Josephus took the history; this will agree with the series of the present transactions: otherwise not.

diadem on his own head. He also gathered certain mercenary soldiers together, and entered into his kingdom; and was joyfully received by all, who delivered themselves up to him. And when they had taken Antiochus the king, and Lysias, they brought them to him alive: both of whom were immediately put to death by the command of Demetrius,* when Antiochus had reigned two years. But there were now many of the wicked Jewish runagates, that came together to him; and with them Alcimus the high-priest, who accused the whole nation, and particularly Judas and his brethren, and said, that they had slain all his friends; and that those in his kingdom that were of his party, and waited for his return, were by them put to death; that these men had ejected them out of their own country; and caused them to be 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.

At this Demetrius was very angry, and sent Bacchides, a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes, a † good man, and one that had been intrusted with all Mesopotamia; and gave him an army, and committed Alcimus, the high-priest, to his care; and gave him charge to slay Judas, and those that were with him. So Bacchides made haste, and went out of Antioch, with his army; and when he was come into Judea, he sent to Judas and his brethren, to discourse with him about a league of friendship and peace. For he had a mind to take him by treachery. But Judas did not give credit to him: for he saw that he came with so great an army, as men do not bring when they come to make peace, but to make war. However, some of the people acquiesced in what Bacchides caused to be proclaimed. And supposing they should undergo no considerable harm from Alcimus, who was their countrymen, they went over to them; and when they had received oaths from both of them, that neither

* 1 Macc. vii. 2, 3.

† It is no way probable that Josephus would call Bacchides, that bitter enemy of the Jews, as our present copies have it, ἀγαθὸν ἄνθρωπον, "a good man," or "kind and gentle:" (in which latter sense he uses the word ἄνθρωπος soon afterward:) what the author of the first book of Maccabees, whom Josephus here follows, instead of that character, says of him is this; that he was a great man in the kingdom, and πιστὸν τῷ βασιλεὺς faithful to the king. Which was very probably Josephus's meaning also. Perhaps, therefore, he wrote πιστὸν, faithful for ἄνθρωπον, good or gentle.

they themselves, nor those of the same sentiments, should come to any harm, they intrusted themselves with them. But Bacchides troubled not himself about the oaths he had taken; but slew threescore of them: although by not keeping his faith with those that first went over, he deterred all the rest, who had intentions to go over to him, from doing it. But as he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at the village called Bethzetho, he sent out and caught many of the deserters, 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 them there, with some part of the army; that he might have wherewith to keep the country in obedience; and returned to Antioch, to king Demetrius.

But Alcimus was desirous to have the dominion more firmly assured to him. And understanding that if he could bring it about that the multitude should be his friends, he should govern with greater security, he spake kind words to them all, and discoursed to each of them after an agreeable and pleasant manner. By which means he quickly had a great body of men, and an army about him: although the greater part of them were of the wicked and the deserters. With these, whom he used as his servants and soldiers, he 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 good and holy men, he also went all over the country, and destroyed those that were of the other party. When Alcimus saw that he was not able to oppose Judas, nor was equal to him in strength, he resolved to apply himself to king Demetrius for his assistance. So he came to Antioch, and irritated him against Judas, and accused him; alleging that he had undergone 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.

So Demetrius, being already of opinion that it would be a thing pernicious to his own affairs to overlook Judas, now he was becoming so great, sent against him Nicanor, the most faithful of all his friends. For he it was who fled away with him from the city of Rome. He also gave him as many forces as he thought sufficient for him to conquer Judas; and bade him not

to spare the nation at all. When Nicanor was come to Jerusalem, he did not resolve to fight Judas immediately; but judged it better to get him into his power by treachery.* So he sent a pacific message, and said, there was no manner of necessity for them to fight, and hazard themselves; and that he would give him his oath that he would do him no harm. For that he only came with some friends, in order to let him know what king Demetrius's intentions were; and what opinion he had of their nation. When Nicanor had delivered this message, Judas and his brethren complied with him; and, suspecting no deceit, they gave him assurances of friendship, and received Nicanor and his army. But while he was saluting Judas, and they were talking together, he gave a certain signal to his troops; upon which they were to seize upon Judas. But he perceived the treachery, and ran back to his own soldiers, and fled away with them. So upon this discovery of his purpose, and of the snares laid for Judas, Nicanor determined to make open war with him, and gathered his army together, and prepared for fighting him; and upon joining battle with him at a certain village called Capharsalama, he† beat Judas, and forced him to flee to that citadel, which was at Jerusalem.

When Nicanor came down from the citadel unto the temple, some of the priests and elders met him, and saluted him; and shewed him the sacrifices which they said they offered to God for the king. Upon this he blasphemed; and threatened them, that unless the people would deliver up Judas to him, upon his return, he would pull down the temple.‡ And when he had thus threatened them, he departed from Jerusalem. But the priests fell into tears, out of grief at what he had said; and besought God to deliver them from their enemies. Now Nicanor, when he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at a certain village called Bethoron, he there pitched his camp; another ar-

* 1 Macc. vii. 27.

† Josephus's copies must have been corrupted, when they here give the victory to Nicanor; contrary to the words following: which imply that he who was beaten, fled into the citadel; which belonged to the city of David, or to mount Sion, and was in possession of Nicanor's garrison, and not of Judas's. As also it is contrary to the express words of Josephus's original author, 1 Macc. vii. 32. who says, that Nicanor lost about 6000 men, and fled to the city of David.

‡ 2 Macc. xiv. 33.

my out of Syria having joined him. And Judas pitched his camp at Adasa, another village, which was thirty furlongs distant from Bethoron; having no more than one* thousand soldiers. And when he had encouraged them not to be dismayed at the multitude of their enemies, nor to regard how many there were against whom they were going to fight; but to consider who they themselves were; and for what great rewards they hazarded themselves, and to attack the enemy courageously, he led them out to fight; and joining battle with Nicanor, he overcame the enemy after a severe conflict, and slew many of them; and at last Nicanor himself fell, as he was fighting gloriously. Upon his fall the army did not stay; but when they had lost their general, they were put to flight, and threw down their arms; Judas also pursued and slew them, and gave notice by sound of trumpet to the neighbouring villages, that he had conquered the enemy. Which, when the inhabitants heard, they put on their armour hastily, and met their enemies in the face, as they were running away, and slew them. Inso-much that not one of them escaped out of this battle: and they were in number nine thousand. This victory happened on the thirteenth day of that month, which by the Jews is called Adar, and by the Mecedonians, Dystrus. And the Jews thereon celebrate† this victory every year; and esteem it to be a festival day. The Jewish nation were, for some time afterward, free from wars, and enjoyed peace. But they returned into their former state of wars and hazards.

Now, as the high-priest, Alcimus, was resolving to pull down the wall of the sanctuary, which had been there of old time, and had been built by the holy prophets,‡ he was smitten suddenly by God. This stroke made him fall down speechless

* Three thousand, see 1 Macc. vii. 40.

† Take Hudson's and Spanheim's notes on this place: "This festival for a victory was annually celebrated by the Jews, in memory of the conquest of Nicanor by Judas, 1 Macc. vii. 49. on the 13th of Adar. So do we read in Megillath Taanith. They now fast on that day, in memory of Esther's fast before the days of Purim." See 2 Macc. xv. 36.

‡ This account of the miserable death of Alcimus or Jacimus, the wicked high-priest, (the first that was not of the family of the high-priest, and made by a vile heathen Lysias;) before the death of Judas; and of Judas's succession to him as high-priest, both here and at the conclusion of this book, directly contradicts 1

upon the ground; and undergoing torments for many days, he at length died; when he had been high-priest four years. And when he was dead, the people bestowed the high-priesthood on Judas.* Who hearing of the power† of the Romans, and that they had conquered in war Galatia, Iberia, Carthage, and Libya; and that, besides these, they had subdued Greece, and the kings Perseus and Philip, and Antiochus the Great; he resolved to enter into a league of friendship with them. He therefore sent to Rome some of his friends; Eupolemus the son of John, and Jason the son of Eleazar; and by them desired the Romans that they would assist them, and be their friends; and would write to Demetrius that he would not fight against the Jews. So the senate received the ambassadors that came to Rome from Judas, 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 Judea. It was also laid up in the capital, 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, ships, or money. And if any attack be

Macc. ix. 54—57. which places his death after that of Judas; and says not a syllable of the high-priesthood of Judas. This account is also inconsistent with Josephus's own most accurate scheme of the chronology of the Jewish high-priests, at the end of the Antiquities: where, instead of any years' high-priesthood ascribed to Judas, which are three years at the end of this 12th book, he makes an interregnum in the pontificate after Alcimus or Jacimus, for seven years; and allows Alcimus or Jacimus to have been high-priest but three years, instead of four years here. These errors seem to imply, that the copy of the first book of Maccabees, which Josephus used when he wrote this 12th book, had the number four for the duration of Alcimus's high-priesthood; and had a dislocation of the verses above-mentioned; which then appeared at the end of the 7th chapter; and that afterwards he met with a better copy, whence he corrected his former errors. Which is a thing by no means unusual in the works of this author.

* That the Asmoneans might be the direct heirs of the high-priesthood of Judea, upon the extirpation of the old family from Joshua, the son of Josedek, see Prideaux, at the years 163 and 141.

† How well the Roman histories agree with this account of the conquests and powerful condition of the Romans at this time, see the notes in Havercamp's edition. Only that the number of the senators of Rome was then just 320, is, I think, only known from 1 Maccabees viii. 15.

made upon the Jews, the Romans shall assist them as far as they are able. And again, if any attack be made upon the Romans, the Jews shall assist them. And if the nation of the Jews have a mind to add to, or to take away any thing from this league of assistance, that shall be done with the common consent of the Romans. And whatsoever addition shall thus be made, it shall be of force."

This decree was written by Eupolemus, the son of John, and by Jason, the son of Eleazar;* when Judas was the high-priest of the nation, and Simon, his brother, was general of the army. And this was the first league that the Romans made with the Jews.

CHAP. XI.

OF THE SECOND EXPEDITION OF BACCHIDES AGAINST THE JEWS, AND THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEUS.

WHEN Demetrius was informed of the death of Nicanor, and of the destruction of the army that was with him, he sent Bacchides again with an army into Judea. Accordingly, he marched out of Antioch, and came into Judea, and pitched his camp at Arbela, a city of Galilee; and having besieged and taken those that were there in their caves, (for many of the people had fled into such places,) he removed, and made all the haste he could to Jerusalem. And when he had learned that Judas had pitched his camp at a certain village whose name was Bethzetho, he led his army against him. They were twenty thousand footmen, and two thousand horsemen. Now Judas had no more soldiers than one thousand.† When these saw the multitude

* This subscription is wanting, 1 Macc. viii. 17, 29. 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 reckoned his brother Jonathan to be then general of the army; which yet he seems not to have been till after the death of Judas.

† That this copy of Josephus, as he wrote it, had here not 1000 but 3000, with 1 Macc. ix. 6. is very plain; because though the main part ran away at first, even in Josephus, as well as in 1 Macc. ix. 6. yet, as there, so here, 800 are said to have remained with Judas. Which would be absurd, if the whole number had been no more than 1000.

of Bacchides'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 Bacchides'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 they were not a body sufficient 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, he should fall upon the enemy afterwards: his answer was this, "Let not the sun ever see such a thing, that I shew 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 whatever comes upon me, than by running away bring reproach upon my former great actions; or tarnish their glory." This was the speech he made to those that remained with him; whereby he encouraged them to attack the enemy.

But Bacchides drew his army out of their camp, and put them in array for the battle. He set the horsemen on both wings; and the light soldiers and the archers he placed before the whole army; but he was himself on the right wing. And when he had thus put his army in order, and was going to join battle with the enemy, he commanded the trumpeter to give a signal, 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 engagement continued till sun-set, Judas saw that Bacchides, and the strongest part of the army was in the right wing; and therefore took the most courageous men with him, and ran upon that part of the army, and fell upon those that were there, and brake their ranks, and drove them into the middle, forced them to run away, and pursued them as far as to a mountain called Aza. 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 flee, 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 had no one whom they could regard as their commander; but when they saw themselves deprived of such a general, they fled.* But Simon, and Jonathan, Judas's brethren, received his dead body by a treaty from the enemy; and carried it to the village Modin; where their father had been interred, and there buried him; while the multitude lamented him many days, and performed the usual solemnities of a funeral to him. And this was the end that Judas came to. He had been a man of valour, and a great warrior, and mindful of the commands of their father Matathias; 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.

* Macc. ix. 18.

BOOK XIII.

Containing an Interval of Eighty-two Years.

FROM THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEUS TO THE DEATH OF
QUEEN ALEXANDRA.

CHAP. I.

OF THE SUCCESSION OF JONATHAN TO THE GOVERNMENT, AFTER
THE DEATH OF HIS BROTHER JUDAS; AND OF THE WAR WHICH
HE, TOGETHER WITH HIS BROTHER SIMON, WAGED AGAINST
BACCHIDES.

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 conflicts Judas, the general of their army, underwent till he was slain, as he was fighting for them; hath been related in the preceding book. But after he was dead, all the wicked, and those that transgressed the laws of their forefathers sprang up again in Judea; and grew upon them, and distressed them on every side. A famine also assisted their wickedness, and afflicted the country; till not a few, who, by reason of their want of necessaries, 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 had apostatized from their neighbours; and committed the care of the country to them. Accordingly they caught the friends of Judas, and those of his party, and delivered them up to Bacchides; who when he had, in the first place, tormented them at his pleasure, he by that means at length killed them. And when this calamity of the

Jews was become so great, as they never had experience of the like since their return out of Babylon; those that remained of the companions of Judas, seeing that the nation was ready to be destroyed after a miserable manner, came to his brother Jonathan, and desired that he would imitate his brother, in that care which he took of his countrymen; for whose liberty in general he died also; and that he would not permit the nation to be without a governor, especially in those destructive circumstances wherein it now was. And when Jonathan said that he was ready to die for them, and was indeed esteemed no way inferior to his brother, he was appointed to be the general of the Jewish army.

When Bacchides heard this, and was afraid that Jonathan might prove very troublesome to the king and the Macedonians,* as Judas had been before him, he sought how he might slay him by treachery. But this intention was known to Jonathan, and to his brother Simon; who took all their companions, and presently fled into that wilderness, which was nearest to the city. And when they were come to the lake called Asphar, they abode there. But when Bacchides was sensible that they were in a low state, and were 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 him, he sent his brother John, who was also called Gaddis, to the Nabatean Arabs, that he might deposit his baggage with them, until the battle with Bacchides should be over. For they were the Jews' friends,

* Bacchides, as soon as he arrived in Judea, went after Jonathan; but, upon his approach, Jonathan left Simon his brother with one part of the forces to defend the place, whilst himself, with the other part, took the field to harass the enemy abroad; in which capacities they both acted so well, Jonathan, by cutting off several of their parties, and now and then falling upon the outskirts of their army employed in the siege; and Simon, by making frequent sallies upon them, and burning the engines they had brought against the place; that Bacchides, 1 Macc. ix. 69—73. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1 and 2. growing weary of this undertaking, and not a little enraged at those who were the occasion of his return and disgrace, put several of them to death. This opportunity Jonathan laid hold on, and therefore sent messengers to him, to desire an accommodation, which Bacchides readily came into, so that a peace was concluded. The prisoners whom he had in his custody were all restored, and himself took an oath never to molest the Jews any more; which accordingly he fulfilled; for as soon as the peace was ratified on both sides he went away, and never more returned into the country. B.

But the sons of Ambri laid an ambush for John from the city Medaba, and seized upon him, and upon those that were with him, and plundered all that they had with them. They also slew John and all his companions. However they were sufficiently punished for what they now did by John's brethren, as we shall relate presently.

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 them the victory, he joined battle with the enemy, and overthrew 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 avoiding his 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 Bacchides returned presently to the citadel at Jerusalem; having lost about two thousand* of his army. He also fortified many cities of Judea, whose walls had been demolished, Jericho, Emmaus, Bethoron, Bethel, Timna, Pharatho, Tecoa, and Gazara; and built towers in every one of these cities, and encompassed them with strong walls, that were very large also: and put garrisons into them, that they might issue out of them and do mischief to the Jews. He also fortified the citadel of Jerusalem more than all the rest. Moreover he took the sons of the principal Jews as pledges; and shut them up in the citadel, and in that manner guarded it.

About the same time one came to Jonathan, and to his brother Simon, and told them, that the sons of Ambri were celebrating a marriage, and bringing the bride, who was the daughter of one of the illustrious men among the Arabians, from the city Gabatha; and that the damsel was to be conducted with

* One thousand, 1 Macc. ix. 43.

pomp, and splendour, and much riches. So Jonathan and Simon thinking this appeared to be the fittest time for them to avenge the death of their brother; and that they had forces sufficient for receiving satisfaction from them for his death, they made haste to Medaba; and lay in wait among the mountains for the coming of their enemies. And as soon as they saw them conducting the virgin, and her bridegroom, and such a great company of their friends with them, as was to be expected at this wedding, they sallied out of their ambush, and slew them all; and took their ornaments, and all the prey that then followed them; and so returned, and received this satisfaction for their brother John from the sons of Ambri. For as well those sons themselves, as their friends, and wives, and children that followed them, perished; being in number about four hundred.

Simon and Jonathan then returned to the lakes of the river, and abode there. 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.* But when the deserters, and the wicked saw that Jonathan and those that were with him lived in the country very quietly, by reason of the peace, they sent to king Demetrius, and excited him to send Bacchides to seize upon Jonathan: which they said, was to be done without any trouble, and in one night's time: and that if they fell upon them before they were aware, they might slay them all. So the king sent Bacchides: who when he was come into Judea, wrote to all his friends, both Jews and auxiliaries, that they should seize upon Jonathan, and bring him to him. But when, upon all their endeavours, they were not able to seize upon Jonathan, (for he was sensible of the snares they laid for him, and very carefully guarded against them,) Bacchides was angry at these deserters as having imposed upon him, and upon the king, and slew fifty of their leaders. Thereupon Jonathan, with his brother, and those that were with him, retired to Bethagla, a village that lay in the wilderness, out of his fear of Bacchides. He also built towers in 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,

* An. 159, and 188, B. C.

and came against Jonathan, and made an assault upon his fortifications, and besieged him many days. But Jonathan did not abate of his courage at the zeal Bacchides shewed 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 into the country, and got a great body of men together of his own party, and fell upon Bacchides's camp in the night time, and destroyed a great many of them. His brother Simon knew also of his falling upon them; because he perceived that the enemies were slain by him; so he sallied out upon them, and burnt the engines which the Macedonians used, and made a great slaughter of them. And when Bacchides saw himself encompassed with enemies, he fell into despair, as confounded at the unexpected ill success of this siege. However, he vented his displeasure at these misfortunes upon those deserters who sent for him from the king; as having deluded 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.

When Jonathan understood his intentions, he sent ambassadors to him about a league of friendship, and mutual assistance; and that they might restore those whom they had taken captive on both sides. So Bacchides thought this a decent way of retiring home; and made a league of friendship with Jonathan; by which it was mutually agreed 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 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 Michmash; and there governed the multitude, and punished the wicked; and by that means purged the nation of them.

* 1 Macc. ix. 72.

CHAP. II.

OF THE ADVANTAGES GRANTED TO JONATHAN, FIRST BY DEMETRIUS, AND AFTERWARDS BY ALEXANDER BALA, IN ORDER TO OBTAIN HIS ASSISTANCE; AND OF THE DEATH OF DEMETRIUS.

NOW in the hundred and sixtieth year, Alexander, the son* of Antiochus Epiphanes, came up into Syria, and took 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 that had four towers; which he had built himself not far from Antioch, and admitted nobody. He was also slothful, and negligent about the public affairs: which rendered him odious to his subjects. 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 and friendship. 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 formerly treated him; and should join with him in this war against him. He therefore gave orders that Jonathan should be allowed to raise an army, and should get armour made, and should receive back those hostages of the Jewish nation whom

* This Alexander Bala, who certainly pretended to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and was owned as such by the Jews, and Romans, and many others, and yet is by several historians deemed to be an impostor; is, however, by Josephus, believed to have been the real son of that Antiochus; and by him always spoken of accordingly. And truly since the original contemporary and authentic author of the first book of Maccabees x. 1. calls him by his father's name, Epiphanes; and says he was the son of Antiochus, I suppose the other writers, who are all much later, are not to be allowed against such evidence, though perhaps Epiphanes might have him by a woman of no family. The king of Egypt also, Philometer, soon gave him his daughter in marriage: which he would hardly have done had he believed him to be a counterfeit, and of so mean a birth as the historians pretend. He is also called *Ευπατορ*. one of a divine lineage in the coins: as Spanheim assures us. Nor does any original evidence appear against it.

† 1 Macc. x. 1.

Bacchides had shut up in the citadel of Jerusalem. When this good fortune had befallen Jonathan, by the concession of Demetrius, he came to Jerusalem, and read the king's letter, in the audience of the people, and of those that kept the citadel: those wicked men and deserters who were in the citadel, were therefore greatly afraid, upon the king's permission to Jonathan to raise an army, and to receive back the hostages. So he delivered every one of them to their own parents. And thus did Jonathan make his abode at Jerusalem: renewing the city to a better state, and reforming the buildings as he pleased. For he gave orders that the walls of the city should be rebuilt with square stones; that it might be more secure from their enemies. And when those that kept the garrisons that were in Judea saw this, they all left them, and fled to Antioch; excepting those that were in the city Bethsura, and those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem. For the greater part of these consisted of the wicked Jews and deserters; and on that account these did not deliver up their garrisons.

When Alexander knew what promises Demetrius had made Jonathan, and withal knew his courage, and what great things he had done when he fought the Macedonians; and besides what hardships he had undergone by the means of Demetrius, and of Bacchides, the general of Demetrius's army; he told his friends, that he could not at present find any one that might afford him better assistance than Jonathan; who was both courageous against his enemies, and had a particular hatred against Demetrius, as having both suffered many hard things from him, and acted many hard things against him. If therefore they were of opinion that they should make him their friend against Demetrius, it was more for their advantage to invite him to assist them now, than at another time.* It being therefore determined by him and his friends to send to Jonathan, he wrote to him this epistle:—

“ King Alexander, to his brother Jonathan, sendeth greeting. We have long ago heard of thy courage and fidelity: and for that reason have sent to thee to make with thee a league of friendship, and of mutual assistance. I therefore do ordain thee this day the high-priest of the Jews; and appoint that

* 1 Macc. x. 15.

thou shalt be called my friend. I have also sent thee, as presents, a purple robe, and a golden crown: and desire that now thou art by me honoured, thou wilt in like manner respect me also."

When Jonathan had received this letter, he put* on the pontifical robe, at the feast of tabernacles; four years after the death of his brother Judas. For at that time no high-priest had been made.† So he raised great forces, and had abundance of armour got ready. This greatly grieved Demetrius, when he heard of it; and made him blame himself for his slowness, that he had not prevented Alexander, and got the good will of Jonathan: but had given him time so to do. However, he also wrote a letter to Jonathan, and to the people: the contents whereof are these:—

"King Demetrius to Jonathan, and to the nation of the Jews sendeth greeting. Since you have preserved your friendship for us, and when you have been tempted by our enemies, you have not joined yourselves to them; I both commend you for your fidelity, and exhort you to continue in the same disposition: for which you shall receive rewards from us. For I will

* Since Jonathan did not put on the pontifical robes till seven or eight years after the death of his brother Judas, or not till the feast of tabernacles in the 160th of the Seleucidæ, 1 Macc. x. 21. Petitus's emendation seems here to deserve consideration: 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 would tolerably well agree with the date in the Maccabees, and with Josephus's own exact chronology, at the end of the XXth book of these Antiquities, which the present text cannot be made to do.

† From the time of the return from the Babylonish captivity, the office of high-priest had been in the family of Josedek, and, in a lineal descent, was transmitted down to Onias, the third of that name. He was supplanted by Jason his brother, as Jason was by his brother Menelaus, and after the death of Menelaus, Alcimus, who was of a different family, was put into the office by the command of the king of Syria. Whether the Asmoneans were of the race of Josedek, or not, it is no where said: but it is certain that they were of the course of Joarib, (1 Macc. ii. 1,) which was the first class of the sons of Aaron; and therefore, upon the failure of the former pontifical family, they had the best right to succeed. With this right it was, that Jonathan took the office; and in his family it became settled, and continued for several descents, until the time of Herod, who, from an office of inheritance, changed it into that of arbitrary will and pleasure. Whoever had the power after him, put the high-priests in or out, as they thought fit, till at length the office was extinguished by the destruction of the temple by the Romans. *Prideaux's Connection*, an. 253. B.

free you from the greatest part of the tributes and taxes which you formerly paid to the kings, my predecessors, and to myself. And 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 upon crowns which you used to offer to me. And instead of the third part of the fruits of the field, and the half of the fruits of the trees, I 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 to Judea; Samaria, Galilee, and Perea, that I relinquish to you for all time to come. I will also that the city of Jerusalem be holy and inviolable, and free from tithes and taxes unto its utmost bounds. And I so far recede from my title to the citadel, as to permit Jonathan, your high-priest, to possess it; that he may place such a garrison in it, as he approves of for fidelity and good will to himself; that they may keep it for us. I also make free all those Jews that have been made captives and slaves in my kingdom: and 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 each of them, be free from any imposition. In the same manner I set free the Jews that are inhabitants in my kingdom, and order that no injury be done them. I also give leave to such of them as are willing to enlist themselves in my army, that they may do it, and those as far as thirty thousand: which Jewish soldiers, wheresoever 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 own body, and as rulers over those that are in my court. I give them also permission to use the laws of their forefathers; 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 care, that no 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 about the sacrifices, one hundred and fifty

* Take Grotius's notes here. "The Jews," says he, "were wont to present crowns to the kings of Syria. Afterwards that gold, which was paid instead of those crowns, or which was expended in making them, was called the crown gold, and the crown tax." On 1 Macc. x. 29.

thousand drachmæ; and what money is to spare shall be your own. I also release to you those ten thousand drachmæ which the kings received from the temple; because they appertain to the priests that minister in that temple. And whosoever shall flee 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 in safety. I give you leave to repair and rebuild your temple; and that all be done at my expense. 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 expense."

This was what Demetrius promised, and granted to the Jews by this letter. But king Alexander raised a great army of mercenary soldiers, and of those that deserted to him out of Syria; and made an expedition against Demetrius. And when they came 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 the rest ran away. Demetrius indeed fought courageously, and slew great numbers of the enemy: but as he was in 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, encompassed him round, and all threw their darts at him. He being now on foot, fought bravely: but at length 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.

* In the first onset, Demetrius's left wing put the opposite wing of the enemy to flight: but as he pursued them too far, (a fault in war which has lost many victories,) by the time that they came back, the right wing, in which Demetrius fought in person, was overborne, and he slain in the rout: for his horse having plunged him in a bog, they who pursued him shot at him there with their arrows, till he died. *Joseph. Antiq.* lib. 13. c. 5. *Justin*, lib. 35, c. 1; *Apion, de Syriacis*, and *Polybius*, lib. 8. B.

† 1 Macc. x. 50.

‡ Since the rest of the historians now extant give this Demetrius 13 years; and Josephus only 11 years; Dean Prideaux does not amiss in ascribing to him the mean number 12.

CHAP. III.

OF THE FRIENDSHIP THAT SUBSISTED BETWEEN ONIAS AND PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR; AND OF THE TEMPLE WHICH ONIAS BUILT IN EGYPT, LIKE TO THAT AT JERUSALEM.

THE son of Onias, the high-priest, who was of the same name with his father, and who fled to Ptolemy Philometor, 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 desire to purchase to himself a memorial and eternal fame, he resolved to send to king 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 why he was desirous so to do, was that he relied upon the prophet Isaiah, who lived about 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. Accordingly Onias was elevated with this prediction: and wrote the following epistle to Ptolemy and Cleopatra:—

“ Having done many and great things for you in the affairs of the war, by the assistance of God; and that in Cœlesyria and Phœnicia: I came at length with the Jews to Leontopolis, and to other places of your nation. Where I found that the greatest part of your people had temples in an improper manner; and that on this account they bare ill will one against another: which happens to the Egyptians, by reason of the multitude of the 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 country Diana; this place is full of materials of several sorts, and replenished with sacred animals. I desire therefore that you will grant me leave to purge this holy place: which belongs to no master, and is fallen down; and to build there a temple to Almighty God, after the pattern of that in Je-

* Book XII. chap. 9.

rusalem, and of the same dimensions; that may be for the benefit of thyself, and thy wife, and children: that those Jews which dwell in Egypt may have a place whither they may come and meet together in mutual harmony one with another, and be subservient to thy advantages. For the prophet Isaiah foretold that there* should be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God.† And many such things did he prophecy relating to that place.”

And this was what Onias wrote to king Ptolemy; whose piety and that of his sister and wife Cleopatra will appear, by that epistle which they wrote in answer to it. For they laid the blame and the transgression of the law upon the head of Onias. And this was their reply: “ King Ptolemy and queen Cleopa-

* Isaiah xix. 19.

† It seems to me, contrary to the opinion of Josephus, and of the moderns, both Jews and Christians, that this prophecy of Isaiah xix. 10, &c. “ In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt,” &c. directly foretold the building of the temple of Onias in Egypt, and was a sufficient warrant to the Jews for building it, and for worshipping the God of Israel therein. See Authentic Records, part II. page 755. God indeed seems to have better accepted of the sacrifices and prayers here offered him, than of those at Jerusalem. And truly the marks of Jewish corruption or interpolation in this text in order to discourage their people from approving of the worship of God here, are very strong; and highly deserve our consideration and correction. The foregoing verse in Isaiah runs thus, in our common copies: “ In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan [the Hebrew language; shall be full of Jews whose sacred books were in Hebrew;] and swear to the Lord of Hosts. One [or the first] shall be called the city of Destruction,” Isa. xx. 18. A strange name, City of Destruction! upon so joyful an occasion! and a name never heard of in the land of Egypt, or perhaps any other nation! The old reading was evidently, the City of the Sun, or Heliopolis; and Onkelos in effect, and Symmachus, with the Arabic version, entirely confess that to be the true reading. The Septuagint also, though they have the text disguised in the common copies, and call it Asedek, the City of Righteousness; yet in two or three other copies the Hebrew word itself for the sun, Achares or Thares, is preserved. And since Onias insists upon this place, besides the words by him recited, it is highly probable that these were especially meant by him; and that one main reason why he applied this prediction to himself, and to his prefecture of Heliopolis, which Dean Prideaux well proves was in that part of Egypt; and why he chose to build in that prefecture of Heliopolis, though otherwise an improper place, was, that he had the same authority for building this temple in his own prefecture of Heliopolis as in Egypt. Dean Prideaux has much difficulty to avoid seeing this corruption of the Hebrew. But it being in support of his own opinion about this temple, he durst not see it: and indeed he reasons here in the most injudicious manner. See him at the year 149.

tra, to Onias send greeting. We have read thy petition ; where-
in thou desirest permission to-purge that temple which is fallen
down at Leontopolis in the Nomus of Heliopolis, and which is
named from the country Bubastis. On which account we can-
not but wonder that it should be pleasing to God to have a tem-
ple erected in a place so unclean, and so full of sacred animals.
But since thou sayest that Isaiah the prophet foretold this long
ago ; we give thee leave to do it ; if it may be done according
to your law ; and so that we may not appear to have at all of-
fended God herein."

Accordingly Onias took the place ; and built a temple, and
an altar to God ; like indeed to that in Jerusalem, but smaller,
and poorer. I do not think it proper for me now to describe
its dimensions, or its vessels : which have been already de-
scribed in my seventh book of *The Wars of the Jews*.* How-
ever, Onias found other Jews also like to himself, together with
priests and Levites that there performed divine service.

Now it came to pass that the Alexandrian Jews and those Sa-
maritans who payed their worship to the temple that was built
in the days of Alexander at mount Gerizzim, did now make a
sedition one against another, and disputed about their temples
before Ptolemy himself : the Jews saying, that, according to
the laws of Moses, the temple was to be built at Jerusalem ; and
the Samaritans saying that it was to be built at Gerizzim. They
desired therefore that the king would sit with his friends, and
hear the debates about these matters ; and punish those with
death who were baffled. Now Sabbeus and Theodosius man-
aged the argument of the Samaritans ; and Andronicus, the son
of Messalamus, for the people of Jerusalem. And they took an
oath by God and the king to make their demonstrations ac-
cording to the law. And they desired of Ptolemy, that whoso-
ever he should find that transgressed what they had sworn to, he
would put him to death. Accordingly the king took several of
his friends into the council, and sat down in order to hear what
the pleaders said. Now the Jews that were at Alexandria were
in great concern for those men, whose lot it was to contend for
the temple at Jerusalem. For they took it very ill that any
should pretend to take away the reputation of that temple,

* See *War of the Jews*, Book VII. chap. 10.

which was so ancient, and so celebrated, all over the habitable earth. Now when Sabbeus and Theodosius had given leave to Andronicus to speak first, he began to demonstrate out of the law, and out of the successions of the high-priests, how they every one in succession from his father had received that dignity, and ruled over the temple; and how all the kings of Asia had honoured that temple with their donations, and with the most splendid gifts. But as for that at Gerizzim, he made no account of it, nor regarded it as if it had ever had a being. By this speech, and other arguments, Andronicus persuaded the king to determine,* that the temple at Jerusalem was built according to the laws of Moses: and to put Sabbeus and Theodosius to death. And these were the events that befell the Jews at Alexandria, in the days of Ptolemy Philometor.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE HONOURS CONFERRED UPON JONATHAN BY ALEXANDER, KING OF SYRIA; AND OF THE AFFAIRS OF DEMETRIUS, WHO AFTERWARD MADE A LEAGUE OF FRIENDSHIP WITH JONATHAN.

DEMETRIUS being slain in battle, as we have already† related, Alexander took the kingdom of Syria; and wrote to Ptole-

* A very unfair disputation this! while the Jewish disputant, knowing that he could not properly prove out of the Pentateuch, that the place which the Lord their God should choose to place his name there, so often referred to in the book of Deuteronomy, was Jerusalem any more than Gerizzim: that being not determined till the days of David: see VII. 13. proves only what the Samaritans did not deny, that the temple at Jerusalem was much more ancient, and much more celebrated and honoured than that at Gerizzim: which was nothing to the present purpose. The whole evidence, by the very oaths of both parties being obliged to be confined to the law of Moses, or to the Pentateuch alone. However, worldly policy, and interest, and the multitude prevailing, the court gave sentence, as usual, on the stronger side; and Sabbeus and Theodosius, the Samaritan disputants, were martyred: and this, so far as appears, without any direct bearing at all. Which is like the usual practice of such political courts about matters of religion. Our copies say, that the body of the Jews were in great concern about those men, in the plural, who were to dispute for their temple at Jerusalem; whereas, it seems here, they had but one disputant, Andronicus by name. Perhaps more were prepared to speak on the Jews' side: but the first having answered to his name, and overcome the Samaritans, there was no necessity for any other defender of the Jerusalem temple.

† Chap. II.

my Philometor, desiring his daughter in marriage; for he said it was but just that he should be joined in affinity to one who had now received the principality of his forefathers; and had been promoted to it by God's providence; and had conquered Demetrius; and who was on other accounts not unworthy of being related to him. Ptolemy received this proposal gladly: and wrote him an answer, saluting him on account of his having received the kingdom of his forefathers; and promising that he would give him his daughter in marriage, and would accompany her as far as Ptolemais; where he desired, that he would meet him. When Ptolemy had written thus, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and brought his daughter Cleopatra along with him. And as he found Alexander there before him, according as he had desired, he gave him his child in marriage; and for her portion gave as much silver and gold, as became such a king to give.

When the wedding was over, Alexander wrote to Jonathan the high-priest; and desired him to come to Ptolemais. So when he came to these kings, and had made them magnificent presents, he was honoured by them both. Alexander compelled him also to put off his own garments, and to take a purple garment; and made him sit with him in his throne: commanding his captains that they should go with him into the middle of the city, and proclaim, that it was not permitted to any one to speak against him, or to give him any disturbance. And when the captains had thus done, those that were prepared to accuse Jonathan, and who bare him ill-will, when they saw the honour that was done him by proclamation, and that by the king's order, ran away, and were afraid lest some mischief should befall them. Nay, king Alexander was so very kind to Jonathan, that he set him down as the principal of his friends.

But upon the hundred and sixty-fifth year, Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, came from Crete, with a great number of mercenary soldiers, which Lasthenes, the Cretan, brought him; and sailed to Cilicia. This cast Alexander into great concern and disorder, when he heard it. So he hastened immediately out of Phœnicia, and came to Antioch; that he might put matters in a safe posture there, before Demetrius should come. He also left Apollonius* Daus governor of Cœlesyria, who coming

* This Apollonius Daus was, by his account, the son of Apollonius, who had

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: that 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," said he, "and sit still among the mountains, and pretend to have forces with thee. But if thou hast any dependance on thy strength, come down into the plain, and let our armies be compared together; and the event of the battle will demonstrate which of us is the most courageous. However, take notice, that the most valiant men of every city are in my army. And that these are the very men who have always defeated thy progenitors. But let us have the battle in such a place of the country where we fight with weapons, and not with

been made governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia by Seleucus Philopator; and was himself a confidant of his son Demetrius the father; and restored to his father's government by him; but afterwards revolted from him to Alexander: but not to Demetrius the son.

* Apollonius was a common name among the Syro-Macedonians and Greeks; and, in the history of the Maccabees, we find so many mentioned of that name, that for the prevention of mistakes, it may not be improper to give some account of the several persons who bore it. The first that we meet with of that name is Apollonius, the son of Thraseas, 2 Macc. iii. 5. who was governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia, under Seleucus Philopator when Heliodorus came to Jerusalem, to rob the temple. He was chief minister of state to Seleucus; but, on the accession of his brother Antiochus Epiphanes to the crown, he left Syria, and retired to Miletus. He had a son of his own name, that was bred up at Rome, and resided with Demetrius, (the son of Seleucus Philopator,) who was then a hostage in that place. When Demetrius recovered the crown of Syria, this Apollonius became his prime favourite, and was made governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia, the same government which his father held under Seleucus Philopator; and this I take to be the same Apollonius, who being continued in the same government by Alexander, now revolted from him to embrace the interest of Demetrius, the son of his old master, and, to engage Jonathan to do the like, marched his forces against him. Another Apollonius is spoken of, 2 Macc. iv. 21. as the chief minister of Antiochus Epiphanes, who from him was sent as ambassador first to Rome, and afterwards to Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt; and him I take to be the same, that with a detachment of two and twenty thousand men, was sent to destroy Jerusalem, and build a fortress on mount Acra. There are, besides these, two other persons in the history of the Maccabees mentioned under the name of Apollonius. The former of these being governor of Samaria in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, 1 Macc. iii. 10. was slain in battle by Judas Maccabeus; and the latter, (who is called the son of Genneus, 2 Macc. xii. 2.) being governor of some toparchy in Palestine, under Antiochus Eupator, did then signalize himself by being a great enemy to the Jews. *Prideaux's Connection*, anno 148. B.

stones; and where there may be no place whither those that are beaten may flee."

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. For 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 them by force; and therefore they opened the gates to him. Apollonius hearing 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 were 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 to Ashdod. But as soon as Apollonius perceived that his enemy was in the plain, he came back, and gave him battle. Now Apollonius had laid a thousand horsemen in ambush, in a valley, that they might be seen by their enemies as behind them. Jonathan, however, was under no consternation, on perceiving them, 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 face those that attacked them both before and behind. And while the fight lasted till the evening, he gave part of his forces to his brother Simon, and ordered him to attack the enemies: but for himself, he charged those that were with him to cover themselves with their armour, and receive the darts of the horsemen. Accordingly the enemies' horsemen, while they threw their darts till they had no more left, did them no harm: for the darts that were thrown did not enter into their bodies; being thrown upon the shields that were united and conjoined together: the closeness of which easily overcame the force of the darts, and they flew about without any effect. But when the enemy grew remiss in throwing their darts, from morning till late at night; Simon perceived their weariness, and fell upon the body of men before him. And because his soldiers shewed great alacrity, he put the enemy to flight. And when the horsemen saw that the foot ran

away, neither did they stay themselves: but they being weary by the duration of the fight till evening, and their hope from the infantry being quite gone, they basely ran away, and that in great confusion also; till they were separated one from another, and scattered over all the plain. Hereupon Jonathan pursued them as far as Ashdod; and slew a great many of them; and compelled the rest, in despair of escaping, to flee to the temple of Dagon, which was at Ashdod. But Jonathan took the city on the first onset, and burnt it, and the villages about it, nor did he abstain from the temple of Dagon itself, but burnt it also; and destroyed those that had fled to it. Now the entire multitude of the enemies that fell in the battle, and were consumed in the temple, were eight thousand. When Jonathan therefore had overcome so great an army, he removed from Ashdod, and came to Ascalon. And when he had pitched his camp without the city, the people of Ascalon came out and met him; bringing him hospitable presents, and honouring him: so he accepted of their kind intentions, and returned thence to Jerusalem, with a great deal of 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 honorary rewards, as a golden * button; which it is the custom to give the king's kinsmen, and allowed him Ekron, and its toparchy for his own inheritance.

About this time king Ptolemy, who was called Philometor, led an army, partly by the sea and partly by land, and came to Syria, to the assistance of his son-in-law, Alexander. And accordingly, all the cities received him willingly, as Alexander had commanded them to do; and conducted him as far as Ashdod; where they all made loud complaints about the temple of Dagon, which was burnt; and accused Jonathan of having

* Dr. Hudson observes here, that the Phœnicians and Romans used to reward such as had deserved well of them, by presenting to them a golden button. This golden button or buckle, (which was worn upon the shoulder,) was a very singular mark of distinction both among the Greeks and the Persians, (from whom the Macedonians took it,) and was generally made the reward of great and gallant actions in war. *Calmet's Commentary* on 1 Macc. x. 89. B.

laid it waste, and destroyed the country adjoining with fire, and slain a great number of them. Ptolemy heard these accusations, but said nothing. Jonathan also went to meet Ptolemy as far as Joppa: and obtained from him hospitable presents, and those glorious in their kinds, with all the marks of honour. And when he had conducted him as far as the river called Eleutherus, he returned again to Jerusalem.*

But as Ptolemy was at Ptolemais, he was very near to a most unexpected destruction. For a treacherous design was laid for his life by Alexander, by the means of Ammonius, who was his friend. And as the treachery was very plain, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander; and required of him that he should bring Ammonius to condign punishment; informing him what snares had been laid for him by Ammonius, and desiring that he might be punished accordingly. But when Alexander did not comply with his demands, he perceived that it was he himself who laid the design, and he was very angry at him.† Alexander had also formerly been on very ill terms with the people of Antioch; for they had suffered very much by his means. Yet did Ammonius at length undergo the punishment his insolent crimes had deserved. For he was killed in an opprobrious manner, like a woman, while he endeavoured to conceal himself in a feminine habit.

Hereupon Ptolemy blamed himself for having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, and for the league he had made with him to assist him against Demetrius. So he dissolved his relationship, by taking his daughter away from him; and immediately sent to Demetrius, and offered to make a league of mutual assistance and friendship with him, and agreed with him to give him his daughter in marriage, and to restore him to the principality of his fathers. Demetrius was well pleased with this ambassage, and accepted of his assistance, and of the marriage of his daughter. But Ptolemy had still one more hard task to do; and that was to persuade the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius; because they were greatly displeased at him, on account of the injuries his father Demetrius had done them. Yet did he bring this about. For as the peo-

* 1 Macc. xi. 7.

† This is related very differently in our copies of the first book of Maccabees.

ple of Antioch hated Alexander, on Ammonius's account, as we have shewn already; they were easily prevailed with to cast him out of Antioch. He accordingly retired to Cilicia; while Ptolemy came to Antioch, and was made king by its inhabitants, and by the army. So that he was forced to put on two diadems, the one of Asia, the other of Egypt. But being naturally a good and a righteous man, and not desirous of what belonged to others; and besides these dispositions, being also a wise man in reasoning about futurities, he determined to avoid the envy of the Romans. So he called the people of Antioch together, 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; and he undertook that he would himself be a good monitor and governor to him; and promised that he would not permit him to attempt any bad actions. But that for his own part he was contented with the kingdom of Egypt. By which discourse he persuaded the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius.

In the mean time, Alexander assembled a numerous army, and came out of Cilicia into Syria, and burnt the country belonging to Antioch, and pillaged it.* Whereupon Ptolemy, and his son-in-law Demetrius, brought their army against him; (for he had already given him his daughter in marriage;) and beat Alexander, and put him to flight. And accordingly he fled into Arabia. Now it happened in the time of battle that Ptolemy's horse, upon hearing the noise of an elephant, cast him off his back, and threw him on the ground. Upon the sight of this accident his enemies fell upon him, and gave him many wounds upon his head, and brought him into danger of death; for when his guards caught him up, he was so very ill, that for four days' time he was not able either to understand, or to speak. However, Zabdiel, a prince among the Arabians, cut off Alexander's head, and sent it to Ptolemy. Who, recovering of his wounds, and returning to his understanding on the fifth day, heard at once a most agreeable hearing, and saw a most agreeable sight; which were the death, and the head of Alexander. Yet a little after this joy for the death of Alexan-

* An. 145. B. C.

der, with which he was so greatly satisfied, he also departed this life. Now Alexander, who was called Balas, reigned over Asia five years.

But when Demetrius who was styled Nicator,* had taken the kingdom, he was so wicked as to treat Ptolemy's soldiers very hardly; neither remembering the league of mutual assistance that was between them, nor that he was his son-in-law and kinsman, by Cleopatra's marriage to him. So the soldiers fled from his wicked treatment, to Alexandria. But Demetrius kept his elephants. In the mean time Jonathan, the high-priest, levied an army out of all Judea, and attacked the citadel at Jerusalem, and besieged it. It was held by a garrison of Macedonians, and by some of those wicked men who had deserted the customs of their forefathers. These men at first despised the attempts of Jonathan for taking the place; as depending on its strength. But some of those wicked men went out by night, and came to Demetrius, and informed him, that the citadel was besieged. He was accordingly irritated with what he heard, and took his army, and came from Antioch against Jonathan. And when he was at Antioch, he wrote to him, and commanded him to come to him quickly, to Ptolemais. Jonathan did not intermit the siege of the citadel; but took with him the elders of the people, and the priests; 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 honoured by him, and received from him the confirmation of his high-priesthood, as he had possessed it by the grants of the kings his predecessors. And when the Jewish deserters accused him, Demetrius was so far from giving credit to them, that when he petitioned him that he would demand no more than three hundred talents for the tribute of all Judea, and the three toparchies of Samaria, Perea, and Galilee, he complied with the proposal, and gave him a letter confirming all those grants: whose contents were as follow :—

* This name, Demetrius Nicator, or Demetrius the Conqueror, is so written on his coins still extant; as Hudson and Spanheim informs us. The latter of whom gives us here the entire inscription, "King Demetrius, the god, Philadelphus, Nicator."

“King Demetrius* to Jonathan his brother, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. We have sent you a copy of that epistle which we have written to 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 shew favour to the nation of the Jews, which hath observed the rules of justice in our concerns. Accordingly I remit to them the three prefectures, Apherime, Lydda, and Ramatha, which have been added to Judea out of Samaria, with their appurtenances. As also 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 crowns that used to be presented to us. 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.”

Now when Demetrius saw that there was peace every where, and that there was no danger, nor fear of war, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, and diminished their pay; and even retained in pay no others than such foreigners as came up with him from Crete, and from the other islands. However, this procured him ill will and hatred from the soldiers; on whom he bestowed nothing from this time; while the kings before him used to pay them in times of peace, as they did before; that they might have their good will; and that they might be ready to undergo the difficulties of war, if occasion should require it.

* Dr. Hudson observes, that Josephus gives us this epistle of king Demetrius to Jonathan in purer Greek, than does the translator of the first book of Maccabees; where also it is preserved, 1 Macc xi. 30—37, whence he gathers, how careful Josephus was of elegance in the Greek tongue. Nor is this other than Josephus's usual custom, in producing his other ancient records; which he loves to give us, as much as possible, in his own language. However, as I take it, the most material reason of the different purity of these two versions of the present epistle is this, that Josephus wrote the purer Attic, and the translator of the first book of Maccabees the coarser Hellenistic dialect; which would naturally produce this inequality.

CHAP. V.

OF THE REVOLT OF TRYPHO, WHO, AFTER HE HAD DEFEATED DEMETRIUS, DELIVERED THE KINGDOM TO ANTIOCHUS, THE SON OF ALEXANDER, AND GAINED JONATHAN FOR HIS ASSISTANT; AND CONCERNING THE ACTIONS AND EMBASSIES OF JONATHAN.

NOW there was a certain commander of Alexander's forces, of Apamia by birth: his name was Diodotus, but he was also called Trypho. This man took notice of the ill will the soldiers bare to Demetrius; and went to Malchus, the Arabian, who brought up Antiochus, the son of Alexander; and told him what ill the armies bare Demetrius; and persuaded him to give him Antiochus, because he would make him king, and recover to him the kingdom of his father. Malchus at first opposed him in this attempt, because he could not believe him: but Trypho over-persuaded him to comply with his intentions and in-treaties.

But Jonathan, the high-priest, being desirous to get clear of those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish deserters and wicked men, as well as of those in all the garrisons in the country, sent presents and ambassadors to Demetrius, and intreated him to take away his soldiers out of the strong holds of Judea. Demetrius made answer, that after the war, which he was now deeply engaged in, he would not only grant him that, but greater things also. And he desired he would send him some assistance; and informed him that his army had deserted him. So Jonathan chose out three thousand of his soldiers, and sent them to Demetrius.

Now the people of Antioch hated Demetrius; both on account of what mischief he had himself done them; and because they were his enemies also on account of his father Demetrius, who had greatly abused them. So they watched some opportunity, which they might lay hold on, to fall upon him. And when they were informed of the assistance that was coming to Demetrius from Jonathan, and considered at the same time that he would raise a numerous army, unless they prevented him, and seized upon him; they took their weapons immediately,

and encompassed his palace, in the way of a siege; and seizing upon all the ways of getting out, they sought to subdue their king. And when he saw that the people of Antioch were become his bitter enemies, and that they were thus in arms, he took the mercenary soldiers which he had with him, and those Jews who were sent by Jonathan, and assaulted the Antiochians. But he was overpowered by their numbers, and was beaten. But when the Jews saw that the Antiochians were superior, they went up to the top of the palace, and shot at them from thence. And because they were so remote from them by their height, that they suffered nothing on their side, but did great execution on the others, as fighting from such an elevation; they drove them out of the adjoining houses, and immediately set them on fire. Whereupon the flame spread itself over the whole city, and burnt it all down. This happened by reason of the closeness of the houses; and because they were generally built of wood. So the Antiochians, when they were not able to help themselves, nor to stop the fire, were put to flight. And as the Jews leaped from the top of one house, to the top of another, and pursued them after that manner; it thence happened that the pursuit was very surprising. But when the king saw that the Antiochians were busied in saving their children and their wives, and so did not fight any longer, he fell upon them in the narrow passages, and fought them, and slew a great many of them; till at last they were forced to throw down their arms, and to deliver themselves up to Demetrius: so he forgave their insolent behaviour, and put an end to the sedition. And when he had given rewards to the Jews of the rich spoils he had gotten, and had returned them thanks, as the cause of his victory, he sent them away to Jerusalem, to Jonathan, with an ample testimony of the assistance they had afforded him. Yet did he prove an ill man to Jonathan afterward, and brake the promises he had made: and he threatened he would make war upon him, unless he would pay all that tribute which the Jewish nation owed to the first kings of Syria. And this he had done, if Trypho had not hindered him, and diverted his preparations against Jonathan, to a concern for his own preservation. For he now returned out of Arabia into Syria, with the child Antiochus; for he was yet in age but a youth; and put the diadem on his head. And as the whole forces that had left De-

metrius, because they had no pay, came to his assistance, he made war upon Demetrius, and, joining battle with him, overcame him in the fight; and took from him both his elephants and the city Antioch.

Upon this defeat Demetrius retired into Cilicia; but the child Antiochus sent ambassadors, and an epistle, to Jonathan; to make him his friend, and confederate; and confirmed to him the high-priesthood, and yielded up to him the four prefectures which had been added to Judea. Moreover he sent him vessels, and cups of gold, and a purple garment, and gave him leave to use them. He also presented him with a golden button; and styled him one of his principal friends; and appointed his brother Simon to be the general over the forces from the ladder of Tyre, into Egypt.* So Jonathan was so pleased with these grants made him by Antiochus, that he sent ambassadors to him, and to Trypho, and professed himself their friend and confederate: and he said he would join with them in a war against Demetrius; for that he had made no proper returns for the kindnesses he had done him, but on the contrary he, for such good turns, had requited him with injuries.

So Antiochus gave Jonathan leave to raise a numerous army out of Syria, and Phœnicia, and to make war against Demetrius's generals. Whereupon he went in haste to the several cities; which received him splendidly indeed, but put no forces into his hands. And when he was come from thence to Ascalon, the inhabitants of Ascalon came, and brought him presents, and met him in a splendid manner. He exhorted them, and every one of the cities of Cœlesyria, to forsake Demetrius and to join with Antiochus; to endeavour to punish Demetrius, for what offences he had been guilty of against themselves; and told them, there were many reasons for that procedure, if they had a mind so to do. And when he had persuaded those cities to promise their assistance to Antiochus, he came to Gaza, in order to induce them also to be friends to Antiochus. But he found the inhabitants of Gaza much more alienated from him than he expected: for they had shut their gates against him: and although they had deserted Demetrius, they had not resolved to join themselves to Antiochus. This provoked Jonathan

* 1 Macc. xi. 57—59.

to besiege them, and to harrass their country. For as he set a part of his army round about Gaza itself, so with the rest he overran their land, and spoiled 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; that what distressed them was at hand, 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 prudent to leave off any longer continuance with him, and to cultivate friendship with the other. So they sent to Jonathan, and professed they would be his friends, and afford him assistance. For such is the temper of men, that before they have had the trial of great afflictions, they do not understand what is for their advantage: but when they find themselves to be under such afflictions, they then change their minds; and what it had been better for them to have done before they had been at all damaged, they choose to do, but not till after they have suffered such damages. However, he made a league of friendship with them, and took from them hostages for their performance of it; and sent these hostages to Jerusalem; while he went himself over all the country, as far as Damascus.

Now the generals of Demetrius's forces came to the city Cadesh, between the land of the Tyrians and Galilee. For they supposed they should hereby draw Jonathan out of Syria, in order to preserve Galilee; and that he would not overlook the Gallileans, who were his own people, when war was made upon them. But Jonathan 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 a garrison of Demetrius's kept it: as we have already† related. But as Simon was raising banks, and bringing his engines of war against Bethsura, and was very earnest about the siege of it, the garrison was afraid lest the place should be taken of Simon by force, and they put 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 then they would leave the place, and go away to Demetrius. Accordingly he gave them his

* 1 Macc. xi. 61.

† Chap. 2.

oath, and ejected them out of the city: and he put therein a garrison of his own.

But Jonathan removed out of Galilee, and from the waters which are called Gennesar; (for 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, who were 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 his own soldiers for the battle as well as 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 ran away in haste: and indeed all the forces forsook Jonathan, excepting about fifty who stayed with him: and with them Mattathias the son of Absalom, and Judas the son of Chapseus, who were commanders of the whole army. These marched boldly, and like men desperate, against the enemy; and so pushed them, that by their courage they daunted them; and with their weapons in their hands they put them to flight. And when those soldiers of Jonathan, that had retired, saw the enemy giving way, they got together after their flight, and pursued them with great violence. And this they did as far as Cadesh, where the camp of the enemy lay.*

Jonathan having thus obtained a glorious victory, and slain two thousand of the enemy, 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 which their nation had with them formerly.† He enjoined the same ambassadors, that as they came back, they should go to the Spartans; and put them in mind of their friendship and kindred. So when the ambassadors came to Rome, they went into the senate, and said what they were commanded by Jonathan the high-priest to say: how he had sent them to confirm their friendship. The senate then confirmed what had been formerly decreed concer-

* 1 Macc. xi. 73.

† See Book XII. chap. 10.

ning their friendship with the Jews; and gave them letters to carry to all the kings of Asia and Europe, and to the governors of the cities, that they might safely conduct them to their own country. Accordingly as they returned, they came to Sparta; and delivered the epistle which they had received of Jonathan to them. A copy of which here follows:

“Jonathan the high-priest of the Jewish nation, and the senate, and body of the people of the Jews, to the Ephori, and senate, and people of the Lacedæmonians, send greeting. If you be well, and both your public and private affairs be agreeable to your mind, it is according to our wishes. We are well also.* When in former times an epistle was brought to Onias, who was then our high-priest, from Areus, who at that time was your king, by Demoteles, concerning the kindred that was between us and you, a copy of which is here subjoined; we both joyfully received the epistle, and were well pleased with Demoteles, and Areus. Although we did not need such a demonstration; because we† were satisfied about it, from the sacred writings; yet did not we think fit first to begin the claim of this relation to you; lest we should seem too early in taking to ourselves the glory which is now given us by you. It is a long time since this relation of ours to you hath been renewed: and when we, upon holy and festival days, offer sacrifices to God, we pray to him for your preservation and victory. As to ourselves, although we have had many wars that have compassed us round, by reason of the covetousness of our neighbours, yet did not we 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 honourable men belonging to our senate, to the Romans, we give them this epistle to you also: that they might renew

* See Book XII. chap 4.

† This clause is otherwise rendered in the first book of Maccabees xii. 9. “For that we have the holy books of Scripture in our hands to comfort us.” The Hebrew original being lost, we cannot certainly judge which was the truest version. Only the coherence favours Josephus. But if this were the Jews’ meaning, that they were satisfied out of their Bible, that the Jews and Lacedæmonians were of kin; that part of their Bible is now lost; for we find no such assertion in our present copies.

that friendship which is between us. You will therefore do well to write to us, and send an account of 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 assistance, and sent it to them.

At this time there were three sects among the Jews, who had different opinions concerning human actions. The one was called the sect of the Pharisees; another the sect of the Sadducees; and the other the sect of the Essenes. Now the Pharisees* say that some actions, but not all, are the works of fate: and some of them are in our own power; and that they are liable to fate, but are not caused by it. But the sect of the Essenes affirm, that fate governs all things; and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its determination. And for the Sadducees, they say there is no such thing as fate, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal: but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power; so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly. However, I have given a more exact account of these opinions, in the second book of the Jewish War.

Now the generals of Demetrius being willing to recover the defeat they had sustained, gathered a greater army together than they had before, and came against Jonathan. But as soon

* Those that suppose Josephus to contradict himself in his three several accounts of the notions of the Pharisees; this here, and that earlier one, which is the largest, Of the War, II. 8. and that later, Antiq. XVIII. 1. as if he sometimes said they introduced an absolute fatality, and denied all freedom of human actions, is almost wholly groundless. He ever, (as the learned Cassaubon here truly observes) asserting that the Pharisees were between the Essenes and Sadducees, and did only so far ascribe all to fate or Divine Providence, as was consistent with the freedom of human actions. However, their perplexed way of talking about fate or Providence, as overruling all things, made it commonly thought they were willing to excuse their sins by ascribing them to fate; as in the Apostolical Constitutions, VI. 6. and Jerom aduers. Pelag 10. Perhaps under the same general name some difference of opinions in this point might be propagated: as is very common in all parties: especially in points of metaphysical subtilty. However our Josephus, who in his heart was a great admirer of the piety of the Essenes, was in practice a Pharisee; as he himself informs us, in his own life. And his account of this doctrine of the Pharisees is certainly agreeable to his own opinion: who ever both fully allowed the freedom of human actions; and yet strongly believed the powerful interposition of Divine Providence. See concerning this matter a remarkable clause, Antiq. XVI. 11.

as he was informed of their coming, he went suddenly to meet them, to the country of Hamath: for he resolved to give them no opportunity of coming into Judea. So he pitched his camp at fifty furlongs' distance from the enemy; and sent out spies to take a view of their camp, and after what manner they were encamped. When his spies had given him full information, and had seized upon some of them by night, who told him the enemy would soon attack him; he provided for his security, and placed watchmen beyond his camp, and kept all his forces armed all night. And he gave them a charge to be of good courage, and to have their minds prepared to fight in the night time, if they should be obliged so to do; lest their enemies' designs should seem concealed from them. But when Demetrius's commanders were informed that Jonathan knew what they intended, their counsels were disordered; and it alarmed them 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 snares they had laid for them. For should they hazard an open battle, they did not think they should be a match for Jonathan's army. So they resolved to flee: and having lighted many fires, that when the enemy saw them, they might suppose they were there still, they retired. But when Jonathan came to give them battle in the morning, and found their camp deserted, and understood they were fled, he pursued them. Yet could not he overtake them, for they had already passed over the river Eleutherus; and were out of danger. So when Jonathan returned thence, he went into Arabia, and fought against the Nabateans;* and drove away a great deal of their prey, and took many captives, and came to Damascus: and there sold off that he had taken. About the same time it was that Simon, his brother, went over all Judea, and Palestine, as far as Ascalon; and fortified the strong holds; and when he had made them very strong both in the edifices erected, and

* Since the Nabatean Arabians were now in amity with the Jews; ch. 1. perhaps the reading in 1 Macc. xii. 31 may be the truer: where these people are called Zabadeans. Otherwise Grotius's conjecture, set down by Dr. Hudson, must be allowed, that the Nabateans not now following Antiochus, the son of Alexander Balas; but his and Jonathan's enemy Demetrius Nicator, Jonathan endeavoured by force to oblige them to come into his measures, and to acknowledge his friend Antiochus as king of Syria.

in the garrisons placed in them, he came to Joppa: and when he had taken it, he brought a great garrison into it. For he heard that the people of Joppa were disposed to deliver up the city to Demetrius's generals.

When Simon and Jonathan had finished these affairs, they returned to Jerusalem. There Jonathan gathered all the people together, and took counsel to restore the walls of Jerusalem, and to rebuild the wall that encompassed the temple, which had been thrown down; and to make the places adjoining stronger by very high towers: and besides that to build another wall in the midst of the city, in order to exclude the marketplace from the garrison which was in the citadel; and by that means to hinder them from any plenty of provisions: and moreover to make the fortresses that were in the country much stronger and more defensible than they were before. And when these things were approved of by the multitude, as rightly proposed, Jonathan himself took care of the building that belonged to the city; and sent Simon to make the fortresses in the country more secure than formerly. But Demetrius passed over the Euphrates, and came into Mesopotamia; as desirous to contain that country still, as well as Babylon: and when he should have obtained the dominion of the upper provinces, to lay a foundation for recovering his entire kingdom. For those Greeks and Macedonians who dwelt there, frequently sent ambassadors to him, and promised, that if he would come to them, they would deliver themselves up to him, and assist him in fighting against Arsaces,* the king of the Parthians. So he was elevated with these hopes, and came hastily to them; as having resolved that, if he had once overthrown the Parthians, and gotten an army of his own, he would make war against Trypho, and eject him out of Syria. And the people of that country received him with great alacrity. So he raised forces, with which he fought against Arsaces; but he lost all his army, and was himself taken prisoner.

* This king, who was of the famous race of Arsaces, is both here, and 1 Macc. xiv. 2. called by the family name Arsaces: but Appian says, his proper name was Phraates. He is here also called by Josephus the king of the Parthians, as the Greeks used to call them; but by the elder author of the first book of Maccabees, the king of the Persians and Medes; according to the language of the eastern nations. See Authent. Rec. Pt. II. page 1106.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE TREACHEROUS ASSASSINATION OF JONATHAN; THE SUCCESSION OF SIMON AS GENERAL AND HIGH-PRIEST OF THE JEWS; AND THE COURAGEOUS ACTIONS HE PERFORMED AGAINST TRYPHO.

WHEN Trypho knew what had befallen Demetrius, he was no longer firm to Antiochus; but contrived by subtilty to kill him, and then take possession of his kingdom. • But the fear that he was in of Jonathan was an obstacle to 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, judging it best to take him off by deceit and treachery, came from Antioch to Bethshan;* which by the Greeks is called Scythopolis; at which place Jonathan met him, with forty thousand chosen men; for he thought that he came to fight him. But when he perceived that Jonathan was ready to fight, he attempted to gain him by presents, and kind treatment; and gave order to his captains to obey him; and by these means was desirous to give him assurance of his good will, and to take away all suspicions out of his mind; that so he might make him careless, and inconsiderate; and might take him when he was unguarded. He also advised him to dismiss his army, because there was no occasion for bringing it with him; when there was no war, but all was in peace. However he desired him to retain a few about him, and go with him to Ptolemais; for that he would deliver the city up to him; and would bring all the fortresses that were in the country under his dominion; and he told him that he came with those very designs.

Yet did not Jonathan suspect any thing at all by this management; but believed that Trypho gave him this advice out of kindness, and with a sincere design. Accordingly he dismissed his army, and retained no more than three thousand of

* 1 Macc. xii. 39—45.

them with him; and left two thousand in Galilee, and he himself with one thousand came with Trypho to Ptolemais. But when the people of Ptolemais had shut their gates, as it had been commanded them by Trypho to do; he took Jonathan alive, and slew all that were with him. He also sent soldiers against those two thousand that were left in Galilee, in order to destroy them. But those men, having heard the report of what had happened to Jonathan, prevented the execution; and before those that were sent by Trypho came, they covered themselves with their armour, and went away out of the country. Now when those that were sent against them saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, they gave them no disturbance; but returned back to Trypho.

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 fear fell upon them, and made them sad, lest now they were deprived of the courage and conduct of Jonathan, the nations about them should bear them ill will; and as they were before quite on account of Jonathan, they should now rise up against them; and by making war with them should force them into the utmost dangers. And indeed what they suspected really befell them. For when those nations heard of the death of Jonathan, they began to make war with the Jews, as now destitute of a governor. And Trypho himself assembled an army, and had an intention to go up to Judea, and make war against its inhabitants. 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;†

* 1 Macc. xii. 52.

† The commendation which the author of the first book of the Maccabees, chap. xiv. 4. &c. bestows upon Simon, is worth our observation; for he therein tells us, that he sought the good of the nation in every thing, so that his authority always pleased them well; that during his administration, whilst Syria, and other neighbouring kingdoms were almost destroyed by wars, the Jews lived quietly, every man under his own vine and fig-tree, enjoying without fear, the fruits of their labours, and beholding with pleasure the flourishing state of their country; their trade increased by the reduction of Joppa, and other maritime places; their territories enlarged; their armies well disciplined; their towns and fortresses well garrisoned; their religion and liberties secured; their land freed from Heathen enemies, and Jewish apostates; and their friendship courted by all the nations

and thereby to render them more resolute in opposing Trypho, when he should come against them. He then called the people together into the temple; and thence began thus to encourage them:

“O my countrymen, you are not ignorant that our father, myself, and my brethren, have ventured to hazard our lives, and that willingly, for the recovery of your liberty. Since I have therefore such plenty of examples before me, and we of our family have determined with ourselves to die for our laws, and our divine worship; there shall no terror be so great as to banish this resolution from our souls; nor to introduce in its place a love 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 thing for you. For neither am I better than my brethren, that I should be sparing of my own life; nor so far worse than they, as to avoid and refuse what they thought the most honourable 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 shew that I am their own brother. And I am so bold as to expect that I shall avenge their blood upon our enemies; and deliver you all, with your wives and children, from the injuries they intend against you: and, with God’s assistance, to preserve your temple from destruction by them. For I see that these nations have you in contempt, as being without a governor; and that they hence are encouraged to make war against you.”

By this speech Simon inspired the multitude with courage; and as they had been before dispirited through fear, they were now raised to a good hope of better things; insomuch, that the whole multitude cried out all at once, that Simon should be their leader; and that instead of Judas and Jonathan, his brethren, he

about them, even by the Romans, and the Lacedæmonians. He observes, farther, that this Simon was no less zealous for the service of God, in exterminating apostacy, superstition, idolatry, and every thing else that was contrary to his laws; that he was a great protector of the true Israelites, and a friend to the poor; that he restored the service of the temple to its ancient splendour, and repaired the number of its sacred vessels: so that we need not wonder, if the Jewish Sanhedrim thought no dignity of honour, while he lived, and when he was so basely and barbarously cut off, no grief and lamentation too great for a man of his uncommon merit. *Universal History*, lib. 2. c. 11. B.

should have the government over them:* and they promised that they would readily obey him in whatsoever he should command them. So he immediately assembled all his own soldiers, that were fit for war; and made haste in rebuilding the walls of the city, and strengthened them by very high and strong towers; and sent his friend Jonathan, the son of Absalom, to Jobba, and gave him order to eject the inhabitants out of the city. For he was afraid lest they should deliver up the city to Trypho. But he himself stayed to secure Jerusalem.

Now Trypho removed from Ptolemais, with a great army, and came into Judea; and brought Jonathan with him in bonds. Simon also met him with his army at the city Adida, which is upon a hill; and beneath it lie the plains of Judea. And when Trypho knew that Simon was made governor of the Jews, he sent to him, and would have imposed upon him by deceit and treachery; and desired him if he would have his brother Jonathan released, that he would send him a hundred talents of silver, and two of Jonathan's sons, as hostages; that when he should be released he might not make Judea revolt from the king; for that at present he was kept in bonds on account of the money that he had borrowed of the king, and now owed to him. But Simon was aware of the craft of Trypho; and although he knew that if he gave him the money he should lose it, and that Trypho would not set his brother free, and withal should deliver the sons of Jonathan to the enemy; yet because he was afraid that he should have a calumny raised against him among the multitude, as the cause of his brother's death; if he neither gave the money, nor sent Jonathan's sons; he gathered his army together, and told them what offers Trypho had made: and added, that the offers were ensnaring and treacherous; and yet that it was more eligible to send the money, and Jonathan's sons; than to be liable to the imputation of not complying with Trypho's offers, and thereby refusing to save his brother. Accordingly Simon sent the sons of Jonathan, and the money. But when Trypho had received them, he did not keep his promise, nor set Jonathan free; but took his army, and went about all the country, and resolved to go up afterward to Jerusalem by the way of Idumea; while Simon went over against him with

* 1 Macc. xiii. 8.

his army; and invariably pitched his own camp over against him.

When those that were in the citadel had sent to Trypho, and besought him to make haste, and come to them, and to send them provisions, he prepared his cavalry, as though he would be at Jerusalem that very night. But so great a quantity of snow fell in the night that it covered the roads, and made them so deep, that there was no passing, especially for the cavalry; and this prevented him from coming to Jerusalem. Trypho therefore removed thence, and came into Cœlesyria; and falling vehemently upon the land of Gilead, he slew Jonathan there, and when he had given order for his burial, he returned to Antioch.* However Simon sent some to the city Basca, 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 large monument for his father, and his brethren, of white and polished stone; and raised it a great height, and so as to be seen at a considerable distance; and made cloisters about it, and set up pillars, which were of one stone apiece. Moreover he built seven pyramids 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. And we know that it was Simon who bestowed so much zeal about the burial of Jonathan, and the building of these monuments for his relations. Now Jonathan died when he had been high-priest four† years; and had been also the governor of that nation. And these were the circumstances that concerned his death.

But Simon, who was made high-priest by the multitude, on the very first year of his high-priesthood set his people free

* An. 143 B. C.

† There is some error in the copies here; when no more than than four years are ascribed to the high priesthood of Jonathan. We know by Josephus's last Jewish chronology, XX. 10. that there was an interval of seven years between the death of Alcimus or Jacimus, the last high-priest, and the real high-priesthood of Jonathan; to whom yet those seven years seem here to be ascribed; as part of them were to Judas before, XII. 10. Now since, besides those seven years interregnum in the pontificate, we are told, XX. 10. that Jonathan's real high-priesthood lasted seven years more; these two seven years will make up fourteen years; which I suppose was Josephus's own number in this place, instead of the four in our present copies.

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 Assyrians; which was after Seleucus, who was called Nicator, got the dominion over Syria. Now the affection of the multitude toward Simon was so great, that in their contracts one with another, and in their public records, they wrote, "In the first year of Simon, the benefactor and ethnarch of the Jews." For under him they were very happy, and overcame the enemies that were round about them. For Simon overthrew the cities Gazara, Joppa, and Jamnia. He also took the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, and cast it down to the ground; that it might not be any more a place of refuge to their enemies, when they took it, to do them a mischief; as it had been till now. And when he had done this, he thought it advisable, and most for their advantage, to level the very mountain itself, upon which that citadel happened to stand; that so the temple might be higher than it. And when he had called the multitude to an assembly, he persuaded them to have it so demolished; and this by putting them in mind what miseries they had suffered by its garrison, and the Jewish deserters; and what miseries they might hereafter suffer in case any foreigner should obtain the kingdom, and put a garrison into that citadel. This speech induced the multitude to a compliance; because he exhorted them to nothing but what was for their own good. So they all applied themselves to the work, and levelled the mountain; and in that work, spent both day and night, without any intermission; which cost them three† whole years before it was removed, and brought to a level with the plain of the

* These 170 years of the Assyrians, mean no more, as Josephus explains himself here, than from the era of Seleucus; which as it is known to have begun on the 312th year before the Christian era; from its spring in the first book of Maccabees, and from its autumn in the second book of Maccabees; so did it not begin at Babylon till the next spring, on the 311th year. See Prideaux, at the year 312. And it is truly observed by Dr. Hudson on this place, that the Syrians and Assyrians are sometimes confounded in ancient authors: according to the words of Justin the Epitomizer of Trogius Pompeius; who says, that "The Assyrians were afterwards called Syrians," I. 11. See *Of the War*, V. 9. where the Philistines themselves, at the very south limit of Syria, in its utmost extent, are called Assyrians by Josephus, as Spanheim observes.

† An. 142, 141, 140, B. C.

rest of the city. After which the temple was the highest of all the buildings: now the citadel, as well as the mountain whereon it stood, were demolished. And these actions were thus performed under Simon.

CHAP. VII.

OF SIMON'S ALLIANCE WITH ANTIOCHUS PIUS; AND HIS WARS AGAINST TRYPHO, AND AGAINST CENDEBEUS, THE GENERAL OF ANTIOCHUS'S ARMY. ALSO OF HIS ASSASSINATION BY HIS SON-IN-LAW, PTOLEMY.

NOW* after Demetrius had been carried into captivity, Trypho his governor,† destroyed Antiochus, the son of Alexander,

* It must here be diligently noted that Josephus's copy of the first book of Maccabees, which he had so carefully followed, and faithfully abridged as far as the 50th verse of the 13th chapter; seems there to have ended. What few things there are afterward common to both, might probably be learned by him from some other more imperfect records. However, we must exactly observe here, what the remaining part of that book of the Maccabees informs us of; and what Josephus would never have omitted, had this copy contained so much; that this Simon the Great, the Maccabee, made a league with Antiochus Soter, the son of Demetrius Soter, and brother to the other Demetrius, who was now a captive in Parthia; that upon his coming to the crown, about the 140th year before the Christian era, he granted great privileges to the Jewish nation, and to Simon their high-priest and ethnarch, which privileges Simon seems to have taken of his own accord about three years before. In particular he gave him leave to coin money for his country, with his own stamp; and as concerning Jerusalem, and the sanctuary, that they should be free; or as the vulgar Latin hath it, holy and free, 1 Macc. xv. 6, 7. which I take to be the truer reading; as being the very words of his father's concession offered to Jonathan several years before, x. 31. Antiq. XIII. 2. Now what makes this date, and these grants, greatly remarkable, is the state of the remaining genuine shekels of the Jews with Samaritan characters; which seem to have been (most of them at least,) coined in the four first years of this Simon the Asmonean; and having upon them these words on one side, "Jerusalem the holy;" and on the reverse, "In the year of freedom 1 or 2 or 3 4." Which shekels therefore are original monuments of these times, and undeniable marks of the truth of the history in these chapters; though it be in a 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 wanted these chapters; than that his own copies are here imperfect, is this, that all their contents are not here omitted; though much the greatest part be. See a pattern of these genuine shekels, with the inscriptions in Samaritan letters, at the bottom of my Description of the Temples.

† How Trypho killed this Antiochus, the Epitome of Livy informs us, chap. 55. viz. that he corrupted his physicians, or surgeons; who falsely pretending to the

who was also called the* God; and this when he had reigned four years. Though he caused it to be reported 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 that he would give them a great deal of money if they would make him king. He intimated to them that Demetrius was taken captive by the Parthians; and that Demetrius's brother Antiochus, if he came to be king, would do them a great deal of mischief, in way of revenge for their revolting from his brother. So the soldiers, in expectation of their wealth they should get by bestowing the kingdom on Trypho, made him their ruler. However, when Trypho had gained the management of affairs he demonstrated his disposition to be wicked. For while he was a private person he cultivated a familiarity with the multitude, and pretended to great moderation; and so drew them on artfully to whatsoever he pleased. But when he had once taken the kingdom, he laid aside any farther dissimulation, and appeared in his true colours. This behaviour 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 as Antiochus, the son 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 she made this invitation, were, that her friends persuaded her to it; and that she was afraid for herself, in case some of the people of Seleucia should deliver up the city to Trypho.

As Antiochus was now come to Seleucia, and his forces increased every day, he marched to fight Trypho; and having defeated him, he ejected him out of the Upper Syria into Phœnicia; and pursued him thither, and besieged him in Dora; which was a fortress hard to be taken, whither he had fled. He also sent ambassadors to Simon, the Jewish high-priest, about a league of friendship and mutual assistance. Who readily

people that he was perishing with the stone, as they cut him for it, killed him; which exactly agrees with Josephus.

* That this Antiochus, the son of Alexander Balas, was called the God, is evident from his coins: which Spanheim assures us bear this inscription. "King Antiochus, the God, Epiphanes, the victorious."

accepted of the invitation; and sent to Antiochus great sums of money; and provisions, for those that besieged Dora; and thereby supplied them very plentifully. So that for a little while he was looked upon as one of his most intimate friends. But still Trypho fled from Dora to Apamia;* where he was taken during the siege, and put to death; when he had reigned three† years.

However, Antiochus forgot the kind assistance that Simon had afforded him in his necessity; by reason of his covetous and wicked disposition; and committed an army of soldiers to his friend Cendebeus; and sent him at once to ravage Judea, and to sieze Simon. When Simon heard of Antiochus's breaking his league with him, although he were now in years, yet provoked with the unjust treatment he had met with from Antiochus, and taking a resolution brisker than his age could well bear, he went like a young man to act as general of his army. He also sent his sons before, among the most hardy 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. Nor did he fail of success 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 also made a league with the Romans.

Now he was the ruler of the Jews in all eight‡ years: but his death was at length caused at a banquet by the treachery of his son-in-law, Ptolemy; who caught also his wife and two of his sons, and kept them in bonds. He also sent some to kill John, the third son; whose name was Hyrcanus. But the young man, perceiving them coming,|| avoided the danger he was in, and hastened into the city Jerusalem: as relying on the

* Orthosia, 1 Macc. xv. 37.

† An. 143, 141, 140. B. C.

‡ From an. 143 to an. 136 B. C.

|| Here Josephus begins to follow, and to abridge the next sacred Hebrew book, styled in the end of the first book of Maccabees. The Chronicles of John Hyrcanus's High-Priesthood; but in some of the Greek copies the fourth book of Maccabees. A Greek version of this chronicle was extant in the days of Sanctus Pagninus, and Sixtus Senensis, at Lyons; though it seems to have been there burnt, and to be now utterly lost. See Sixtus Senensis's account of it, of its many Hebraisms, and its great agreement with Josephus's abridgment; in the Authentic Records, part I. page 206, 207, 208.

good will of the multitude; because of the benefits they had received from his father, and because of the hatred the same multitude bore to Ptolemy. So that when Ptolemy was endeavouring to enter the city by another gate, they drove him away; as having already admitted Hyrcanus.

CHAP. VIII.

HYRCANUS RECEIVES THE HIGH-PRIESTHOOD, AND EJECTS PTOLEMY OUT OF THE COUNTRY. ANTIOCHUS MAKES WAR AGAINST HYRCANUS, AND AFTERWARD MAKES A LEAGUE WITH HIM.

PTOLEMY* retired to one of the fortresses that was above Jericho, which was called Dagon. But Hyrcanus took the high-priesthood, that had been his father's before, and propitiated God by sacrifices; he then made an expedition against Ptolemy; and when he made his attacks upon the place, in other points he was too hard for him; but was rendered weaker than he by the commiseration he had for his mother and brethren; and by that only. For Ptolemy brought them upon the wall, and tormented them in the sight of all, and threatened that he would throw them down headlong, unless Hyrcanus would raise the siege. And as he thought that so far as he relaxed as to the siege and taking of the place, so much favour did he shew to those that were dearest to him, by preventing their misery; his zeal about it was cooled. However, his mother spread out her hands, and begged of him, that he would not 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 him what he had done to those that were dearest to himself. For that death to her would be sweet, though attended with torment; if that enemy of theirs might but be brought to punishment for his wicked dealings to them. Now when his mother said so, he resolved to take the fortress immediately: but when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces, his courage failed him; and he could not but sympathize with

* An. 136.

what his mother suffered, and was thereby overcome. And as the siege was drawn out into length by these means, that year on which the Jews use to rest came on; for the Jews observe this rest every seventh year, as they do every seventh day. So Ptolemy, being* for this cause released from the war, slew the brethren of Hyrcanus, and his mother. And when he had so done, he fled to Zeno, surnamed Cotylas; who was then tyrant of the city Philadelphia.

But Antiochus, being very uneasy at the miseries that Simon had brought upon him, invaded Judea, in the fourth year of his reign; and the first year of the principality of Hyrcanus, in the hundred† and sixty-second Olympiad. And when he had burnt the country, he shut up Hyrcanus in the city; which he encompassed round with seven encampments; but did nothing at the first; because of the strength of the walls, and the valour of the besieged; although they were once in want of water; which yet they were delivered from by a copious shower of rain, which fell at the setting‡ of the Pleiades. However, about the north part of the wall, where it happened the city was upon a level with the outward ground, the king raised a hundred towers of three stories high, and placed bodies of soldiers up-

* Hence we learn that, in the days of this excellent high-priest, John Hyrcanus, the observance of the sabbatic year, as Josephus supposed, required a rest from war; as did that of the weekly sabbath from work. I mean this, unless in the case of necessity, when the Jews were attacked by their enemies; in which case indeed, and in which alone, they allowed defensive fighting to be lawful, even on the sabbath day; as we see in several places of Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. 6 XIII. 1. XIV. 4. XVIII. 9. *Of the War*, 1. 7. IV. 2. But then it must be noted, that this rest from war no way appears in the first book of Maccabees, chap. xvi. but the direct contrary. Though indeed the Jews, in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, did not venture upon fighting on the sabbath day, even in the defence of their own lives; till the Asmoneans or Maccabees decreed so to do. 1 *Macc.* ii. 32—41. *Antiq.* XII. 6.

† Josephus's copies, both Greek and Latin, have here a gross mistake; when they say, that this first year of John Hyrcanus, which we have just now seen to have been a sabbatic year, was in the 162d Olympiad, whereas it was certainly the second year of the 161st. See the like before, XII. 7.

‡ This heliacal setting of the Pleiades, or seven stars, was in the days of Hyrcanus and Josephus, early in the spring, about February, the time of the latter rain in Judea. And this so far as I remember, is the only astronomical character of time, besides one eclipse of the moon, in the reign of Herod, that we meet with in all Josephus. The Jews being little accustomed to astronomical observations: any farther than for the use of their calendar; and utterly forbidden those astrological uses which the Heathens commonly made of them.

on them; and as he made his attacks every day, he cut a double ditch, deep, and broad; and confined the inhabitants within it, as within a wall. But the besieged contrived to make frequent sallies; and if the enemy were not any where upon their guard, they fell upon them, and did them a great deal of mischief; and if they perceived them, they then retired into the city with ease. But because Hyrcanus discerned the inconvenience of so great a number of men in the city; while the provisions were the sooner spent by them, and yet, as is natural to suppose, those great numbers did nothing; he separated the useless part, and excluded them out of the city; and retained that part only which were in the flower of their age, and fit for war. However, Antiochus would not let those that were excluded go away. Who therefore wandering about between the walls, and consuming away by famine, died miserably. But when the feast of the tabernacles was at hand, those that were within commiserated their condition, and received them in again. And when Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus, and desired there might be a truce for seven days, because of the festival; he gave way to this piety towards God, and made that truce accordingly. And besides that, he sent in a magnificent sacrifice, bulls with their horns* gilded; with all sorts of sweet spices; and with cups of gold and silver. So those that were at the gates received the sacrifices from those that brought them, and led them to the temple; Antiochus in the mean time feasting his army. This was quite a different conduct from that of Antiochus Epiphanes: who, when he had taken the city, offered swine upon the altar, and sprinkled the temple with the broth of their flesh; in order to violate the laws of the Jews, and the religion they derived from their forefathers: for which reason our nation made war with him, and would never be reconciled to him. But for this Antiochus, all men called him Antiochus the Pious; for the great zeal he had about religion.

Accordingly Hyrcanus took this moderation kindly: and when he understood how religious he was towards the Deity, he sent an ambassage to him; and desired that he would re-

* Dr. Hudson tells us here, that the custom of gilding the horns of those oxen that were to be sacrificed, is a known thing, both in the poets and orators.

store the settlements they received from their forefathers. So he rejected the counsel of those that would* have him utterly destroy the nation; by reason of their way of living, which was to others unsociable; and did not regard what they said. But being persuaded that all they did was out of a religious mind, he answered the ambassadors, that if the besieged would deliver up their arms, and pay tribute for Joppa and the other cities which bordered upon Judea, and admit a garrison of his; on these terms he would make war against them no longer. But the Jews, although they were content with the other conditions, did not agree to admit the garrison, because they could not associate with other people, nor converse with them. Yet were they willing, instead of the admission of the garrison, to give him hostages, and five hundred talents of silver. Of which they paid down three hundred, and sent the hostages immediately; which king Antiochus accepted. One of those hostages was Hyrcanus's brother. But still he brake down the fortifications that encompassed the city. And upon these conditions Antiochus raised the siege, and departed.

Now Hyrcanus opened† the sepulchre of David; who excelled all other kings in riches, and took out of it three thousand talents.‡ He was also the first of the Jews that, relying

* This account in Josephus, that the present Antiochus was persuaded, though in vain, not to make peace with the Jews, but to cut them off utterly, is fully confirmed by Diodorus Siculus, in Photius's extracts out of his 34th book.

† See the note on Book VII. chap. 15.

‡ Josephus tells us, that Hyrcanus, to find some money for this, and other occasions of the government, broke up the sepulchre of David, and took from thence three thousand talents, and that Herod the Great did afterwards the like, (*Antiq. lib. XVII. c. 16, and lib. XVI. c. 11.*) But both these stories are highly improbable. David had now been dead near nine hundred years, and what is told of this treasure, supposes it to have been buried with him all this time. It supposes, that as oft as the city of Jerusalem, the palace, and the temple, during the reigns of the kings of Judah, had been plundered of all their wealth and treasure by prevailing enemies, this dead stock still remained safe from all rife or violation. It supposes, that as oft as these kings were forced to take all the treasure that was found in the house of the Lord, as well as in their own, to relieve the exigencies of the state, they never meddled with this, that was uselessly buried with David in his grave. It supposes, that when one of the worst of their kings, (*2 Kings xv. 8, &c. and 2 Chron. xxviii. 28, &c.*) plundered the temple of its sacred vessels, and cut them in pieces, to melt them down into money for his common occasions; and that when one of the best of them, (*2 Kings xviii. 15, 16,*) was forced to cut off the gold wherewith the gates and pillars of the temple were overlaid, to bribe

on this wealth, maintained foreign troops. He likewise made a league of friendship and mutual assistance with Antiochus, and admitted him into the city, and furnished him with whatsoever his army wanted in great plenty, and marched along with him when he made an expedition against the Parthians. Of which Nicolaus of Damascus is a witness for us: who in his history writes thus, "When Antiochus had erected a trophy at the river Lycus, upon his conquest of Indates, the general of the Parthians, he stayed there two days. It was at the desire of Hyrcanus, the Jew: because it was such a festival derived to them from their forefathers, whereon the law of the Jews did not allow them to travel." And he did not speak falsely in saying so: for that festival, which we call Pentecost, did then fall out to be the next day to the sabbath. Nor is it lawful* for us to journey either on a sabbath day, or on a festival. But when Antiochus joined battle with Arsaces, king of Parthia, he lost a great part of his army; and was himself slain. And his brother Demetrius succeeded in the kingdom of Syria, by the permission of Arsaces; who freed him from his captivity, at the same time that Antiochus attacked Parthia.

a destroying enemy, this useless treasure still continued untouched. Nay, it supposes that when Nebuchadnezzar destroyed both the city and temple of Jerusalem; so that, for many years, they both lay in rubbish, this treasure in David's sepulchre lay, all the while, safe and secure under it; and that when Antiochus Epiphanes, in like manner, destroyed the city, and robbed the temple of all that he could find, this treasure still escaped his rapacious hands, nor was ever molested, till Hyrcanus, at this time, was forced to make bold with it: all which suppositions seem highly improbable, and beyond belief. There is this, however, to be said in the matter, that as there certainly was a bank or treasury in the temple, where money was laid up for the support of the poor, for the relief of widows and fatherless children, and for the maintenance of divine service: and where the great men, and rich men of the nation were used to deposit their wealth, for its better security; it is not improbable, that upon the account of the frequent invasions and depredations they were liable to, this treasure might be kept in some secret and subterraneous place, unknown to all, but such as were at the head of affairs; that Hyrcanus, being now under great difficulty to raise money, might borrow it out of this bank, till better times enabled him to repay it; and that Herod, when he plundered it quite, might trump up this plausible story, that it neither belonged to church, nor poor, nor any private person, but had been deposited there by David, and his successors, as a proper supply for the state in times of need. *Prideaux's Connection*, anno 135, and *Universal History*, lib. 2. c. 11. B.

* The Jews were not to march or journey on the sabbath, or on such a great festival as was equivalent to the sabbath, any farther than a sabbath day's journey, or 2000 cubits. See the note on XX. 8.

CHAP. IX.

ON THE EXPEDITION OF HYRCANUS AGAINST SYRIA; AND HIS CONCLUSION OF A LEAGUE WITH THE ROMANS.—ALSO OF THE DEATH OF KING DEMETRIUS AND ALEXANDER.

WHEN Hyrcanus heard* of the death of Antiochus, he presently made an expedition against the† cities of Syria; hoping to find them destitute of fighting men, and of such as were able to defend them. However, it was not till the sixth month that he took Medaba, and that not without the great distress of his army. After this he took Samega, and the neighbouring places. And besides these, Shechem, and Gerizzim, and the nation of the Cutheans, who dwelt at the temple which resembled that temple which was at Jerusalem; and which Alexander permitted Sanballat, the general of his army, to build, for the sake of Manasseh, who was son-in-law to Jaddua, the high-priest; as we have formerly‡ related. Which temple was now deserted, two|| hundred years after it was built. Hyrcanus also took Dora, and Marissa, cities of Idumea; and subdued all the Idumeans; and permitted them to stay in that country, if they would adopt the rite of circumcision, 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. At which time therefore this befell them, that they were hereafter no other than Jews.

* An. 130.

† Those within the limits of Judea.

‡ See Book XI. chap 8.

|| It was exactly 202 years, viz. from an. 332 to an. 130 B. C.

§ This account of the Idumeans admitting circumcision, and the entire Jewish law, from this time, or from the days of Hyrcanus, is confirmed by their subsequent history. See XIV. 8. XV. 7. XVII. 12. Of the War, II. 3. IV. 4. This, in the opinion of Josephus, made them proselytes of Justice, or entire Jews; as here and elsewhere, XIV. 8. So Dio, XXXVII. page 41. However, Antigonus the enemy of Herod, though Herod were derived from such a proselyte of Justice for several generations, will allow him to be no more than a half Jew. XIV. 15. But still take out of Dean Prideaux, at the year 129, the words of Ammonius, which fully confirm this account of the Idumeans in Josephus. "The Jews," says he, "are such by nature, and from the beginning: while the Idumeans were not

But Hyrcanus, the high-priest, was desirous to renew that league of friendship they had with the Romans. Accordingly he sent* an ambassage to them. And when the senate had received their epistle, they made a league of friendship with them, after the manner following:—

“Fanius, the son of Marcus, the prætor, gathered the senate together, on the eighth day before the ides of February, in the senate house: when Lucius Manlius, the son of Lucius, of the Mentine tribe, and Caius Sempronius, the son of Caius, of the Falernian tribe, were present. The occasion was that the ambassadors sent by the people† of the Jews, Simon the son of Dositheus, Apollonius the son of Alexander, and Diodorus the son of Jason, who were good and virtuous men, had somewhat to propose about that league of friendship and mutual assistance which subsisted between them and the Romans; and about other public affairs: who desired that Joppa, and the havens, and Gazara, and the springs of Jordan, and the several other cities and countries of theirs, which Antiochus had taken from them in the war, contrary to the decree of the senate, might be restored to them: and that it might 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 attempts An-

Jews from the beginning, but Phœnicians and Syrians; but being afterward subdued by the Jews, and compelled to be circumcised, and to unite into one nation, and to be subject to the same laws, they were called Jews.” Dio also says, as the Dean there quotes him, from Book XXXVI. page 37, “That country is called Judea, and the people Jews. And this name is given also to as many others as embrace their religion, though of other nations.” But then upon what foundation so good a governor as Hyrcanus took upon him to compel these Idumeans either to become Jews or to leave their country, deserves great consideration. I suppose it was because they had long ago been driven out of the land of Edom, and had seized on and possessed the tribe of Simeon, and all the southern parts of the tribe of Judah; which was the peculiar inheritance of the worshippers of the true God, without idolatry: as the reader may learn from Reland, *Palestin.* part I. page 154, 305, and from Prideaux at the years 740 and 165. Nor do I remember that ever the like violence was used by him or his predecessors, with any country, which was not a part of that promised land: though the other kings after him intended it to all their conquests in or out of that promised land. See Prideaux at the year 106, and *Antiq.* XIII. 15.

* An. 128.

† 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 prince or high-priest, John Hyrcanus.

tiochus had made during that war, without the decree of the senate, might be made void; and that they would send ambassadors, who should take care that restitution be made them of what Antiochus had taken from them; and that they should make an estimate of the country that had been laid waste in the war; 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 these points, to renew their league of friendship and mutual assistance with these good men, who were sent by a good and a friendly people.”

But as to the letters desired, their answer was, that the senate would consult about that matter, when their own affairs would give them leave: and that they would endeavour for the time to come, that no like injury should be done them: and that their prætor Fanius, should give them money out of the public treasury, to bear their expenses home. And thus did Fanius dismiss 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 to take care that they should return home in safety.

And thus stood the affairs of Hyrcanus, the high-priest. But as for king Demetrius, who was inclined to make war against Hyrcanus, there was no opportunity for it; while both the Syrians, and the soldiers, bare ill will to him, because he was an ill man. But when they had sent ambassadors to Ptolemy Physcon, that he would send them one of the family of Seleucus, in order to take the kingdom; and he had sent them Alexander, who was called Zebina, with an army, and there had been a battle between them, Demetrius was defeated, and fled to Cleopatra, his wife, to Ptolemis; but his wife would not receive him. He went thence to Tyre, and was there caught; and when* he had suffered much from his enemies, he was slain by them. So Alexander took the kingdom, and made a league with Hyrcanus. Yet when Alexander afterward fought with

* This clause, that Demetrius suffered much from his enemies before his death, is noted here by Dr. Hudson to disagree with the accounts of Trogius Pompeius in Justin; and with Porphyry. Whether Josephus or those authors were here imposed upon cannot now be determined. But if this were a part of the Chronicles of John Hyrcanus, a most authentic and contemporary record, as it seems to be, there is no doubt but Josephus's account ought to be preferred.

Antiochus, the son of Demetrius, who was called Grypus, he was also defeated and slain.*

CHAP. X.

OF THE QUARREL BETWEEN ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS AND ANTIOCHUS CYZICENUS RESPECTING THE KINGDOM, HYRCANUS TAKES AND DEMOLISHES SAMARIA; AND AFTERWARD JOINS HIMSELF TO THE SECT OF THE SADDUCEES.

WHEN Antiochus had taken the kingdom, he was afraid to make war against Judea; because he heard that his brother by the same mother, who was also called Antiochus, was raising an army against him out of Cyzicum. So he stayed in his own land; and resolved to prepare himself for the attack he expected from his brother, who was called Cyzicenus; because he had been brought up in that city. He was the son of Antiochus, called Soter, who died in Parthia. He was the brother of Demetrius, the father of Grypus. For it had so happened, that one and the same Cleopatra was married to two, who were brethren: as we have related† elsewhere. But Antiochus Cyzicenus coming into Syria, continued many years at war with his brother. Now Hyrcanus lived all this while in peace. For after the death of Antiochus, he revolted‡ from the Macedonians; nor did he any longer pay them the least regard; either as their subject, or their friend; but his affairs were in a very improving and flourishing condition in the time of Alexander Zebina, and especially under these brethren. For the war which they had with one another gave Hyrcanus an opportunity of enjoying himself in Judea quietly; insomuch that he got an immense quantity of money. However, when Antiochus Cyzicenus distressed his land, he then openly shewed what he meant. And when he saw that Antiochus was destitute of Egyptian auxiliaries, and that both he and his brother were in

* An. 122

† See chap. 7.

‡ Dean Prideaux takes notice at the year 133, that Justin, in agreement with Josephus, says, "The power of the Jews was now grown so great, that after this Antiochus, they would not have any Macedonian king over them; and that they set up a government of their own, and infested Syria with great wars."

an ill condition in the struggles they had one with another, he despised them both.

So he made an expedition against Samaria; which was a very strong city; of whose present name Sebaste, and its rebuilding by Herod, we 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 displeased with the Samaritans, for the injuries they had done to the people of Marissa, a colony of the Jews, and confederate with them; and this in compliance with the kings of Syria. When he had therefore drawn a ditch, and built a double wall round the city, which was eighty furlongs long, he set his sons Antigonus and Aristobulus over the siege. This brought the Samaritans to such great distress by famine, that they were forced to eat what used not to be eaten; and to call for Antiochus Cyzicenes to help them. Accordingly he came 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. He then 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 at first overran and ravaged the country of Hyrcanus, after the manner of a robber: for he durst not meet him openly 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 because he fell into snares, 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 Epicrates.

But Callimander attacked the enemy too rashly, and was put to flight, and destroyed immediately. And as to Epicrates, 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 them raise the siege of Samaria. And when Hyrcanus had taken that city, after a year's siege, he demolished it entirely; and brought rivulets 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 such a city there. 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, as high-priest, offering incense, and heard a voice,* informing him, 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.

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 who were in Egypt, and Cyprus. For Cleopatra, the queen, was at variance with her son Ptolemy Lathyrus; and appointed for her generals Chelcias and Ananias, the sons of that Onias who built the temple in the prefecture of Heliopolis, like to that at Jerusalem; as we have elsewhere† related. Cleopatra entrusted these men with her army; and did nothing without their advice; as Strabo‡ of Cappadocia attests, when he saith thus, “ Now the greater part, both those that came to Cyprus with us, and those that were sent afterward thither, revolted to Ptolemy immediately. Only those that were called Onias’s party, being Jews, continued faithful: because their countrymen Chelcias and Ananias were in chief favour with the queen.”

This prosperous state of affairs however moved the Jews to envy Hyrcanus; but they that were the worst disposed to him were the Pharisees,|| who are one of the sects of the Jews, as

* The oracle of Urim. See the note on Book III. chap. 8.

† Book XII. chap. 9.

‡ We may observe here, that this and nine more of Josephus’s citations out of Strabo, are not now extant: nay, that no more than one of his ten citations out of him are now extant: which is that taken out of his geography. The occasion is evident; that though Strabo’s geography be extant, yet are all his historical writings lost. See Fabricius on Strabo, Biblioth. Græc. IV. 1. 7.

|| The origin 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 true. “ Hyrcanus,” says he, “ went over to the party of the Sadducees; that is, by embracing their doctrine against the traditions of the elders, added to the written law, and made of equal authority 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 John Hyrcanus is said to be. It is most probable, that at this time the Sadducees had gone no farther in the doctrines of that sect, than to deny all their unwritten tra-

we have observed* already. These have so great a power over the multitude, that when they say any thing against the king, or against the high-priest, they are presently believed. Now Hyrcanus was a disciple of theirs; and greatly beloved by them. And when he once invited them to a feast, and entertained them very kindly; when he saw them in a good humour, he began to say to them, that they knew he was desirous to be a righteous man, and to do all things whereby he might please God: which was the profession of the Pharisees also. However he desired that if they observed him offending in any point, and going out of the right way, they would recall him back, and correct him. On this occasion they attested to his being entirely virtuous; with which commendation he was well pleased. But still there was one of his guests there, whose name was Eleazar†, a man of an ill temper, and delighting in seditious practices. This man said: "Since thou desirest to know the truth, if thou wilt be righteous in earnest, lay down thy high-priesthood, and content thyself with the civil government of the people." And when he desired to know for what cause he ought to lay down the high-priesthood: the other replied, "We have heard it from old men, that thy mother had been a captive under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes." This story was false: and both Hyrcanus and all the Pharisees had a very great indignation against him.

Now there was one Jonathan, a great friend of Hyrcanus's, but of the sect of the Sadducees;‡ whose notions are quite con-

ditions, which the Pharisees were so fond of. For Josephus mentions no other difference at this time between them: neither doth he say that Hyrcanus went over to the Sadducees in any other particular than in the abolishing of all the traditionary constitutions of the Pharisees: which our Saviour condemned as well as they."

* Chap. 5

† This slander, that arose from a Pharisee has been preserved by their successors, the Rabbins, to these latter ages. For Dr. Hudson assures us, that David Ganz, in his *Chronology*, 8. Pr. page 77, in Vorstius's version, relates that Hyrcanus's mother was taken captive in mount Modiith. See chap. 13, and *Reland in Palestin.* page 901.

‡ In what sense the Sadducees denied the existence of angels, it is difficult to determine, since they certainly acknowledge the authority of the Pentateuch. Some pretend, that they accounted the invention of angels but a novel thing, and that their very name was never heard of, until the return from the captivity, and therefore they rejected them; whilst others suppose, that they looked upon them as the inseparable powers of God, which, like the rays of the sun,

trary to those of the Pharisees. He told Hyrcanus, that "Eleazar had cast such a reproach upon him according to the common sentiments of all the Pharisees:"* and that this would be

without being parted from that planet, shine and shed their influence here below. But now considering that the Sadducees received the five books of Moses, they could hardly entertain any such notions as these. As therein they read of frequent apparitions of angels, they could not fancy them a new invention of Rabbins that had returned from the captivity. As they saw in these books, that they properly came down from heaven upon earth, they could not imagine that they were beings inseparable from the Deity; and therefore we may suppose, that they rather looked upon them only as so many phantasms; and that, as the bodies, which these angels put on, had perhaps only the appearance of human bodies, the same notion they might have of the spirits which animated them; because every thing except God, in their opinion, was material. Basnage's History of the Jews, lib. I. c. 6. Mr. Basnage, though he allows the question to be difficult, seems to be of a contrary opinion, 1st, Because the Sadducees taught and prayed in the temple, where the prophets, and other holy writers, were read, as appears from the example of Christ, who explained a passage out of Isaiah. 2dly, Because Josephus, who ought to have been well acquainted with the principles of his sect, relates of them, (lib. VI. c. 9.) that they received what was written. And, 3dly, Because the Pharisees, in their disputes with them about the doctrine of the resurrection, quote, not only the writings of Moses, but those of the prophets likewise, and other hagiographers, whose authority the others do not deny, but only endeavour to elude the force of the passages that are hence produced against them. Upon the whole, therefore, Scaliger (Elench. Tribær, c. 16.) is of opinion, that these Sadducees did not absolutely reject all the sacred writings, but rather looked upon them as books composed by holy men, whose memoirs they revered, though they could not believe them of the like authority with the law of Moses, which to them was the only rule of faith. But notwithstanding this, "the account which is given us in the Gospel, (says the learned Prideaux,) of the disputation which Christ had with the Sadducees, plainly proves the contrary. For seeing there are so many texts in the prophets and hagiographa, which plainly and directly prove a future state, and the resurrection from the dead, no other reason can be given why Christ waved all these proofs, and drew his argument, only by consequence, from what is said in the law, but that he knew, that the Sadducees, had rejected the prophets and the hagiographa, and therefore would admit of no arguments, but from the law only." Anno 107. B.

* The Pharisees were so called from the Hebrew word *Pharas*, which signifies to separate; because the prevailing passion, or rather ambition, of this sect was, to distinguish and separate itself from the rest of the people, by a greater degree of holiness and piety, but accompanied with very much affectation and abundance of vain observances. Vide *Lamy's Introduction*, and *Prideaux's Connection*. And what time this sect began first to appear, is no easy matter to determine. Josephus makes mention of them in the government of Jonathan, a hundred and forty years before Christ, as a very powerful body of men at that time; nor is it improbable, that their origin was somewhat earlier, and that, as soon as the Sadducees discovered their principles to the world, these men of different sentiments might not long after rise up in opposition to them: for it is evident from the character which the Jewish historian gives of them, that, in the main articles of their belief,

made manifest if he would but ask them the question, what punishment they thought this man merited? 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 gentle sentence Hyrcanus was very angry: and thought that this man reproached 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 imposed on the people; and to punish those that observed them. From this source arose that hatred, which

they were entirely repugnant to the Sadducees. *Joseph. de Bello Jud. lib. II. c. 12.* The Pharisees believe in a fate, says he, and attribute all things to it, but nevertheless they acknowledge the freedom of man; but how they made these two apparent incompatibles consist together, is no where sufficiently explained. They teach, that God will one day judge the world, and punish or reward men according to their merits. They maintain, that souls are immortal, and that, in the other world, some will be shut up in an eternal prison, and others sent back again; but with this difference, that those of good men shall enter into the bodies of men, those of wicked men into the bodies of beasts; which exactly agrees with the famous transmigration of Pythagoras. Their adherence to the law was so exact, that, for fear of violating the least precept of it, they scrupulously observed every thing that had the least relation to it, even though the law had neither commanded nor forbidden them. Their zeal for the traditions of the elders was such, that they derived them from the same fountain with the written word itself, pretending, that Moses received both of them from God on mount Sinai, and therefore ascribing an equal authority to both. They had a notion, that good works were meritorious; and therefore they invented a great number of supererogatory ones, upon which they valued themselves more than upon a due observance of the law itself. Their frequent washings and ablutions, Matt. vi. 5, &c. their long prayers in public places, Luke vii. 39. their nice avoidance of reputed sinners, their fasting and great abstinence, their penance and mortification, their minute payment of tithes, their strict observance of the Sabbath, and ostentatious enlargement of phylacteries, were all works of this kind; which nevertheless gained them such esteem and veneration, that while the common people loved, the great ones dreaded them, so that their power and authority in the state was considerable, though generally attended with pernicious consequences, because their hearts were evil: for notwithstanding their shew of mighty zeal and great austerity, they were in reality, no better than what our Saviour calls them, vain and ostentatious, spiteful and malicious, griping and voracious, lovers of themselves only, and despisers of others; insomuch, that it was hard to say which was most predominant in them, their insatiable avarice, their insupportable pride, or abominable hypocrisy. B.

he and his sons met with from the multitude. But of these matters we shall speak hereafter. What I would now explain is this, that the Pharisees have delivered to the people, a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses: and for that reason it is, that the sect of the Sadducees reject them; and say, that we are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word; but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And concerning these things it is that great disputes and differences have arisen among them. The Sadducees 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 treated accurately in the second* book of Jewish affairs.

After Hyrcanus had put an end to this sedition, he lived happily, and administered the government in the best manner for thirty-one† years; and then died:‡ leaving behind him five sons. He was esteemed by God worthy of three of the great-

* See of the War, Book II. chap. 8.

† From an. 136 to an. 107, B. C.

‡ Here ends the high priesthood, and the life of this excellent person, John Hyrcanus: and together with him, the Holy Theocracy, or Divine Government of the Jewish nation; and its concomitant oracle by Urim. Now follows the profane and tyrannical Jewish monarchy; first of the Asmoneans, or Maccabees, and then of Herod the Great, the Idumean; till the coming of the Messiah. See the note on III. 8. Hear Strabo's testimony on this occasion, XVI page 761, 762. "Those," says he, "that succeeded Moses continued for some time in earnest, both in righteous actions, and in piety. But after a while, there were others that took upon them the high-priest-hood; at first superstitious, and afterwards tyrannical persons—Such a prophet was Moses, and those that succeeded him: beginning in a way not to be blamed; but changing for the worse. And when it openly appeared that the government was become tyrannical, Alexander was the first that set up himself for a king, instead of a priest: and his sons were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus." This is in perfect agreement with Josephus: excepting that Strabo omits the first king, Aristobulus; who reigning 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 taken before his father Alexander took it himself, XIV. 3. See also chap. 12, which favour Strabo also. Also indeed, if we may judge from the very different characters of the Egyptian Jews under high-priests, and of the Palestine Jews under kings, in the two next centuries; we may well suppose, that the divine Shechinah was removed into Egypt; and that the worshippers at the temple of Onias were better men than those at the temple of Jerusalem.

est privileges: the government of his nation, the dignity of the high-priesthood, and prophecy. For God was with him, and enabled him to know futurities: and to foretel this in particular, that as to his two eldest sons, he foretold that they would not long continue in the government of public affairs. Their unhappy catastrophe will be worth our description: that we may thence learn, how much they were inferior to their father's happiness.

CHAP. XI.

OF THE SUCCESSION OF ARISTOBULUS TO THE GOVERNMENT; HIS ASSUMPTION OF REGAL HONOURS; HIS CRUELTY TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS BRETHREN; AND HIS MISERABLE DEATH.

WHEN Hyrcanus was dead, his eldest son, Aristobulus, intending to change the government into a kingdom, first of all put a diadem upon his head, four hundred and eighty-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 his next brother Antigonus, and treated him 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 left her to be mistress of all. He even proceeded to that degree of barbarity, as to starve her to death in prison. Nay he was alienated from his brother Antigonus by calumnies, and added him to the rest whom he slew; yet he seemed to have an affection for him, and made him above the rest a partner with him in the kingdom. Those calumnies he at first did not give credit to: partly because he loved him, and so did give heed to what was said against him: and partly because he thought the reproaches were derived from the envy of the relators. But when Antigonus was once returned from the army, and the feast of tabernacles was at hand, it happened that Aristobulus was fallen sick, and that Antigonus went up most splendidly adorned, and with his soldiers about him in their armour, to the temple; to celebrate the feast, and to offer up prayers for the recovery of his brother. Now some wicked persons who had a great mind to

raise a difference between the brethren, made use of this opportunity of the pompous appearance of Antigonus, and of the great actions which he had done; and went to the king, and spitefully aggravated his pompous shew at the feast; and pretended that all these circumstances were not like those of a private person: that these actions were indications of an affectation of royal authority; and that his coming with a strong body of men, must be with an intention to kill him: and that his way of reasoning was this; that it was a silly thing in him, while it was in his power to reign himself, to look upon it as a great favour that he was honoured with a lower dignity by his brother.

Aristobulus yielded to these imputations: but took care both that his brother should not suspect him, and that he himself might not run the hazard of his own safety: so he ordered his guards to lie in a certain place that was under ground and dark; (he himself then lying sick in the tower which was called Antonia;) and he commanded them, that in case Antigonus came in to him unarmed, they should not touch any body; but if armed, they should kill him. Yet did he send to Antigonus, and desire that he would come unarmed. But the queen, and those that joined with her in the plot against Antigonus, persuaded the messenger to tell him the direct contrary: how his brother had heard, that he had made himself a fine suit of armour for war, and desired him to come to him in that armour; that he might see how fine it was. So Antigonus, suspecting no treachery, but depending on the good will of his brother, came to Aristobulus armed, as he used to be, with his entire armour; in order to shew it to him. But when he was come at a place which was called Strato's tower, where the passage happened to be exceeding dark, the guards slew him. This catastrophe of his demonstrates, that nothing is stronger than envy and calumny; and that nothing does more certainly divide the good will and natural affections of men than those passions. But here one may take occasion to wonder at one Judas, who was of the sect of the Essenes, and who never missed the truth in his predictions. For this man, when he saw Antigonus passing by the temple, cried out to his companions, and friends, who abode with him, as his scholars, in order to learn the art of foretelling things to come; "It would be good for me to die now; since Antigonus is still alive, and I see him passing by:

although I foretold he should die at the place called Strato's Tower, this very day: while yet the place is six hundred furlongs off, where I predicted he should be slain; and a great part of the day is already past: so that I am in danger of proving a false prophet."* As he was saying this, in a melancholy tone, the news came that Antigonus was slain, in a place under ground; which was also called Strato's Tower: or, of the same name with that Cesarea which is seated at the sea.

But Aristobulus repented immediately of this slaughter of his brother: on which account his disease increased upon him, and he was disturbed in his mind, upon the guilt of such wickedness; insomuch that his entrails were corrupted by his intolerable pain, and he vomited blood. At which time one of the servants that attended upon him, and was carrying his blood away, did, by Divine Providence, as I suppose, slip down, and shed part of his blood at the very place where there were spots of Antigonus's blood still remaining. And when there was a cry made by the spectators, as if the servant had on purpose shed the blood in that place; Aristobulus heard it, and inquired what the matter was? And as they did not answer him, he was the more earnest to know: it being natural to men to suspect that what is thus concealed is very bad. So upon his threatening, and forcing them to speak, they at length told him the truth. Hereupon he shed many tears in that disorder of mind which arose from his consciousness of what he had done; and gave a deep groan, and said, "I am not therefore, I perceive, to be concealed from God, in the impious and horrid crimes I have been guilty of: but on a sudden punishment is coming upon me, for shedding the blood of my relations. And now, O thou most impudent body of mine, how long wilt thou retain a soul, that ought to die, in order to appease the ghosts of my brother, and mother? Why dost thou not give it all up at once? And why do I deliver up my blood

* Hence we learn, that the Essenes pretended to have rules, whereby men might foretell things to come; and that this Judas the Essene, taught those rules to his scholars. But whether their pretences were of an astrological or magical nature; which yet in such religious Jews, who were utterly forbidden such arts, is no way probable: or to any Bath Col. spoken of by the later Rabbins, or otherwise, I cannot tell. See of the War, II. 8.

drop by drop, to those whom I have so wickedly murdered?" In uttering these last words he died: having reigned one year. He was called a lover of the Grecians; and had conferred many benefits on his own country, and made war against Iturea, and added a great part of it to Judea, and compelled the inhabitants, if they would continue in that country, to be circumcised and to live according to the Jewish laws. He was naturally a man of candour, and of great modesty; as Strabo bears witness, in the name of Timagenes; who says thus, "This man was a person of candour, and very serviceable to the Jews: for he added to them a part of the nation of the Itureans, and united them by the bond of circumcision."

CHAP. XII.

OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSION TO THE GOVERNMENT; HIS EXPEDITION AGAINST PTOLEMAIS, AND THE WAR WHICH PTOLEMY LATHYRUS MADE AGAINST HIM.

WHEN Aristobulus was dead, his wife Salome, who by the Greeks was called Alexandria, liberated his brethren from prison: (for Aristobulus had kept them in bonds, as we have said already:) and made Alexander Janneus king; who was the superior in age, and in moderation. This child happened to be hated by his father, as soon as he was born, and was never permitted to come into his father's sight, till he died. The occasion of which hatred is thus reported. When Hyrcanus chiefly loved the two eldest of his sons, Antigonus and Aristobulus, God appeared to him in his sleep. Of whom he inquired which of his sons should be his successor? Upon God's representing to him the countenance of Alexander, he was grieved that he was to be the heir of all his goods; and suffered him to be brought up in Galilee.* However, God did not deceive

* The reason why Hyrcanus suffered not his son of this, whom he did not love, to come into Judea; but ordered him to be brought up in Galilee, is suggested by Dr. Hudson; that Galilee was not esteemed so happy and well cultivated a country as Judea. See Matt. xxvi. 73, Job vii. 52, Acts ii. 7. Although another obvious reason occurs also, that he was farther out of his sight in Galilee, than he would have been in Judea.

Hyrchanus: for after the death of **Aristobulus**, he took the kingdom; and one of his brethren, who affected the kingdom, he slew: but the other, who chose to live private, he held in esteem.

When **Alexander Janneus** had settled the government, in the manner that he judged best, he made an expedition against **Ptolemais**. And having overcome the men in battle, he shut them up in the city, and sat round about it, and besieged it. For of the maritime cities there remained only **Ptolemais** and **Gaza** to be conquered; besides **Strato's Tower**, and **Dora**, which were held by the tyrant **Zoilus**. Now while **Antiochus Philometor**,* and **Antiochus**, who was called **Cyzicenus**, were making war against each other, and destroying one another's armies, the people of **Ptolemais** could have no assistance from them. But when they were distressed with this siege, **Zoilus**, who possessed **Strato's Tower**, and **Dora**, and maintained a legion of soldiers, and on occasion of the contest between the kings, affected tyranny himself; came and brought some small assistance to the people of **Ptolemais**. Nor indeed had the kings such a friendship for them, as that they should hope for any advantage from them. Both those kings were in the case of wrestlers, who finding themselves deficient in strength, and yet being ashamed to yield, put off the contest by lying still as long as they can. The only hope they had remaining, was from the kings of **Egypt**, and from **Ptolemy Lathyrus**, who came to **Cyprus** when he was driven from the government of **Egypt** by **Cleopatra** his mother. So the people of **Ptolemais** sent to this **Ptolemy Lathyrus**; and desired him to come, as a confederate, to deliver them, now they were in such danger, out of the hands of **Alexander**. And the ambassadors gave him hopes, that, if he would pass over into **Syria**, he would have the people of **Gaza**, on the side of those of **Ptolemais**; and that **Zoilus**, with the **Sidonians**, and many others would assist them; so that he was elevated at this, and got his fleet ready as soon as possible.

In the mean time, however, **Demetrius**, one that was of abilities to persuade men to do as he would have them, and a leader of the populace, made those of **Ptolemais** change their

* The same with **Antiochus Grypus**, chap 10.

opinions, and said to them, that it was better to run the hazard of being subject to the Jews, than to admit of evident slavery, by delivering themselves up to a master; and besides that, to have not only a war at present, but to expect a much greater war from Egypt. For that Cleopatra would not overlook an army raised by Ptolemy for himself, out of the neighbourhood; but would come against them with a great army of their own: and this because she was labouring to eject her son out of Cyprus also; that as for Ptolemy, if he failed of his hopes, he could still retire to Cyprus: but that they would be left in the greatest danger possible. Now Ptolemy, although he had heard of the change that was made in the people of Ptolemais, yet did he still go on with his voyage, and came to the country called Sycamine, and there set his army on shore. This army, including horse and foot, consisted of about thirty thousand men, with which he marched near to Ptolemais, and there pitched his camp. But when the people of Ptolemais neither received his ambassadors, nor would hear what they had to say, he was under great concern.

But when Zoilus, and the people of Gaza, came to him, and desired his assistance, because their country was laid waste by the Jews, and by Alexander; Alexander raised the siege, for fear of Ptolemy. And when he had drawn off his army into his own country, he used a stratagem afterwards, by privately inviting Cleopatra to come against Ptolemy; but publicly pretending to desire a league of friendship and mutual assistance with him. And promising to give him four hundred talents of silver, he desired that, by way of requital, he would take off Zoilus the tyrant, and give his country to the Jews. Hereupon Ptolemy made such a league of friendship with Alexander, and subdued Zoilus. But when he afterward heard, that he had privily sent to Cleopatra his mother, he brake the league with him, which yet he had confirmed with an oath; and fell upon him, and besieged Ptolemais; because it would not receive him. However, leaving his generals with some part of his forces to go on with the siege, he went himself immediately with the rest to ravage Judea. And when Alexander understood this to be Ptolemy's intention, he also got together about fifty thousand soldiers, out of his own country; nay, as* some

* From this and other occasional expressions, dropped by Josephus, we may

writers have said, eighty thousand. He then took his army, and went to meet Ptolemy. But Ptolemy fell upon Asochis, a city of Galilee, and took it by force on the sabbath day: and there he took about ten thousand slaves, and a great deal of other prey.

He then attempted to take Sepphoris, a city not far from that which was destroyed; but lost many of his men. Yet did he then go to fight with Alexander; who met him at the river Jordan, near a certain place called Saphoth; and pitched his camp near to the enemy. He had however eight thousand in the first rank, whom he styled hecatontomachi,* having shields of brass. But Ptolemy's soldiers in other respects were inferior to those of Alexander; and thereupon were the more fearful of running hazards. But Philostephanus, the camp-master, put great courage into them; and ordered them to pass the river, which was between their camps. Nor did Alexander think fit to hinder their passage over it: for he thought, that if the enemy had once gotten the river on their back, that he should the easier take them prisoners, when they could not flee out of the battle. When the engagement began, the acts on both sides were alike: and a great slaughter was made by both the armies. But Alexander was superior; till Philostephanus opportunely brought up the auxiliaries, to help those that were giving way. But as there were no auxiliaries to afford help to that part of the Jews that gave way, it fell out that they fled; and those near them did not assist them: but fled along with them. However, Ptolemy's soldiers acted quite otherwise. For they followed the Jews, and killed them; till at length those that slew them pursued after them, when they had made them all run away; and slew them so long, that their weapons of iron were blunted, and their hands quite tired with the slaughter. For the report was, that thirty thousand men were then slain; Timagenes says they were fifty thousand. As for the rest, they

learn that where the sacred books of the Jews were deficient, he had several other histories then extant, but now most of them lost, which he faithfully followed in his own history. Nor indeed have we any other records of those times, relating to Judea, that can be compared to these accounts of Josephus: though when we do meet with authentic fragments of such original records, they almost always confirm his history.

* Each able of himself to fight a hundred men.

were part of them taken captives; and the other part ran away to their own country.

After this victory Ptolemy overran all the country; and when night came on, he abode in certain villages of Judea, where he commanded his soldiers to strangle the women and children, and to cut them in pieces, and to cast them into boiling caldrons, and then to devour their limbs, as sacrifices. This commandment was given, that such as fled from the battle, and came to them, might suppose their enemies were cannibals, and might on that account be still more terrified at them, upon such a sight. And both Strabo and Nicolaus of Damascus affirm, that they used these people after this manner. Ptolemy also took Ptolemais by force.

CHAP. XIII.

OF ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION AGAINST CŒLESYRIA; HIS DESTRUCTION OF THE CITY GAZA, AND OF MANY THOUSANDS OF JEWS THAT REBELLED AGAINST HIM. ALSO CONCERNING ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS, SELEUCUS, ANTIOCHUS CYZICENUS, ANTIOCHUS PIUS, AND OTHERS.

WHEN Cleopatra saw* that her son was grown great, and laid Judea waste, without disturbance, and had gotten the city of Gaza under his power, she resolved no longer to overlook what he did, when he was almost at her gates; and she concluded that now he was so much stronger than before, he would be very desirous of the dominion over the Egyptians. But she immediately marched against him with a fleet at sea, and an army of foot at land; and made Chelcias† and Ananias the Jews, generals of her whole army; while she sent the greatest part of her riches, with her grand children, and her testament, to the people of Cos.‡ Cleopatra also ordered her son Alexander to

* An. 103.

† The sons of Onias IV. that high-priest who built the temple in Egypt. See Book XIII. chap. 3 and 10.

‡ This city or island Cos, is not that remote island in the Egean sea, famous for the birth of the great Hippocrates; but a city or island of the same name adjoining 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 XIV. 7.

sail with a great fleet to Phœnicia; and when that country had revolted, she came to Ptolemais; and because the people of Ptolemais did not receive her, she besieged the city. But Ptolemy went out of Syria, and hastened into Egypt; supposing that he should find it destitute of an army, and soon take it; though he failed of his hopes. At this time Chelcias, one of Cleopatra's generals, happened to die in Cœlesyria; as he was in pursuit of Ptolemy.

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, he abode, during the winter, at Gaza. In which time Cleopatra took the garrison that was in Ptolemais by siege; as well as the city. And when Alexander came to her he gave her presents, and such marks 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 overrun and take possession of the country; and not to sit still and see such a multitude of brave Jews subject to one man. But Ananias's counsel was contrary to theirs: who said, that she would do an unjust action if she deprived a man that was her ally of that authority which belonged to him; and this a man who is related to us. "For," said he, "I would not have thee ignorant of this, that what injustice thou doest to him will make all that are Jews to be thy enemies." This desire of Ananias's Cleopatra complied with, and did no injury to Alexander; but made a league of mutual assistance with him, at Scythopolis, a city of Cœlesyria.

So when Alexander was delivered from the fear he was in of Ptolemy, he presently made an expedition against Cœlesyria. He then took Gadara, after a siege of ten months. He took also Amathus, a very strong fortress belonging to the inhabitants above Jordan: where Theodorus, the son of Zeno, had his chief treasure; and what he esteemed most precious. This Zeno fell unexpectedly upon the Jews, and slew ten thousand of them; and seized upon Alexander's baggage. Yet did not this misfortune terrify Alexander; but he made an expedition upon the

* An. 102.

maritime parts of the country, Raphia, and Athedon, (the name of which king Herod afterward changed to Agrippias,) and took even 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 people of Gaza, because they had invited Ptolemy to 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 forces, while the night lasted, those of Gaza prevailed; because the enemy were made to believe that it was Ptolemy who attacked them. But when day came on, and that mistake was corrected, and the Jews knew the truth of the matter, they came back again, and fell upon those of Gaza, and slew of them about a thousand. But as those of Gaza stoutly resisted, 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 Arabians, a person then very illustrious, encouraged them to go on with alacrity; and promised them that he would come to their assistance. But it happened that before he came Apollodorus was slain: for his brother Lysimachus envying him for the great reputation he had gained among the citizens, slew him; and got the army together, and delivered up† the city. When Alexander came in, at first he lay quiet; but afterward set his army upon the inhabitants of Gaza, and gave them leave to punish them. So some went one way, and some 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 wives and children; having no other way of avoiding slavery. 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,) whom Alexander slew; and when he had utterly overthrown their city, he returned to Jerusalem; having spent a year in that siege.

* Or, one thousand.

† An. 97.

About this time Antiochus* Grypus died. His death was caused by Heracleon's treachery; when he had lived forty-five years, and had reigned twenty-nine.† His son Seleucus succeeded him in the kingdom; and made war with Antiochus, his father's brother, who was called Antiochus Cyzicenus, and defeated him, and took him prisoner, and slew him. But after a while Antiochus,‡ the son of Cyzicenus, who was called Pius, came to Aradus; and put the diadem on his own head; and made war with Seleucus, and drove him out of all Syria. But when he fled out of Syria, he came to Mopsuestia again, and levied money upon them. But when Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, was king of Syria; Antiochus,|| the brother of Seleucus, made war 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 Ptolemy Lathyrus sent for his fourth brother, Demetrius, who was called Eucerus, from Cnidus; and made him king of Damascus. Both these brothers did Antiochus vehemently oppose; but presently died. For when he was come as an auxiliary to §Laodice,¶ queen of the Gileadites, when she was making war against the Parthians, and he was fighting courageously, he fell: while Demetrius and Philip governed Syria.

As to Alexander, his own people were seditious against him. For at a festival which was then celebrated, when he stood up-

* This account of the death of Antiochus Grypus, is confirmed by Appian, *Syriac.* 132. here cited by Spanheim.

† Porphyry says, that this Antiochus Grypus, reigned but 26 years; as Dr. Hudson observes.

‡ The copies of Josephus, both Greek and Latin, have here so grossly false a reading. Antiochus and Antonius or Antonius Pius, for Antiochus Pius, that the editors are forced to correct the text from the other historians: who all agree that this king's name was nothing more than Antiochus Pius.

|| These two brothers, Antiochus and Philippus are called twins by Porphyry: the fourth brother was king of Damascus. Both which are the observations of Spanheim.

§ Or Laodicea of Gilead

¶ This Laodicea was a city of Gilead, beyond Jordan. However Porphyry says, that this Antiochus Pius did not die in this battle; but, running away, was drowned in the river Orontes. Appian says, that he was deprived of the kingdom of Syria by Tigranes. But Porphyry makes this Laodice queen of the Calamans. All which is noted by Spanheim. In such confusion of the later historians, we have no reason to prefer any of them before Josephus, who had more original ones before him.

on the altar, and was going to sacrifice, the nation rose upon him, and pelted him with citrons, which they then had in their hands; because the law of the Jews required, that at the feast of tabernacles every one should have branches of the palm and citron-tree: which things we have* elsewhere related. They also reviled him, as derived† from a captive; and so unworthy of his dignity, and of sacrificing. At this he was in a rage, and slew about six thousand of them. He also built a partition wall of wood round the altar, and the temple; as far as that partition; within which it was only lawful for the priests to enter.‡ And by this means he obstructed the multitude from coming at him. He also maintained foreigners of Pisidia and Cilicia. For as to the Syrians, he was at war with them, and so made no use of them. He also overcame the Arabians; such as the Moabites, and Gileadites, and made them bring tribute. Moreover he demolished Amathus: while Theodorus|| durst not fight with him. But as he had joined battle with Obedas, king of the Arabians, and fell into an ambush, in places that were rugged and difficult to be travelled over, he was thrown down into a deep valley, by the multitude of the camels, at Gadara, a village of Gilead, and hardly escaped with his life. From thence he fled to Jerusalem; where, besides his other ill success, the nation insulted him, and he fought against them 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 desired him to make a league of mutual defence with them.

* See Book III. chap. 10.

† This reproach upon Alexander, that he was sprung from a captive, seems only the repetition of the Pharisæical calumny upon his father. Chap. 10.

‡ An. 91.

|| This Theodorus was the son of Zeno; and was in possession of Amathus,

CHAP. XIV.

OF THE AFFAIRS OF DEMETRIUS EUCERUS AND ALEXANDER; ALSO CONCERNING THE DEATH OF DEMETRIUS.

NOW Demetrius came with an army, and took those that invited him with him; and pitched his camp 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 footmen. Great exertions were made on both sides; Demetrius trying to bring off the mercenaries that were with Alexander, because they were Greeks; and Alexander endeavouring 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, in which all Alexander's mercenaries were killed, when they had given demonstration of their fidelity and courage. A great number of Demetrius's soldiers were slain also, notwithstanding he gained the victory.

Now as Alexander fled to the mountains, six thousand of the Jews came together to him from Demetrius out of pity at the change of his fortunes. Hereupon Demetrius retired out of the country, after which the Jews fought against Alexander: but being beaten, they were slain in great numbers, in the several battles which they had. And when he had shut up the most powerful of them in the city Bethome, he besieged them therein. And when he had taken the city, and gotten the men into his power, he brought them to Jerusalem; and committed a most barbarous action. For as he was feasting with his concubines, in the sight of all the city, he caused about eight hundred of them to be crucified: and while they were living he ordered the throats of their wives and children to be cut before their eyes. This inhuman punishment was indeed by way of revenge for the injuries they had done him: for he had, by their means, come to the last degree of hazard, both of his life, and of his kingdom: while they were not satisfied by themselves only to fight against him; but introduced foreigners al-

so for the same purpose. Nay, at length they reduced him to that degree of necessity, that he was compelled to deliver back to the king of Arabia, the land of Moab and Gilead, which he had subdued, and the places that were in them; that they might not join with them in the war 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; and in consequence of it he bore the name of a Thracian* among the Jews. The soldiers that had fought against him, being about eight thousand in number, now ran away by night; while Alexander being now freed from any farther disturbance from them, reigned the rest of his time in the utmost tranquillity.

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. However, Strato, the tyrant 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 besieged Demetrius in his encampment, into which they had driven him with their arrows; compelled those that were with him by thirst to deliver up themselves. So they took a great many spoils out of the country, and Demetrius himself; whom they sent to Mithridates, who was then king of Parthia. But as to those whom they took captives of the people of Antioch, they restored them to the Antiochians, without any reward. Now Mithridates, the king of Parthia, had Demetrius in great honour; till Demetrius ended his life by sickness. So Philip, presently after the battle was over, came to Antioch, and took it, and reigned over Syria.

* This name, Thracida, which the Jews gave Alexander, must, by the coherence, denote "as barbarous as a Thracian," or somewhat like it. But what it properly signifies is not known.

CHAP. XV.

OF THE EXPEDITIONS OF ANTIOCHUS, CALLED DIONYSIUS; AND OF ARETAS, AGAINST JUDEA.—AND OF THE CONQUESTS AND DEATH OF ALEXANDER.

AFTER this, Antiochus, who was called Dionysius,* and was Philip's brother, aspired to the dominion, and came to Damascus, and got the supreme power into his hands. But as he was making war against the Arabians, his brother Philip heard of it, and came to Damascus; where Milesius, who had been left governor of the citadel, and the Damascenes themselves delivered up the city to him. Yet because Philip was become ungrateful, 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 Melesius; 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 Milesius caught him marching out into the Hippodrome,† and shut him up in it; and kept Damascus for Antiochus Eucerus; who hearing how Philip's affairs stood, came back out of Arabia. He also made 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 Chabarzaba, which is now called Antipatris, to the sea of Joppa, on which part only his army could be brought against him. He also raised a wall, and erected wooden towers, with intermediate redoubts for a 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 Aretas at first retreated; but afterward appeared suddenly with ten thousand

* Spanheim takes notice that this Antiochus Dionysius, the brother of Philip and of Demetrius Eucerus, and of two others, was the fifth son of Antiochus Grypus; and that he is styled on the coins, Epiphanes Dionysius.

† The place for horse-races.

horsemen. Antiochus gave them the meeting, and fought desperately; but when he had gained the victory, and was bringing some auxiliaries to that part of his army that was in distress, he was slain. When Antiochus was fallen, his army fled to the village Cana: where the greatest part of them perished by famine.

After him Aretas* reigned over Cœlesyria: being called to the government by those that held Damascus; by reason of the hatred they bore to Ptolemy Menneus. He also made thence an expedition against Judea, and defeated Alexander, near a place called Adida: yet did he upon certain conditions retire out of Judea.

But Alexander marched† again to the city‡ Dios, and took it; and then made an expedition against Essa, 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 he marched to Golan, and Seleucia. And when he had reduced them, he took that valley which is called the valley of Antiochus; as also the fortress Gamala. He also accused Demetrius, who was governor of those places, of many crimes; and turned him out. And after he had spent three years in this war, he returned to his own country: when the Jews joyfully received him, upon this his good success.

At this time the Jews were in possession of the following cities that had belonged to the Syrians, Idumeans, and Phœnicians. At the sea side Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and Rhinocolura. In the middle of the country near to Idumea, Adera, and Marissa; near the country of Samaria, mount Carmel, and mount Tabor, Scythopolis, and Gedara. Of the country of Gaulonitis, Seleucia, and Gabala. In the country of Moab, Heshbon, and Medaba, Lemba, and Oronas, Gelithon, Zara, the valley of the Cilices, and Pella. The last of these they utterly de-

* This Aretas was the first king of the Arabians, who took Damascus, and reigned there. Which name became afterwards common to such Arabian kings, both at Petra and at Damascus; as we learn from Josephus in many places; and from St. Paul, 2 Cor. xi. 32. See the Note on XVI. 9.

† An. 84 B. C.

‡ See Book XIV. chap. 1.

stroyed; because its inhabitants would not bear to change* their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews. The Jews also possessed others of the principal cities of Syria, which had been destroyed.

After this, king Alexander, although he fell into a distemper by hard drinking, and had a quartan ague, which held him three years, yet would not leave off going out with his army, till he was quite exhausted with the labours he had undergone, and died in the bounds of Ragaba,† a fortress beyond Jordan. But when his queen saw that he was ready to die, and had no longer any hopes of surviving, she came to him weeping, and lamenting; and bewailed herself and her sons, on the desolate condition they should be left in: and said to him,

“To whom dost thou thus leave me, and my children: who are destitute of all other supports; and this when thou knowest how much ill will thy nation bears thee?”

He replied, that she need but follow what he would suggest to her, in order to retain the kingdom securely, with her children. That she should conceal his death from the soldiers, till she should have taken that place; that after this she should go in triumph, as upon a victory, to Jerusalem; and put some of her authority into the hands of the Pharisees: for that they would commend her for the honour she had done them; and would reconcile the nation to her. For he told her, that they had great authority among the Jews, both to do hurt to such as they hated, and to bring advantages to those to whom they were friendly disposed. For that they are then believed best of all by the multitude, when they speak any severe thing against others: though it be only out of envy at them. And he said, that it was by their means that he had incurred the displeasure of the nation, whom indeed he had injured. “Do

* We may here take notice. that whatever countries or cities the Asmoneans conquered from any of the neighbouring nations; or whatsoever countries or cities they gained from them, that had not belonged to them before; they after the days of Hyrcanus, compelled the inhabitants to leave their idolatry, and to receive the law of Moses, as proselytes of Justice; or else banished them into other lands. That excellent prince, John Hyrcanus, did it to the Idumeans, as I have noted on chap. 9, already, who lived then in the promised land; and this I suppose justly: but by what right the rest did it, even to countries or cities that were no part of that land, I do not know. This looks too like unjust persecution for religion.

† Or Argob.

thou, therefore," said he, "when thou art come to Jerusalem, send for the leading men among them, and shew them my body: and, with great appearance of sincerity, give them leave to use it as they please: whether they will dishonour me by refusing it burial, as having severely suffered by my means; or whether, in their anger, they will offer any other injury to that body. Promise them also, that thou wilt do nothing without them, in the affairs of the kingdom. If thou dost but act thus I shall have the honour of a more sumptuous funeral from them than thou couldst have made for me: 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 wife this advice, he died: after he had reigned twenty-seven† years, and lived forty-nine.

CHAP. XVI.

OF ALEXANDRA'S CONDUCT TOWARD THE PHARISEES; HER GOVERNMENT AND DEATH.

ALEXANDRA, having taken the fortress, acted as her husband had suggested; and spake to the Pharisees, and put all things into their power; both as to the dead body, and as to

* It seems by this dying advice of Alexander Janneus to his wife, that he had himself pursued the measures of his father Hyrcanus, and taken part with the Sadducees; who closely adhered to the written law; against the Pharisees, who had introduced their own traditions; see chap. 16. and that he now saw a political necessity of submitting to the Pharisees, and their traditions hereafter, if his widow and family wished to retain their monarchical government, or tyranny over the Jewish nation. Which sect yet, thus supported, were at last in a great measure the ruin of the religion, government, and nation of the Jews: and brought them into so wicked a state, that the vengeance of God came upon them, to their utter excision. Just thus did Caiaphas politically advise the Jewish Sanhedrim; John xi. 50. "That it was expedient for them that one man should die for the people; and that the whole nation perish not." And this in consequence of their own political supposal, verse 48, that "If they let Jesus alone, with his miracles, all men would believe on him; and the Romans would come and take away both their place and nation." Which political crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth brought down the vengeance of God upon them; and occasioned those very Romans, of whom they seemed so much afraid, that to prevent it they put him to death, actually to come and take away both their place and nation, within 38 years afterwards.

† From an. 105 to an. 79 B. C.

the affairs of the kingdom: and thereby pacified their anger against Alexander, and made them bear good will and friendship to him. Accordingly they came among the multitude, and laid before them the actions of Alexander; and told them that they had lost a righteous king; and by the commendations they gave him, they brought them to grieve, and to be in heaviness for him: so that he had a funeral more splendid than had any of his predecessors. Alexander left behind him two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; but committed the kingdom to Alexandra. Now as to these two sons, Hyrcanus was indeed unable to manage public affairs, and delighted rather in quiet life. But the younger, Aristobulus, was an active and a bold man. And Alexandra was beloved by the multitude, because she seemed displeased at the offences her husband had been guilty of.

So she made Hyrcanus high-priest, because he was the elder, but more particularly because he cared not to meddle with politics; and she permitted the Pharisees to do every thing, requiring the multitude to be obedient to them. She also restored those practices which the Pharisees had introduced, according to the traditions of their forefathers; and which her father-in-law, Hyrcanus, had abrogated: so she had 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 in short they differed nothing from lords. The queen, however, 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 neighbouring 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 would kill those who persuaded Alexander to slay the eight hundred men.* After which they cut the throat of one of them, named Diogenes; and after him they did the same to several, one after another; till the men that were the most potent came into the palace, and Aristobulus with them: for he seemed to be displeased at what was done; and it appeared openly, that if he had an opportunity, he would not permit his mother to go on

* An. 77.

so. These reminded the queen of the great dangers they had gone through, and the great things they had done: whereby they had demonstrated the firmness of their fidelity to their master: insomuch that they had received the greatest marks of favour from him. And they begged of her, that she would not utterly blast their hopes, as it now happened, that when they had escaped the hazards that arose from their open enemies, they were to be cut off at home, by their private enemies, like brute beasts, without any assistance. 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 governors: 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 rather die willingly, before the palace 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 that Aretas, the Arabian king, and the monarchs,* would give any reward if they could get such men as foreign auxiliaries; to whom their very names might perhaps be terrible. But if they could not obtain this their second request, 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 that if some fatal demon had a constant spite against Alexander's house, they would be willing to bear their part, and to live in a private station there.

As these men spake thus, and called upon Alexander's ghost for commiseration of those already slain, and those in danger of death; all the bystanders burst into tears. But Aristobulus chiefly manifested what were his sentiments; and used many reproachful expressions to his mother, saying, "Nay indeed the case is this; that they have been themselves the authors of their own calamities, who have permitted a woman, who against reason was mad with ambition, to reign over them, when there were sons in the flower of their age fitter for it." So Alexander, not knowing what to do with any decency, committed the

* See Of the War, Book I. chap. 20.

fortresses to them, all but Hyrcania, Alexandrium, and Macherus, where her principal treasures were. After a little while also, she sent Aristobulus with an army to Damascus, against Ptolemy, who was called Menneus. But he did nothing considerable there, and so returned home.

About this time news was brought that Tigranes, king of Armenia, had made an irruption into Syria with five* hundred thousand soldiers; and was coming against Judea. This intelligence, as may well be supposed, terrified the queen and the nation. Accordingly they sent ambassadors to him with many valuable presents; as he was besieging Ptolemais. For Selene, who was also called Cleopatra, ruled then over Syria; having persuaded the inhabitants to exclude Tigranes. So the Jewish ambassadors interceded with him, and intreated him that he would determine nothing that was severe about their queen or nation. He commended them for the respects they paid him at so great a distance: and gave them good hopes of his favour.† But as soon as Ptolemais was taken, news came to Tigranes, that Lucullus in his pursuit of Mithridates, could not overtake him: for he had fled into Iberia; and was laying waste Armenia, and besieging its cities. Now when Tigranes knew this, he returned home.

After this, when the queen was fallen into a dangerous distemper, Aristobulus resolved to attempt seizing upon the government. Accordingly he stole away secretly by night, with only one of his servants, and went to the fortresses, wherein his friends, that were such from the days of his father, were settled. For as he had been a great while displeased at his mother's conduct, so he was now much more afraid, lest, upon her death, their whole family should be under the power of the Pharisees. For he saw the inability of his brother, who was to succeed her in the government. Nor was any one conscious of what he was doing, but only his wife, whom he left at Jerusa-

* The number of 500,000, or even 300,000 as one Greek copy, with the Latin copies, have it, for Tigrane's army, that came out of Armenia into Syria and Judea; seems much too large. We have had already several such extravagant numbers in Josephus's present copies, which are not to be ascribed to him. Accordingly I incline to Dr. Hudson's emendation here, which supposes them but 40,000.

† An. 71.

Iern, with their children. He first of all came to Agaba,* where was Galestes, one of the potent men before mentioned; and was received by him. When it was day Alexandra perceived that Aristobulus was fled; and for some time she supposed that his departure was not in order to make any innovation. But when messengers came one after another, with the news that he had secured the first place, the second, and all the places, (for as soon as one had begun, they all submitted to his disposal:) but the queen and the nation were in the greatest disorder. For they were aware, that it would not be long ere Aristobulus would be able to set himself firmly in the government: what they were principally afraid of was this, that he would inflict punishment upon them, from the mad treatment his house had had from them. So they resolved to take his wife and children into custody, and keep them in the fortress† that was over the temple. Now there was a great conflux of people that came to Aristobulus from all parts: insomuch that he had a kind of royal attendance about him. For in little more than fifteen days he got twenty-two strong 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 they supposed, that by affording him their assistance, when he could not expect it, 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 unto 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 so many strong holds; and that it was absurd for them to take any counsel of themselves, how ill soever she were, while she was alive; and that the danger would be upon them in no long time. But she bade them do what they thought proper to be done: that they had many circumstances in their

* Or, Argob.

† This fortress, castle, citadel, or tower, whither the wife and children of Aristobulus were now sent, and which overlooked the temple, could be no other than what Hyrcanus I. built, XVIII 4, and Herod the Great rebuilt, and called the tower of Antonia, XV. 11.

‡ See Of the War, Book I. chap. 20.

favour still remaining: a nation in good heart; an army; and money in their several treasuries: for that she had small concern about public affairs now, when the strength of her body already failed her.

Now a little while after she had said this to them, she died; when she had reigned nine* years, and had lived seventy-three. A woman she was who shewed no signs of weakness in her sex; for she was sagacious to the greatest 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 shew 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 brought the affairs 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 afterward, which she had obtained by a vast number of hazards and 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 bore ill will to their family; and by leaving the administration destitute 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, although this had been her way of governing, she preserved the nation in peace. And this is the conclusion of the affairs of Alexandra.

* FROM AN. 78 TO AN. 70 B. C.

BOOK XIV.

Containing an Interval of Thirty-two Years.

FROM THE DEATH OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA, TO THE DEATH OF
ANTIGONUS.

CHAP. I.

OF THE WAR BETWEEN ARISTOBULUS AND HYRCANUS; THEIR
AGREEMENT RELATIVE TO THE KINGDOM; AND THE SUBSE-
QUENT FLIGHT OF HYRCANUS.

WE have related the affairs of queen Alexandra, and her death, in the foregoing book; and will now speak of what followed, and was connected with those histories: declaring before we proceed, that we have nothing so much at heart, as to omit* no facts either through ignorance or indolence. For we are treating upon the history and explication of such things, as the greatest part of our readers are unacquainted with, because of their distance from our times; and we aim to do it with a beauty of style so far as that is derived from proper words harmonically disposed; and from such ornaments of speech as may contribute to the pleasure of our readers: that they may entertain the knowledge of what we write with some degree of satisfaction and pleasure. But the principal end that authors ought to aim at above all the rest, is to speak accurately, and to speak

* Roland observes here, very justly, how Josephus's declaration, that it was his great concern not only to write an agreeable, accurate, and a true history, but also distinctly not to omit any thing of consequence, either through ignorance, or indolence; implies, that he could not, consistently with that resolution, omit the mention of so famous a person as Jesus Christ.

truly; for the satisfaction of those that are otherwise unacquainted with such transactions, and are obliged to believe what these writers inform them of.

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 Crete, were consuls at Rome: when presently Aristobulus began to make war against him. And as it came to a battle with Hyrcanus at Jericho, many of his soldiers deserted him, and went over to his brother. Upon this Hyrcanus fled into the citadel: where Aristobulus's wife and children were imprisoned by their mother, as we have said† already; and attacked and overcame those adversaries that fled thither, and lay within the walls of the temple. So when he had sent a message to his brother about compromising the matters between them, he laid aside his enmity to him on these conditions: that Aristobulus should be king; and that he should live without intermeddling with public affairs, and quietly enjoy the estate he had acquired. When they 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: Aristobulus, to the palace; and Hyrcanus, as a private man, to the former house of Aristobulus.

But there was a certain friend of Hyrcanus's, an Idumean, called Antipater; who was very rich, and in his nature an active and seditious man, he was at enmity with Aristobulus, and had differences with him on account of his good will to Hyrcanus. Nicolaus of Damascus indeed says, that Antipater was of the stock of the principal 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

* Langius well observes, that this beginning of Hyrcanus's reign is rightly stated by Josephus: and implies, that he began before the middle of the 69th year before the Christian Era. De Annis Christi II. 18, page 336.

† See Book XIII. chap. 16.

‡ This is, I think, the first mention of confirming agreements by giving each other the right hand, in Josephus; which, however, frequently occurs afterward.

called Antipas :* and that was his father's name also. Of whom they relate, that king Alexander and his wife made him general of all Idumea: and that he made a league of friendship with those Arabians, Gazites, and Ascalonites, that were of his own party, and had, by many and large presents, made them his fast friends. But now, this younger Antipater was suspicious of the powers of Aristobulus; and was afraid of some mischief he 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, it was unjust to overlook the conduct of Aristobulus; who had assumed the government unrighteously; and had ejected his brother, who was the elder, and ought to retain what belonged to him by the prerogative of his birth. And the same speeches he perpetually made to Hyrcanus: and told him that his own life would be in danger, unless he guarded himself, and got rid of Aristobulus. For, he said, that the friends of Aristobulus omitted no opportunity of advising him to kill him; as being then and not before sure to retain his principality. But Hyrcanus gave no credit to these words, as being of a gentle disposition, and one that did not easily admit of calumnies against other men. This temper of his not disposing him to meddle with public affairs, occasioned him to appear to spectators to be degenerate and unmanly: while Aristobulus was of a contrary temper; an active man, and one of a great and generous soul.

Since therefore Antipater† saw that Hyrcanus did not attend to what he said, he never ceased day by day to charge feigned crimes upon Aristobulus; and to calumniate him, before him, as if he had a mind to kill him. And so by urging him perpetually, he persuaded him to flee to Aretas, king of Arabia; and promised that if he would comply with his advice, he would also himself assist him, and go with him. When Hyrcanus

* 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:) Josephus here assures us. Though Eusebius indeed, Hist. Ecol. l. 6, says it was Herod, I am clearly of Dr. Hudson's and Noldius's minds; that we ought to follow Josephus rather than Eusebius in this matter. See Nold. de Vit. and Gest. Herod. § 1—6.

† An. 65.

heard this, he said, that it was for his advantage to flee away to Aretas. However he sent Antipater first to the king of Arabia, in order to receive assurances, that when he should 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 Jerusalem, and took Hyrcanus, and stole out of the city by night; and conducted him to the city called Petra; where the palace of Aretas was. And as he was a very familiar friend of that king's, he persuaded him to bring back Hyrcanus into Judea; and this persuasion he continued every day, without any remission. He also proposed to make him presents on that account. At length he prevailed with Aretas in his suit. Moreover Hyrcanus promised him, 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, viz. Medaba, Naballo, Libias, Tharabassa, Agalla, Athone, Zoar, Orone, Marissa, Rudda, Lussa, and Oruba.

CHAP. II.

OF THE EXPEDITION OF ARETAS AND HYRCANUS AGAINST ARISTOBULUS; THEIR INVESTMENT OF JERUSALEM; THE INTERFERENCE OF SCAURUS, THE ROMAN GENERAL: AND THE DEATH OF ONIAS.

AFTER these promises had been given to Aretas, he made an expedition against Aristobulus, with an army of fifty thousand horse and foot; and defeated him in battle. And when, after that victory, many went over to Hyrcanus, as deserters, Aristobulus was left desolate, and fled to Jerusalem. Hereupon the king of Arabia took all his army, and made an assault on 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 united the forces of the Arabians, and of the Jews together, and pressed on the siege vigorously. As this happened at the season when the feast of unleavened bread was celebrated, which we call the passover, the principal men among

the Jews left the country, and fled into Egypt. Now there was one, whose name was Onias; a righteous man, and beloved of God; who, in a certain drought, had prayed to God to put an end to the intense heat; and whose prayers God had heard, and had sent them rain.* This man had concealed 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 drought, 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 in the midst of them, and said, "O God, the king of the whole world! since those that now stand with me are thy people; and those that are besieged are also thy priests; I beseech thee that thou wilt neither hearken to the prayers of those against these; nor bring to effect what these pray against those." But as soon as he had made this prayer, the wicked Jews who stood about him stoned him to death.

But God punished them immediately for this barbarity, and took vengeance upon them for the murder of Onias, in the following manner. While the priests and Aristobulus were besieged, it happened that the feast called the passover was come. At which it is our custom to offer a great number of sacrifices to God. But those who were with Aristobulus wanted sacrifices, and desired that their countrymen without would furnish them with such sacrifices; and assured them that they should have as much money for them as they should desire; and when they required them to pay a thousand drachmæ for each head of cattle, Aristobulus and the priests willingly undertook to pay for them accordingly. And those within lowered down the money over the walls, and gave it them. But when the others had received it, they did not deliver the sacrifices; but arrived at that height of wickedness, as to break the assurances they had given; and to be guilty of impiety towards God, by not furnishing those that wanted them with sacrifices. And when the

* This miraculous grant of rain in the time of dearth, related here by Josephus, on the prayers of this holy man, Onias, is confirmed in two places by the Jewish rabbins, after their awkward manner: as Reland informs us in his note on this place. One of which testimonies is here set down by him at large. To which I refer the inquisitive reader.

priests found they had been cheated, and that the agreements they had made were violated, they prayed to God, that he would avenge them on their countrymen. Nor did he delay that punishment: but sent a strong and vehement storm of wind that destroyed the fruits of the whole country, till a modius of wheat was sold for eleven drachmæ.

In the mean time Pompey sent Scaurus into Syria; while he was himself in Armenia, and making war with Tigranes. But when Scaurus was come to Damascus, and found that Lollius and Metellus had newly taken the city, he came himself hastily into Judea. And when he was come thither, ambassadors came to him, both from Aristobulus and Hyrcanus; and both desired he would assist them. And when both of them promised to give him money—Aristobulus four* hundred talents, and Hyrcanus no less;—he accepted of Aristobulus's promise; for he was rich, and had a great soul; and desired to obtain nothing but what was moderate. Whereas the other was poor and tenacious, and made incredible promises in hopes of greater advantages. For it was not the same thing to take a city that was exceeding strong and powerful, as it was to eject out of the country some fugitives, with a greater number of Nabateans who were no very warlike people. He therefore made an agreement with Aristobulus, for the reasons before mentioned; and took his money, and raised the siege; and ordered Aretas to depart, or else he should be declared an enemy to the Romans. So Scaurus returned to Damascus again. And Aristobulus, with a great army made war with Aretas and Hyrcanus; and fought them at a place called Papyron, and beat them in the battle, and slew about six thousand of the enemy; with whom fell Phalion also, the brother of Antipater.

* Or, three hundred. See Chap. 3.

CHAP. III.

ARISTOBULUS AND HYRCANUS COME TO POMPEY, IN ORDER TO ARGUE WHO OUGHT TO HAVE THE KINGDOM; AND UPON THE FLIGHT OF ARISTOBULUS TO THE FORTRESS ALEXANDRIUM, POMPEY LEADS HIS ARMY AGAINST HIM; AND ORDERS HIM TO DELIVER UP THE FORTRESSES WHICH HE POSSESSED.

A LITTLE afterward Pompey came to Damascus, and marched over Cœlesyria. At which time there came ambassadors to him from all Syria, and Egypt, and out of Judea also. For Aristobulus had sent him a great present; which was a golden* vine, of the value of five hundred talents. Now Strabo of Cappadocia mentions this present in these words: "There came also an ambassage 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 *τετρακκισ*, the delight. However, we ourselves saw that present, deposited at Rome, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; with this inscription: "The gift† of Alexander, king of the Jews." It was valued at five hundred talents. And the report is, that Aristobulus, the governor of the Jews, sent it.

In a little time afterward came ambassadors again to him; Antipater from Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus from Aristobulus:

* This golden vine or garden, seen by Strabo at Rome, has its inscription here, as if it were the gift of Alexander, the father of Aristobulus; and not of Aristobulus himself, to whom yet Josephus ascribes it; and in order to prove the truth of that part of his history, introduces this testimony of Strabo's. So that the ordinary copies seem to be here either erroneous or defective; and the original reading seems to have been either Aristobulus, instead of Alexander, with one Greek copy; or else Aristobulus, the son of Alexander, with the Latin copies; which last seems to me the most probable. For as to archbishop Usher's conjectures, that Alexander made it, and dedicated it to God in the temple; and that thence Aristobulus took it, and sent it to Pompey; they are both very improbable, and no way agreeable to Josephus; who would hardly have avoided the recording both those uncommon points of history, had he known any thing of them. Nor would either the Jewish nation, or even Pompey himself, then have approved such a flagrant instance of sacrilege. See Dr. Hudson's note here.

† Or, of Aristobulus, the son of Alexander.

which last also accused such as had taken bribes; first Gabinius, and then Scaurus; the one three hundred talents, and the other four hundred. By which procedure he made these two his enemies, besides those he had before. And when Pompey had ordered those that had controversies one with another to come to him in the beginning of the spring, he brought his army out of their winter quarters, and marched into their country of Damascus. And as he went along he demolished the citadel that was at Apamia; which Antiochus Cyzicenus had built; and took cognizance of the country of Ptolemy Menneus; a wicked man, and not less so than Dionysius of Tripoli, who had been beheaded, who was also his relation by marriage. Yet did he buy off the punishment of his crimes for a thousand talents: with which money Pompey paid his soldiers their wages. He also conquered the place called Lysias; of which Silas, a Jew, was tyrant. And when he had passed over the cities of Heliopolis and Chalcis; and got over the mountain which is on the limit of Cœlesyria, he came from Pella to Damascus. And there he heard the causes of the Jews, and of their governors Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were at difference one with another; as also of the nation against them both: which did not desire to be under regal government. Because the form of government they received from their forefathers was that of subjection to the priests of that God whom they worshipped: and they complained that though these two were the posterity of priests, yet did they seek to change the government of their nation to another form; in order to enslave them. Hyrcanus complained, that although he was the elder brother, he was deprived of the prerogative of his birth by Aristobulus, and held but a small part of the country under him: Aristobulus having taken away the rest by force. He also accused him, that the incursions which had been made into their neighbours' countries, and the piracies that had been at sea, were owing to him: and that the nation would not have revolted, unless Aristobulus had been a man given to violence and disorder. And there were no fewer than a thousand Jews, of the best esteem among them, who confirmed this accusation; which confirmation was procured by Antipater. But Aristobulus alledged against him, that it was Hyrcanus's own temper, which was inactive, and on that account contemptible, which caused him

to be deprived of the government; and that for himself he was necessitated to take it upon him: lest it should be transferred to others. And that as to his title* of king, it was no other than what his father had taken before him. He also called for witnesses of what he said, some persons who were both young and insolent; whose purple garments, fine heads of hair, and other ornaments, were detested by the court, and which they appeared in, not as though they were to plead their cause in a court of justice; but as if they were marching in a pompous procession.

When Pompey had heard the causes of these two, and had condemned Aristobulus for his violent procedure; he spake civilly to them, and dismissed them with an assurance that when he came again into their country he would settle all their affairs; after he had first taken a view of the affairs of the Nabateans. In the mean time he ordered them to be quiet; and treated Aristobulus civilly; lest he should make the nation revolt, and hinder his return. This, however, Aristobulus did: without expecting any farther determination, which Pompey had promised them, he went to the city Delius, and thence marched into Judea.

At this behaviour Pompey was angry: and taking with him that army which he was leading against the Nabateans, and the auxiliaries that came from Damascus, and the other parts of Syria; with the other Roman legions which he had with him; he made an expedition against Aristobulus. But as he passed by Pella, and Scythopolis, he came to Coreæ; which is the first entrance into Judea when one passes over the midland countries. There he came to a most beautiful fortress, (that was built on the top of the mountain called Alexandrium,) whither Aristobulus had fled; and thence Pompey sent his commands to him, that he should come to him. Accordingly, at the persuasions of many, that he would not make war with the Romans, he came down. And when he had disputed with his brother about his rights 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: flattering himself with the hopes of having the kingdom granted to him. So that he still pretended he

* See the note, Book XIII. chap. 10.

would obey Pompey in whatsoever he commanded: although at the same time he retired to his fortress; that he might not depress himself too low; and that he might be prepared for a war, in case it should prove as he feared, that Pompey would transfer the government to Hyrcanus. But when Pompey enjoined Aristobulus to deliver up the fortresses he held; and to send an injunction to their governors, under his own hand, for that purpose: (for they had been forbidden to deliver them up upon any other commands:) he submitted to do so; but still he retired in displeasure to Jerusalem, and made preparation for war. A little after this, certain persons came out of Pontus, and informed Pompey, as he was on the way, and conducting his army against Aristobulus, that Mithridates was slain by his son Pharnaces.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE IMPRISONMENT OF ARISTOBULUS, AND THE SIEGE AND REDUCTION OF JERUSALEM BY POMPEY.

WHEN Pompey had* pitched his camp at Jericho, (where the † palm-tree grows, and that balsam which is an ointment of all the most precious: which, upon an incision made in the wood with a sharp stone, distils out like a juice:) he marched in the morning to Jerusalem. Hereupon Aristobulus repented of what he was doing: ‡ and came to Pompey, and promised to

* An. 63.

† These express testimonies of Josephus's here, and VIII. 6, and XV. 4 that the only balsam gardens, and the best palm-trees were, at least in his days, near Jericho and Engaddi; about the north part of the Dead Sea: (whereabout also Alexander the Great saw the balsam drop, Thund. Legion, page 38, 56,) shew the mistake of those that understand Eusebius and Jerom, as if one of those gardens were at the south part of that sea, at Zoar or Segnor. Whereas they must either mean another Zoar or Segnor, which was between Jericho and Engaddi, agreeably to Josephus; which yet they do not appear to do: or else they directly contradict Josephus; and were therein greatly mistaken. I mean this, unless that balsam, and the best palm-trees, grew much more southward in Judea in the time of Eusebius and Jerom than they did in the days of Josephus.

‡ The fourth book of the Maccabees, (chap. xxxvi.) says nothing of this submission of Aristobulus to the Roman general, but tells us, that Pompey marched directly against Jerusalem, where observing the situation of the place, the strength of its

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, upon his intreaty, forgave him; 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 promised: because Aristobulus's soldiers would not permit 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 north, which was not so well fortified. For there was a* broad deep ditch that encompassed the city; and included within it the temple: which was itself encompassed about with a very strong stone wall.

Now 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. Some thought it best to deliver up the city to Pompey: but Aristobulus's party exhorted them to shut the gates: because he was kept in prison. Now these prevented the others; and seized upon the temple; and cut off the bridge which reached from it to the city; and prepared themselves to sustain a siege. But the others admitted Pompey's army, and delivered up both the city, and the king's palace to him. So Pompey sent his lieutenant Piso with an army, and placed garrisons both in the city, and in the palace, to secure them; and fortified the house that joined 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 was desired, he encompassed all

walls, tower, &c. he resolved to try to gain Aristobulus by fair means; that he invited him to come into his camp, and promised him all the safety that he could desire; that accordingly he came to him, and engaged to deliver up all the treasure of the temple, if he would but declare for him; but that the priests having refused to ratify the king's promise, this made the general lay siege to the temple. *Universal History*, lib. 2, c. 11. B.

* The particular depth and breadth of this ditch; whence the stones for the wall about the temple were probably taken, are omitted in our copies of Josephus; but set down by Strabo, XIV. page 763. from whom we learn, that this ditch is 60 feet deep, and 250 feet broad. However, its depth is said by Josephus to be immense: which exactly, agrees with Strabo's description: and the numbers in Strabo are a strong confirmation of the truth of Josephus's description also.

the places thereabout with a wall; Hyrcanus gladly assisting him on all occasions. But Pompey pitched his camp within the wall, on the north part of the temple, where it was most practicable. But even on that side there were great towers, 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 what Pompey had gotten in was broken down: however a bank was raised day by day, with a great deal of labour; while the Romans cut down materials for it from the places round about. And when this bank was sufficiently raised, and the ditch filled up, though but poorly, by reason 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 day of our forefathers, to rest on the seventh days, this bank could never have been completed; by reason of the opposition the Jews would have made. For though our law gives us leave then to defend ourselves against those that begin to fight with us, and assault us; yet does it not permit as to meddle with our enemies, while they do any thing else.

When the Romans understood this matter, on those days which we call sabbaths, they threw nothing on the Jews, nor came to any battle with them; but raised up their earthen banks, and brought their engines into such forwardness, that they might do execution the next day. And any one may hence learn, how very great piety we exercise toward God, and the observance of his laws: since the priests were not at all hindered from their sacred ministrations by their fear during this siege; but did still, twice a day, in the morning, and about the ninth hour, offer their sacrifices on the altars. Nor did they omit those sacrifices, if any melancholy accident happened, by the stones that were thrown among them. For although the city was taken on the* third month, on the day of the fast, upon the hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad; when Caius Anto-

* That is, on the 23d of Sivan, the annual fast for the defection and idolatry of Jeroboam, who made Israel to sin. See Harm. of the Evan. page 152, 153. Or possibly some other fast might fall in that month before, and in the days of Josephus.

nus and Marcus Tullius Cicero were consuls; and the enemy then fell upon them, and cut the throats of those that were in the temple; yet could not those that offered the sacrifices be compelled to run away; neither by the fear they were in of their own lives, nor by the number that were already slain. As thinking it better to suffer whatever came upon them, at their very altars, than to omit any thing that their laws required of them. And that this is not a mere boast, or an encomium to manifest a degree of our piety that was false; I appeal to those that have written of the acts of Pompey; and among them to Strabo,* and Nicolaus of Damascus; and besides these to Titus Livius, the writer of the Roman history; who all bear witness to this thing.†

But when the battering engine was brought near, the greatest of the towers was shaken by it, and fell down; and brake down a part of the fortifications. So the enemy poured in apace: 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 Fobius, who was also a centurion, ascended it in the middle with a strong body of men after him. And now all was full of slaughter: some of the Jews being slain by the Romans, and some by one another. Nay, some there were who threw themselves down the precipices, or set fire to their houses, and burnt them; as not able to bear the miseries they were under. Of

* To these testimonies of Strabo, Nicolaus of Damascus, and Titus Livius; Hudson and Spanheim desire us to add, Tacitus Histor. V. 9. but that is, for the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey only. And since almost all that Tacitus knew in earnest about the Jews, was by him directly taken out of Josephus, it is not necessary that he should be often quoted as a distinct authority from him. Only we may here observe, by the way, that our Josephus never quotes any Latin author, but Titus Livius; and him in this place only.

† It deserves here to be noted, that this Pharisæical superstitious notion, that offensive fighting was unlawful to Jews, even under the utmost necessity, on the Sabbath day; of which we hear nothing before the times of the Maccabees, was the proper occasion of Jerusalem's being taken by Pompey, by Sosius, and by Titus; as appears from the places already quoted in the note on XIII. 8, and partly by Ptolemy Logi, also XI. 1, which scrupulous superstition, as to the observance of such a rigorous rest upon the Sabbath day, our Saviour always opposed; when the Pharisæical Jews insisted on it; as is evident in many places in the New Testament. Though he still intimated how pernicious that superstition might prove to them, in their flight from the Romans. Matt. xxiv. 20.

the Jews there fell twelve thousand; but of the Romans very few. Absalom, who was at once both uncle and father-in-law to Aristobulus, was taken captive. And no small enormities were committed about the temple: which, in former ages, had been inaccessible, and seen by none. For Pompey went into it, and not a few of those that were with him also; and saw all which it was unlawful for any other men to see, but only for the high-priests. There were in that temple the golden table, the holy candlestick, and the pouring vessels; and a great quantity of spices: and besides these there were among the treasures two thousand talents of sacred money. Yet did* Pompey touch nothing of all this; on account of his regard to religion: and in this point also he acted in a manner that was worthy of his virtue. The next day he gave order to those that had the charge of the temple to cleanse it, and to bring what offerings the law required to God, and restored the high-priesthood to Hyrcanus: both because he had been useful to him in other respects; and because he hindered the Jews in the country from giving Aristobulus 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 wall with such alacrity; and he made Jerusalem tributary to the Romans; and took away those cities of Cœlesyria which the inhabitants of Judea had subdued; and put them under the government of the Roman president; and confined the whole nation, which had elevated itself so high before, within its own bounds. Moreover he rebuilt† Gadara, which had been demolished a little before, to gratify Demetrius of Gadara, who was his freed man; and restored the rest of the cities, Hippos, Scythopolis, Pella, Dios, and Samaria; as also Marissa, Ashdod, Jamnia, and Arethusa, to their own inhabitants: these

* This is fully confirmed by the testimony of Cicero; who says, in his oration for Placus, that "Cneius Pompeius, when he was conqueror, and had taken Jerusalem, did not touch any thing belonging to that temple."

† Of the destruction of Gadara, here presupposed, and its restoration by Pompey, see the note, On the War, I. 7. Of this Demetrius of Gadara, Pompey's freed man, we have mention both by Seneca and Plutarch, as Dr. Hudson here notes; and from the restitution of these cities, an æra of the Greeks takes date, in the Greek collections, for Eusebius, set down in Scaliger; and was taken from the 179th Olympiad; as Spanheim observes.

were in the inland parts. Besides those that had been demolished; and also of the maritime cities, Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and Strato's Tower: which last Herod rebuilt after a glorious manner, and adorned with havens and temples; and changed its name to Cæsarea. All these Pompey left in a state of freedom; and joined them to the province of Syria.

Now the occasions of this misery which came upon Jerusalem, were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; by raising a sedition one against the other. For now we lost our liberty,* and became subject to the Romans; and were deprived of that country which we had gained by our arms from the Syrians; and were compelled to restore it to them. The Romans also exacted of us, in a little time, above ten thousand talents. And the royal authority, which was a dignity formerly 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 Cœlesyria, as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt, to Scarus, with two Roman legions; and then went away to Cilicia; and made haste to

* Before this, the government had been managed, under the prince, by two sorts of councils, or courts of justice; one consisting of twenty-three persons, called the Lesser Sanhedrim; and the other, of seventy-two, called the Greater Sanhedrim. Of the first sort there was one in every city; only in Jerusalem, (because of the greatness of the place,) there were two, which sat apart from each other in two distinct rooms. Of the latter sort there was only one in the whole land. The Lesser Sanhedrim despatched all affairs of justice arising within the respective cities where they sat, and the precincts, belonging to them. The Great Sanhedrim presided over the affairs of the whole nation, received appeals from the Lesser Sanhedrims, interpreted the laws, and, by new institutions from time to time, regulated the execution of them. All this Gabinus abolished; and, instead thereof, erected five courts, or Sanhedrims, and invested them all with sovereign power, independent of each other. The first of them he placed at Jerusalem; the second at Jericho; the third at Gadara; the fourth at Amathus; and the fifth at Sephoris; and having, under these five cities, divided the land into five provinces, he ordered the inhabitants of each to repair to the court which he had there erected, and from which there was no appeal, except it was to Rome. Besides the two sorts of Sanhedrims abovementioned, there was a third court among the Jews, which was not affected by any of these alterations, and that was the court of three, instituted for the deciding all controversies about bargains, sales, contracts, and all other such matters of common right between man and man. In all which cases, one of the litigants chose one judge, and the other another, and these two chose a third, which three constituted a court to hear, and ultimately determine the matter in contest. *Talmud in Sanhedrim; Lightfoot's Prospect of the Temple*, chap. 20 and 22; and *Joseph. Antiq.* lib. 14. c. 10. B.

Rome. He also carried with him Aristobulus and his children. For he had two daughters, and as many sons : one of which ran away ; but the younger, Antigonus, was carried to Rome, together with his sisters.

CHAP. V.

OF THE LEAGUE OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE WHICH SCAURUS MADE WITH ARETAS ; AND WHAT GABINIUS DID IN JUDEA, AFTER HE HAD CONQUERED ALEXANDER, THE SON OF ARISTOBULUS.

SCAURUS now made an expedition* against Petra, in Arabia, and set on fire all the surrounding places, because of the great difficulty of access to it. And as his army was pinched by famine, Antipater furnished him with corn out of Judea, and with whatever else he wanted, and this at the command of Hyrcanus. And when he was sent to Aretas, as an ambassador, by Scaurus, because he had lived with him formerly ; he persuaded Aretas to give Scaurus a sum of money, to prevent the burning of his country ; and undertook to be his surety for three hundred talents. So Scaurus, upon these terms, ceased to make war any longer : which was done as much at Scaurus's desire, as at the desire of Aretas.

Some time afterward, when Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, made an incursion into Judea, Gabinius came from Rome to Syria, as commander of the Roman forces. He did many considerable actions, and particularly made war with Alexander ; since Hyrcanus was not yet able to oppose his power ; but was already attempting to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem, which Pompey had overthrown ; although the Romans, who were there, restrained him from that design. However, Alexander went over all the country round about, and armed many of the Jews, and suddenly assembled ten thousand armed footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen ; and fortified Alexandrium, a fortress near to Coreæ, and Macherus, 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

* An. 62.

Jews as were subject to them: whose leaders were Pitholaus, and Malichus: they also took with them their friends that were with Antipater, and met Alexander; while Gabinius himself followed with his legion. Hereupon Alexander retired to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; where they came to a pitched battle; in which the Romans slew of their enemies about three thousand; and took a like number alive.

At this time Gabinius came to Alexandrium, and invited those that were in it to deliver it up on certain conditions; promising that their former offences should be forgiven. But as 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 honour. So Gabinius left part of his army there, in order to take the place; and he himself went into other parts of Judea, and gave order to rebuild all the cities that he met with that had been demolished. At which time were rebuilt Samaria, Ashdod, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, Dora, Marissa, and Gaza; and not a few others besides. And as 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.

When Gabinius had done thus in the country, he returned to Alexandrium: and when he urged on the siege of the place, Alexander sent an ambassage to him; desiring that he would pardon his former offences; he also delivered up the fortresses, Hyrcania, and Marcherus; and at last Alexandrium itself.

These fortresses Gabinius demolished. But when Alexander's mother, who was on the side 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 Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him. And when he had ordained five councils, he distributed the nation into the same number of parts. So these councils governed the people; the first was at Jerusalem; the second at Gadara; the third at Amathus; the fourth at Jericho; and the fifth at Sepphoris, in Galilee. So the Jews were now freed from the monarchical authority; and were governed by an *aristocracy.

* Dean Prideaux well observes, that "Notwithstanding the clamour against

CHAP. VI.

ARISTOBULUS ESCAPES FROM ROME INTO JUDEA, BUT IS DEFEATED AND RETAKEN; GABINIUS OVERCOMES ALEXANDER AND THE NABATEANS IN BATTLE.

NOW Aristobulus ran away from Rome to Judea, and set about the building of Alexandrium; which had been recently demolished. Hereupon Gabinius sent soldiers against him, under the command of Sisenna, Antonius, and Servilius; in order to hinder him from getting possession of the country, and to take him again. And indeed many of the Jews ran to Aristobulus on account of his former glory; as also they should be glad of an innovation. Now there was one Pitholaus, a lieutenant at Jerusalem, who deserted to him, with a thousand men: although a great number of those that came to him were unarmed. And when Aristobulus had resolved to go to Macherus, he dismissed those people, because they were unarmed; so they could not be useful to him in what actions he was 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 fought stoutly; but were defeated in the battle, and put to flight. About five thousand were slain on this occasion, and the rest being dispersed, tried, as well as they were able, to save themselves. However, Aristobulus had with him still above a thousand men, and with them he fled to Macherus, and fortified the place: and though he had had ill success, he still had some hope 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 Antagonus; who also fled with him from Rome. And this was the fortune of Aristobulus, who was sent back again to Rome; and was there retained 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 soul. However, the senate let his children go; upon Gabi-

Gabinius at Rome. Josephus gives him a laudable character; as if he had acquitted himself with honour in the charge committed to him in Judea." At the year 55. Marg.

nus's writing to them, that he promised their mother so much, when she delivered up the fortresses to him. And accordingly they returned into Judea.

Now when Gabinus was making an expedition against the Parthians, and had already passed over Euphrates, he changed his mind, and resolved to return into Egypt; in order to restore* Ptolemy to his kingdom. Antipater supplied his army, which he sent against Archelaus, with corn, and weapons, and money. He also made those Jews, who were above Pelusium, his friends and confederates; and had been the guardians of the 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 Jews revolt to him; and so he marched over the country with a great army, and slew all the Romans he could meet with; and proceeded to besiege the mountain called Gerizzim, whither they had retreated.

But when Gabinus found Syria in such a state, he sent Antipater, who was a prudent man, to those that were seditious; to try whether he could cure them of their madness, and persuade them to return to a better mind. And when he came to them, he induced many of them to do what they ought. But he could not restrain Alexander: for he had an army of thirty thousand Jews, and met Gabinus; and joining battle with him was beaten, and lost ten thousand of his men about mount Tabor.

So Gabinus settled the affairs which belonged to the city Jerusalem, as was agreeable to Antipater's inclination; and went against the Nabateans, and overcame them in battle. He also sent away in a friendly manner Mithridates and Orsanus, who were Parthian deserters, and came to him; though the report went abroad, that they had run away from him. And when Gabinus had performed great and glorious actions, in his management of the affairs of war, he returned to Rome and delivered the government to Crassus. Now Nicolaus of Damascus,

* This history is best illustrated by Dr. Hudson out of Livy, *Epit. cv.* who says, that "A. Gabinus, the proconsul, restored Ptolemy to his kingdom of Egypt; and ejected Archelaus, whom he had set up for king," &c. See Prideaux, at the years 64 and 65.

and Strabo of Cappadocia, both describe the expeditions of Pompey and Gabinius against the Jews: while neither of them say any thing new, which is not in the other.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE PILLAGING OF THE TEMPLE BY CRASSUS, PREVIOUS TO HIS EXPEDITION AGAINST THE PARTHIANS; IN WHICH HE PERISHED WITH HIS ARMY; OF THE EXPLOITS OF CASSIUS; AND OF THE DEATH OF ARISTORULUS AND HIS SON ALEXANDER.

NOW Crassus,† as he was going upon his expedition against the Parthians, came upon Judea, and carried off the money that was in the temple, which Pompey had left; being two thousand talents; and was disposed to spoil it of all the gold belonging to it, which was eight thousand talents. He also took a beam which was made of solid beaten gold, of the weight of three hundred minæ; each of which weighed two pounds and a half. It was the priest who was guardian of the sacred treasures, and whose name was Eleazar, that gave him this beam; not out of a wicked design, for he was a good and a righteous man; but being intrusted with the custody of the veils belonging to the temple, which were of admirable beauty, and of very costly workmanship, and hung down from this beam, when he saw that Crassus was busy in gathering money, and was in fear for the entire ornaments of the temple, he gave him this beam of gold, as a ransom for the whole; but not till he had given his oath that he would remove nothing else out of the temple, but be satisfied with this only which he should give him; being worth many thousand shekels. Now this beam was contained in a wooden beam that was hollow; but was known to no others, but Eleazar alone. Yet did Crassus take away this beam, upon the condition of touching nothing else that belonged to the temple; and then brake his oath, and carried away all the gold that was in the temple.

And let no one wonder that there was so much wealth in our temple; since all the Jews throughout the habitable earth, and

† An. 64 B. C.

those that worshipped* God; nay, even those of Asia and Europe sent their contributions to it; and this from very ancient times. Nor is the largeness of these sums without its attestation; nor is that greatness owing to our vanity, as raising it without ground to so great a height. But there are many witnesses to it, and particularly Strabo of Cappadocia; who says thus—"Mithridates sent to Cos, and took the money which queen Cleopatra had deposited there; as also eight hundred talents belonging to the Jews." Now we have no public money but what appertains to God. And it is evident, that the Asiatic Jews removed this money out of fear of Mithridates. For it is not probable that those of Judea, who had a strong city and temple, should send their money to Cos. Nor is it likely that the Jews who are inhabitants of Alexandria† should do so neither; since they were in no fear of Mithridates. And Strabo himself bears witness to the same thing, in another place; and at the same time that Sylla passed over into Greece, in order to fight against Mithridates, he sent Lucullus to put an end to a sedition that our nation, of whom the habitable earth is full, had raised in Cyrene. Where he speaks thus: "There were four classes of men among those of Cyrene; that of Citizens; that of husbandmen; the third of strangers; and the fourth of Jews. Now these Jews are already gotten into all cities; and it is difficult to find a place in the habitable earth that hath not admitted this tribe of men, and is not possessed by it. And it hath come to pass that Egypt and Cyrene, as having the same governors, and a great number of other nations, imitate their way of living; and maintain great bodies of these Jews in a peculiar manner; and grow up to greater prosperity with them; and make use of the same laws with that nation. Accordingly the Jews have places assigned them in Egypt, wherein they inhabit; besides what is peculiarly allotted to this nation at Alexandria; which is a large part of that city. There is also an ethnarch allowed them, who governs the nation, and distributes justice to them; and takes care of their contracts, and of the laws to them belonging; as if he

* The proselytes.

† Spanheim here takes notice of a great deal of other evidence for the privileges the Jews had at the city Alexandria. See his note on this place.

were the ruler of a free republic. In Egypt therefore this nation is powerful; because the Jews were originally Egyptians; and because the land wherein they inhabit, since they went thence, is near to Egypt. They also removed into Cyrene, because that this land adjoined to the government of Egypt, as well as does Judea; or rather was formerly under the same government.

When Crassus had settled all things as he pleased, he marched into Parthia; where both 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, by their victory over Crassus, 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 slew Pitholaus, who succeeded Aristobulus in his seditious practices; 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; for he married a wife, who was the daughter of one of their eminent men, and her name was Cypros:† by whom he had four sons, Phasaël; Herod, who was afterward made king; Joseph, and Pheroras; and a daughter named Salome. This Antipater cultivated also a friendship and mutual kindness with other potentates: but especially with the king of 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.

But some time‡ afterward Cæsar, when he had taken Rome, and after Pompey and the senate were fled beyond the Ionian Sea, freed Aristobulus from his bonds; and resolved to send him into Syria, and delivered two legions to him, that he might set matters right, as being a potent man in that country. But Aristobulus had no enjoyment of what he hoped for from the

* This citation, I suppose, is wanting. However, see *Of the War*, Book I. chap. 8.

† Dr. Hudson observes, that the name of this wife of Antipater in Josephus, was Cypros, as a Hebrew termination; but not Cypris, the Greek name for *Venus*, as some critics were induced to correct it.

‡ An 49.

power that was given him by Cæsar: 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 considerable time 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 him to slay Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, because the young man was accused of what offences 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 Menneus, who was the ruler of Chalcis, under mount Libanus, took his brethren to him, and sent his son Philippion to Ascalon, to Aristobulus's wife, and desired her to send back with him her son Antigonus, and her daughters. The one of which, whose name was Alexandra, Philippion fell in love with and married: though afterward his father slew him, and married Alexandra, and continued to take care of her brethren.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE ASSISTANCE WHICH THE JEWS GAVE TO CÆSAR IN HIS EXPEDITION AGAINST EGYPT; THE GLORIOUS ACTIONS OF ANTIPATER, AND HIS FRIENDSHIP WITH CÆSAR; AND THE HONOURS WHICH THE JEWS RECEIVED FROM THE ROMANS AND ATHENIANS.

NOW after Pompey was dead,* Antipater who managed the Jewish affairs, became 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 through Pelusium, but obliged to stay at Ascalon, Antipater came to him, conducting three thousand armed Jews. He had also taken care the principal men of the Arabians should come to his assistance. And on his account it was, that all the Syrians assisted him also; as not willing to appear behind-hand in their alacrity for Cæsar: viz. Jamblicus the ruler, and Ptolemy his son; and Tholomy, the son of Sohemus, who dwelt at mount Libanus; and almost

* An. 48.

all the cities.* So Mithridates marched out of Syria, and came to Pelusium. And when its inhabitants would not admit him, he besieged the city. Now Antipater signalized himself here; and was the first who plucked down a part of the wall, and so opened a way to the rest, whereby they might enter the city: and by this means Pelusium was taken. But it happened that the Egyptian Jews, who dwelt in the country called Onion, would not let Antipater and Mithridates, with their soldiers, pass to Cæsar. But Antipater persuaded them to come over to their party, because he was of the same people with them; and that chiefly by shewing them the epistles of Hyrcanus the high-priest; wherein he exhorted them to cultivate friendship with Cæsar. And accordingly when they 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 had come over to Cæsar, they also invited Mithridates to come to them. So he came and received them also into his army.

When Mithridates had gone over all the Delta, as the place is called, he came to a pitched battle with the enemy, near a place called the Jewish camp. Now Mithridates had the right wing, and Antipater the left. And when it came to an engagement, that wing where Mithridates was gave way, and was likely to suffer extremely; unless Antipater had come running to him with his own soldiers, along the shore; when he had already defeated the enemy that opposed him. So he delivered Mithridates, and put those Egyptians who had been too hard for him to flight. He also took their camp, and continued in the pursuit of them. He then recalled Mithridates who had been worsted, and was retired a great way off. Of whose soldiers eight hundred fell; but of Antipater's fifty. So Mithridates sent an account of this battle to Cæsar; and openly declared, that Antipater was the author of this victory, and of his own preservation. Insomuch that Cæsar commended Antipater; and made use of him in all the rest of that war in the most hazardous undertakings: he happened also to be wounded in one of those engagements.

However, when Cæsar, after some time, had finished that war,

* Free cities.

and was sailed away for Syria, he honoured Antipater greatly; and confirmed Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood; and bestowed on Antipater the privilege of a citizen of Rome, and a freedom from taxes every where. It is reported indeed by many, that Hyrcanus went along with Antipater in this expedition, and came himself into Egypt: and Strabo of Cappadocia bears witness to this, when he says thus, in the name of Asinius, "After Mithridates had invaded Egypt, and with him Hyrcanus the high-priest of the Jews." The same Strabo says thus again, in another place, in the name of Hysicrates: that "Mithridates at first went out alone; but Antipater, who had the care of the Jewish affairs, was called by him to Ascalon; and that he had three thousand soldiers ready to go along with him; and encouraged other governors of the country to go along with him also; and Hyrcanus, the high-priest, was also present in this expedition."

But Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came at this time to Cæsar; and lamented his father's fate; and complained that it was by Antipater's means that Aristobulus was taken off by poison, and his brother was beheaded by Scipio; and desired that he would take pity on him, who had been ejected out of that principality which was due to him. He also accused Hyrcanus and Antipater as governing the nation by violence; and offering injuries to himself. Antipater was present, and made his defence, as to the accusations that were laid against him. He demonstrated that Antigonus and his party were given to innovation, and were seditious persons. He also reminded Cæsar of the difficulties and services he had undergone when he assisted him in his wars; and discoursed about what he was a witness of himself. He added, that Aristobulus was justly carried away to Rome, as one that was an enemy to the Romans, and could never be brought to be a friend to them: and that his brother had no more than he deserved from Scipio; as being seized in committing robberies. And that this punishment was not inflicted on him in a way of violence, or injustice by him that did it.

When Antipater had made this speech, Cæsar appointed Hyrcanus to be high-priest; and gave Antipater what principality 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 favour of him; for they had been demolished by Pompey. And this grant he sent to the consuls to Rome, to be engraven in the capitol. The* decree of the senate was as follows:

“Lucius Valerius, the son of Lucius the prætor, referred this to the senate, upon the ides 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 Alexander the son of Jason, and Numenius, 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 in being before. They also 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, directed both to the free cities, and to the kings; that 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 to bestow on them whatsoever 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 of Panemus.”

* 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 us a decree for the restoration of Jerusalem, he brings in a decree of far greater antiquity; and that a league of friendship and union only. One may easily believe that Josephus gave order for one thing, and his amanuensis performed another; by transposing decrees that concerned the Hyrcani; and as deluded by the sameness of their names. For that belongs to the first high priest of this name, [John Hyrcanus,] which Josephus here ascribes to one that lived later, [Hyrcanus the son of Alexander Janneus.] However, the decree which he proposes to set down, follows a little lower, in the collection of Roman decrees, that concerned the Jews; and is that dated when Cæsar was consul the fifth time.” But when he finds, at the beginning of this decree, the ides of December; and here at the end of the 9th of Hyrcanus; and yet presently the month Panemus, which answers to part of the Julian June and July, it is clear these months December and Panemus are inconsistent. Petitus therefore seems to be in the right, when he separates Panemus from the former decree, and refers it to the next that follows it; which is certainly dated in that month; and as esteeming both in the same year, the 9th of Hyrcanus. Though perhaps a word or two may have been dropped out of our copies, that, if extant, would have made some conjecture more certain. See Dean Prideaux at the year 127.

† Ab. 127.

Hyrchanus also received honours from the people of Athens; as having been useful to them on many occasions. And when they wrote to him, they sent him the following decree:—

“ Under the Prutaneia and priesthood of Dionysius, the son of Esculapius; on the fifth day of the latter part of the month Panemus; this decree of the Athenians was given to their commanders; when Agathocles was archon, and Eucles the son of Menander of Alimusia was the scribe. In the month* Munychion, on the eleventh 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; and Dionysius, the son of Dionysius, gave the sentence. Since Hyrchanus, 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 private occasion, he receives them in an obliging manner, and sees that they are conducted back in safety; of which we have had several former testimonies: it is now 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 purpose is to do us all the good that is in his power; to honour him with a crown of gold, the usual reward according to the law; and to erect his statue in 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 honour and favour to this man for his affection and generosity. That by this treatment it may appear how our people receive the good kindly, and repay them a suitable reward; and he may be induced to proceed in his affection towards us, by the honours we have already paid him. That ambassadors be also chosen out of all the Athenians, who shall carry this decree to him; and desire him to accept of the

* Read here the first of Munychion; and the 10th of the Prutaneia.

honours we do him; and to endeavour always to be doing some good to our city."

And this shall suffice as to the honours that were paid by the the Romans, and the people of Athens to Hyrcanus.

CHAP. IX.

ANTIPATER BESTOWS THE GOVERNMENT OF GALILEE ON HEROD; AND THAT OF JERUSALEM ON PHASAELUS. BUT HEROD, UPON THE JEWS' ENVY AT ANTIPATER, IS ACCUSED BEFORE HYRCANUS.

NOW* when Cæsar had settled the affairs of Syria, he sailed away. And as soon as Antipater had conducted him out of Syria, he returned to Judea. He then raised up the wall which had been thrown down by Pompey, and by coming thither he pacified that tumult which had been in the country; and this by both threatening, and advising them to be quiet. For, he said, if they were of Hyrcanus's side, they would live happily, and lead their lives without disturbance, in the enjoyment of their own possessions; but if they were addicted to the hopes of what might come by innovation, and aimed to 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 Cæsar, their bitter enemies, instead of rulers. For that they would never suffer him to be set aside, whom they had appointed to govern. And when Antipater had said this to them, he settled the affairs of this country.

And seeing that Hyrcanus was of a slow and slothful temper, he made Phasaelus, his eldest son, governor of Jerusalem, and of the places adjacent; but committed Galilee to Herod, his next son, who was then fifteen† years of age. That youth of

* A. 44.

† Tak, Reland's and Hudson's notes on this celebrated place. "Isaac Casaubon, in his epistle to Thuanus, which is the 936 in number, affirms, that instead of *æ* or 15, we should read *æ* or 25, where he thus writes: "We affirm, and most evidently demonstrate, that the reading ought to be *æ* 25. Nor are we to be dissuaded by the consent of the copies, nor the assent of Photius to them. He had said just before, that this place is of great consequence for the discovery of the

his however, was no impediment to him; but as he possessed a great mind, he presently met with an opportunity of signaling his courage. For finding that there was one Hezekias, a captain of a band of robbers, who overran the neighbouring parts of Syria, he seized and slew him; as well as a great number of the robbers that were with him. By this action he acquired the love of the Syrians: for when they were very desirous to have their country freed from this nest of robbers, he purged it of them. So they sang songs in his commendation in their villages and cities, as having procured them peace, and the secure enjoyment of their possessions. And on this account it was that he became known to Sextus Cæsar, who was the relation of the great Cæsar's, and was now president of Syria.

Now Phasaëlus, Herod's brother, was moved with emulation at his actions; and envied the fame he had acquired, and became ambitious not to be behind-hand with him in deserving it. So he made the inhabitants of Jerusalem bear him the greatest good will; while he held the city himself, but did neither manage its affairs improperly nor abuse his authority there-

chronology of our Saviour." So far Reland. To which Hudson adds, "Since I have never allowed myself the liberty to change any numbers, without the authority of MSS. neither have I here set down *as* 25, for *a* 15, which yet many very learned men have asserted ought to be done; who are cited by Casaubon in Exercit. contr. Baron. § 34 and with whom Casaubon himself agrees in Epist. 299. as also Montacutius, in Exercit. 10. page 34. and in Apparatu, page 194. Lydiat in Emen-det. Temp. page 114. and Kepler, De Ann. Nat. Christi. page 52. Nay indeed; that it ought to be so read some have demonstrated: as Usher, in Annal. Vet. Test. page 252. Edit. Lond. & Norris in Cenotaphiis Pisanis. Disert. II. c. 6. page 160. The very learned Antonius Pagi giving his assent to them, in Apparad. ad Annal. Baron. page 12. which arguments induce us to have no regard to Pere Harduin: who (in his book De Nummis Herodiadum, page 334. Edit. Amst.) takes occasion from the slip of the pen of the scribes to fall upon Josephus himself. And as for his defence from the words, "When Herod was very young," all those who will compare with him Is. Casaubon, and Antonius Pagi in the places already cited, will see how indifferently he does it." See the notes here on I. 12. and Of the War, I. 10. To all which I shall venture to add, that 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 25 years, and not 15, must certainly have been here Josephus's own number, for the age of Herod, when he was made governor of Galilee; and will not need to consult any of those learned men for his satisfaction. See chap. 23 and 24. and particularly XVII. 8. where about 44 years afterward Herod dies an old man, at about seventy. Also XVI. 8, 10, and 11. Of the War, I. 30. where Herod is old, and grey headed, and XVII. 4. where even his son Antipater is growing old in Herod's lifetime.

in. This conduct procured from the nation of Antipater such respect as is due to kings; and such honours as he might partake of if he were absolute lord of the country. Yet did not this splendour of his, as frequently happens, in the least diminish in him that kindness and fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

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, and in the revenues which they received out of Judea, and out of Hyrcanus's own wealth; 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 purloined the present intended; and sent it, as if it were his own, and not Hyrcanus's gift to them. Hyrcanus heard of this management, but took no care about it: nay he was rather glad of it. But the chief men of the Jews were in fear because they saw that Herod was a violent and bold man, and very desirous of acting tyrannically. So they came to Hyrcanus, and accused Antipater openly, and said to him, "How long wilt thou be quiet under such actions as are now done? Or dost thou not see that Antipater and his sons have already seized upon the government, and that it is only the name of a king which is given thee? But do not thou suffer these things to be hidden from thee: nor do not thou think to escape danger 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 a notion: they are evidently absolute lords. For Herod, Antipater's son, hath slain Hezekias, and those that were with him; and hath thereby transgressed our law; which hath forbidden to slay any man, even though he were a wicked man, unless he had been first* condemned to suffer death by the Sanhedrim. Yet hath he been so insolent, as to do this, without any authority from thee."

* It is here worthy of remark, that none could be put to death in Judea, but by the approbation of the Jewish Sanhedrim; there being an excellent provision in the law of Moses, that even in criminal causes, and particularly where life was concerned, an appeal should lie from the lesser councils of 7, in the other cities, to the supreme council of 71, at Jerusalem. And this is exactly according to our Saviour's words; when he says, "It could not be that a prophet should perish out of Jerusalem." Luke xiii. 33.

Upon Hyrcanus's hearing this, he complied with them. The mothers also of those that had been slain by Herod excited his indignation. For these 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 at length so moved by these complaints, that he summoned Herod to take his trial, for what was charged upon him. And accordingly he came. But his father had persuaded him to come, not like a private man, but with a guard for the security of his person; and that when he had settled the affairs of Galilee in the best manner he could for his own advantage, he should come to his trial; but still with a body of men sufficient for his security on his journey. Yet so that he should not come with so great a force, as might look like terrifying Hyrcanus; but still such a one as might not expose him naked and unguarded, to his enemies. However Sextus Cæsar, president of Syria, wrote to Hyrcanus; desiring him to clear Herod, and dismiss him at his trial; and threatening him before hand if he did not do it. Which epistle of his was the occasion of Hyrcanus's delivering Herod from suffering any harm from the Sanhedrim: for he loved him as his own son. But when Herod stood before the Sanhedrim, with his body of men about him, he affrighted them all: and no one of his former accusers durst after that 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 Sameas,* (a righteous man, and for that reason, above all fear,) rose up and said:—

“O ye that are assessors with me, and O thou that art our king, I neither have ever myself known such a case; nor do I suppose that any one of you can name its parallel; that one who is called to take his trial by us, ever stood in such a manner before us. But every one, whosoever he be, that comes to be tried by this Sanhedrim, presents himself in a submissive manner, and like one that is in fear of himself; and that endeavours to move us to compassion, with his hair dishevelled,

* This account, as Reland observes, is confirmed by the Talmudists: who call this Sameas, Simeon the son of Shetach. The like forboding speech of Sulla concerning Julius Cæsar, is in Suetonius Jul. Cæs. I. as Havercamp here takes notice.

and in a black and mourning garment. But this admirable man, Herod, who is accused of murder, and called to answer so heavy an accusation, stands here clothed 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 slay us; and by overbearing justice may himself escape death. Yet do not I make this complaint against Herod himself. He is to be sure more concerned for himself than for the laws. But my complaint is against yourselves, and your king, who give him a license so to do. However, take notice, that God is great: and this very man, whom you are going to absolve and dismiss, for the sake of Hyrcanus, will one day punish both you, and your king also."

Nor did Sameas mistake in any part of this prediction. For when Herod had received the kingdom,* he slew Hyrcanus and all the members of this Sanhedrim; excepting Sameas. For he had a great honour for him, on account of his righteousness: and because, when the city 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 escape his hands." Which things will be related in their proper places.

But when Hyrcanus saw that the members of the Sanhedrim were ready to pronounce the sentence of death upon Herod, he put off the trial till another day, and sent privately to Herod, and advised him to flee 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 had been with Sextus Cæsar, and had put his own affairs in a secure posture, he resolved to do thus; that in case he were again summoned before the Sanhedrim, to take his trial, he would not obey that summons. Hereupon the members of the Sanhedrim were highly incensed, and endeavoured to persuade Hyrcanus, that all these things were against him. This, indeed, he was not ignorant of: but his temper was so unmanly, and so foolish, that he was able to do nothing at all. But when Sextus had made Herod general of the army of Coelesyria, (for he sold him that post for money,)

* See Book XV. chap. 1.

Hyrcanus was in fear lest Herod should make war upon him. Nor was the effect of what he feared long in coming upon him. 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 before the Sanhedrim. 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 rash action, but merely to affright them with threatenings, and to proceed no farther against one who had given him the dignity he had: they also desired him not only to be angry that he was summoned, and obliged to come to his trial; but to remember withal, how he was dismissed without condemnation; and how he ought to give Hyrcanus thanks for the same. So they desired him to consider, that since it is God that turns the balance of war, there is great uncertainty* in the issue of battle, and that therefore he ought not to expect the victory, when he should fight with his king, and him that had supported him, and bestowed many benefits upon him; and had done nothing very severe to him: for that his accusation, which was derived from evil counsellors, and not from himself, had rather the suspicion of some severity, than any thing really severe in it. Accordingly Herod was persuaded by these arguments: and believed that it was sufficient for his future hopes to have made a shew of his strength before the nation. And in this state were the affairs of Judea at this time.

CHAP. X.

OF THE HONOURS THAT WERE PAID THE JEWS; AND THE LEAGUES THAT WERE MADE BY THE ROMANS AND OTHER NATIONS, WITH THEM.

NOW when Cæsar was come to Rome, he was ready to sail into Africa, to fight against Scipio and Cato; when Hyrcanus

* If we read here for *admiror*, uncertainty. *admiror*, injustice; as in the history Of the War, I. 10. the sense will run very clear; otherwise the two accounts will be somewhat different; and the sense of the place more doubtful.

sent ambassadors to him, desiring that he would ratify that league of friendship and mutual alliance which was between them. And it seems necessary here to give an account of all the honours that the Romans and their emperors have paid to our nation; and of the leagues of mutual assistance they have made with it; that all the rest of mankind may know what regard the kings of Asia and Europe have had to us; and that they have been abundantly satisfied of our courage and fidelity. For whereas many will not believe what hath been written about us, by the Persians and Macedonians, because those writings are not every where to be met with, nor do lie in public places; but among ourselves, and certain other barbarous nations; while there is no contradiction to be made against the decrees of the Romans; for they are laid up in the public places of the cities, and are extant still in the capitol, and engraven upon pillars of brass. Nay, besides this, Julius Cæsar made a pillar of brass for the Jews at Alexandria, and declared publicly that they were citizens of Alexandria. Out of these evidences will I demonstrate what I say; and will now set down the decrees made both by the senate, and by Julius Cæsar, which relate to Hyrcanus, and to our nation.

“ Caius Julius Cæsar, imperator, and high-priest, and dictator the second time, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Sidon, sendeth greeting. If you be in health, it is well: I also, and the army, are well. I have sent you a copy of that decree, registered on the tables, which concerns Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews; that it may be laid up among the public records. And I will that it be openly proposed in a table of brass, both in Greek and in Latin. It is as follows:—I, Julius Cæsar, imperator the second time, and high-priest, have made this decree, with the approbation of the senate. Whereas Hyrcanus the son of Alexander, the Jew, hath demonstrated his fidelity and diligence about our affairs; and this both now and in former times; both in peace and in war, as many of our generals have borne witness; and came to our assistance in the last Alexandrian* war; with fifteen

* That Hyrcanus was himself in Egypt, along with Antipater, at this time: to whom accordingly the bold and prudent actions of his deputy Antipater are here ascribed; at this decree of Julius Cæsar supposes, we are farther assured, by the

hundred soldiers; and when he was sent-by me to Mithridates, shewed himself superior in valour to all the rest of that army: for these reasons I will, that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his children, be ethnarchs of the Jews, and have the high-priesthood of the Jews for ever; according to the customs of their forefathers: and that he and his sons be our confederates: and that besides this, every one of them be reckoned among our particular friends. I also ordain, that he and his children retain whatsoever privileges belong to the office of high-priest; or whatsoever favours have been hitherto granted them. And if at any time hereafter there arise any question about the Jewish customs, I will that he determine the same. And I think it not proper that they should be obliged to find us winter quarters; or that any money should be required of them."

"The decrees of Caius Cæsar, consul: containing what hath been granted and determined, are as follows: That Hyrcanus and his children bear rule over the nation of the Jews, and have the profits of the places to them bequeathed; and that himself as the high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews, defend those that are injured. And that ambassadors be sent to Hyrcanus the son of Alexander, the high-priest of the Jews, that may discourse with him about a league of friendship and mutual assistance; and that a table of brass containing the premises, he openly proposed in the capitol, and at Sidon, and Tyre, and Ascalon, and in the temple; engraven in Roman and Greek characters; that this decree may also be communicated to the quæstors and pretors of the several cities, and to the friends of the Jews: and that the ambassadors may have presents made them, and these decrees be sent every where."

"Caius Cæsar, imperator, dictator, consul, hath granted that out of regard to the honour and virtue and kindness of the man, and for the advantage of the senate and of the people of Rome,

testimony of Strabo, already produced by Josephus, chap. 8. But as for the other niceties in these decrees on behalf of the Jews, most of which are but lately recovered in our editions of Josephus, but which are of the most authentic authority, as compared with the Roman customs, and other records; and what light arises from them to the other Roman authors and antiquities, they only belong to the learned in the Roman affairs, and shall not therefore be dwelt upon in this English version. Jacobus Gronovius, &c. in Havercamp's edition, will generally afford the inquisitive reader abundant satisfaction.

Hyrchanus, the son of Alexander, and his children, be high-priests, and priests of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish nation, by the same right, and according to the same laws, by which their progenitors have held the priesthood."

" Caius Cæsar,* consul the fifth time, hath decreed, that the Jews shall possess Jerusalem; and may encompass that city with walls; and that Hyrchanus, the son of Alexander, the high-priest, and ethnarch of the Jews, retain it, in the manner he himself pleases: and that the Jews be allowed to deduct out of their tribute, every second year the land is let in the sabbatic period, a corus of that tribute. And that the tribute they pay be not let to farm, nor that they pay always the same tribute."

" Caius Cæsar, imperator the second time, hath ordained, that all the country of the Jews, excepting Joppa, do pay a tribute yearly for† the city Jerusalem; excepting the seventh, which they call the sabbatical year: because thereon they neither receive the fruits of their trees, nor do they sow their land: and that they pay tribute in Sidon, on the second year of that sabbatical period, the fourth part of what was sown. And besides this, they are to pay the same tithes to Hyrchanus and his sons which they paid to their forefathers. And that no one, neither president, lieutenant nor ambassador, raise auxiliaries within the bounds of Judea. Nor may soldiers exact money of them for winter quarters, or under any other pretence; but they are to be free from all sorts of injuries. And whatsoever they shall hereafter have, and are in possession of, or have bought, they shall retain. It is also our pleasure that the city Joppa, which the Jews had originally, when they made a league of friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them, as it formerly did; and that Hyrchanus, the son of Alexander, and his sons, have as tribute of that city from those that occupy the land, for the country, and for what they export every year to Sidon, twenty thousand six hundred and seventy-five modii every year; the seventh year which they call the sabbath year, excepted: whereupon they neither plough, nor receive the product of their trees. It is also the pleasure of the senate, that as to the villages which are in the great plain, which Hyrchanus and his forefathers former-

* See the note on chap. 8.

† Probably to rebuild the walls, or to keep them in repair.

ly possessed, Hyrcanus and the Jews have them with the same privileges with which they formerly had them also: and that the same original ordinances remain still in force which concern the Jews, with regard to their high-priests; and that they enjoy the same benefits which they have had formerly by the concession of the people, and of the senate: and let them enjoy the like privileges in Lydda. It is also the pleasure of the senate, that Hyrcanus the ethnarch, and the Jews, retain those places, countries, and villages, which belonged to the kings of Syria and Phœnicia, the confederates of the Romans, and which they had bestowed on them, as their free gifts: It is also granted to Hyrcanus, and to his sons, and to the ambassadors by them sent to us; that in the fights between single gladiators, and in those with beasts, they shall sit among the senators, to see those shows. And when they desire an audience, they shall be introduced into the senate, by the dictator, or by the general of the horse. And when they have introduced them, their answers shall be returned in ten days at the farthest, after the decree of the senate is made about their affairs."

"Caius Cæsar, imperator, dictator the fourth time, and consul the fifth time, declared to be perpetual dictator; made this speech, concerning the priests and privileges of Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews. Since those imperators* that have been in the provinces before me have borne witness to Hyrcanus the high-priest of the Jews, and to the Jews themselves, and this before the senate and people of Rome; when the people and senate returned their thanks to them: it is good that we also now remember the same, and provide that a requital be made to Hyrcanus, to the nation of the Jews, and to the sons of Hyrcanus, by the senate and people of Rome; and that suitably to the good will they have shewn us, and to the benefits they have bestowed upon us."

"Julius Caius, the prætor and consul of Rome, to the magistrates, senate, and people, of the Parians, sendeth greeting. The

* Dr. Hudson justly supposes, that these Roman imperators or generals of armies, who gave testimony to Hyrcanus's and the Jews' fidelity and good will to the Romans, before the senate and people of Rome, were principally Pompey, Scæurus, and Gabinus. Of all whom Josephus had already given us the history, so far as the Jews were concerned with them.

Jews of Delos, and some other Jews that sojourn there, in the presence of your 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 me that such decrees should be made 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 Cæsar, our emperor, and consul, in that decree, wherein he forbade the Bacchanal 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 suppers. Accordingly when I forbid other Bacchanal rioters, I permit these Jews to gather themselves together, according to the customs and laws of their forefathers, and to persist therein. It will be therefore good for you, if you have made any decree against these our friends and confederates, to abrogate the same; by reason of their virtue and kind disposition towards us."

Now after Caius was slain, when Marcus Antonius and Publius Dolabella were consuls, they both assembled the senate, and introduced Hyrcanus's ambassadors into it, and discoursed of what they desired, and made a league of friendship with them. The senate also agreed to grant them all they desired. I add the decree itself: that those who read the present work, may have ready by them a demonstration of the truth of what we say.

"The decree of the senate, copied out of the treasury, from the public tables belonging to the quæstors; when Quintus Rutilius, and Caius Cornelius, were quæstors; and taken out of the second table, of the first class. On the third day before the ides of April, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree, Lucius Culpurnius Piso, of the Menenian tribe; Servius Papinius Potitus, of the Lemonian tribe; Caius Caninius Rebilus, of the Tarentine tribe; Publius Tidetius; Lucius Apulinus, the son of Lucius, of the Sergian tribe; Flavius, the son of Lucius, of the Lemonian tribe; Publius Platus, the son of Publius, of the Papyrian tribe; Marcus Acilius, the son of Marcus, of the Mecian tribe; Lucius Erucius, the son of Lucius, of the Stellatine tribe; Marcus Quintius

Plancillus, the son of Marcus, of the Pollian tribe; and Publius Sereus. Publius Dolabella, and Marcus Antonius, the consuls, made this reference to the senate; that as to those things which, by the decree of the senate, Caius Cæsar had adjudged about the Jews, and yet had not hitherto that decree brought into the treasury; it is our will, as it is also the desire of Publius Dolabella, and Marcus Antonius, our consuls, to have these decrees put into the public tables, and brought to the city quæstors, that they may take care to have them put upon the double tables. 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 Lysimachus, the son of Pausanias; Alexander, the son of Theodorus; Patroclus, the son of Chereas; and Jonathan, the son of Onias."

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 services; 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 farther deliberation, he sent an epistle to all the Asiatics; and particularly to the city of the Ephesians, the metropolis of Asia, about the Jews. A copy of which epistle here follows:—

"When Artemon was prytanis, on the first day of the month Leneon, Dolabella, imperator, to the senate, and magistrates, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. Alexander, the son of Theodorus, the ambassador of Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews, appeared before me, to shew that his countrymen 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 prefects have done; and permit them to use the customs of their forefathers, in assembling together for sacred and religious purposes, as their law requires; and for collecting oblations necessary for sacrifices; and my will is, that you write this to the several cities under your jurisdiction."

Those were the concessions that Dolabella made to our nation, when Hyrcanus sent an embassy to him. But Lucius

the consul's decree ran thus: "I have at my tribunal set those Jews, who are citizens of Rome, and follow the Jewish religious rites, and yet live at Ephesus, free from going into the army, on account of the superstition they are under. This was done before the twelfth of the calends of October, when Lucius Lentulus and Caius Marcellus were consuls. In the presence of Titus Appius Balgus, the son of Titus, and lieutenant, of the Horatian tribe; of Titus Tongius, the son of Titus, of the Crustamine 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; of Bracchus, the military tribune; of Publius Lucius Gallus, the son of Publius, of the Veturian tribe; of Caius Sentius, the son of Caius, of the Sabatine tribe; of Titus Atilius Bulbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant and vice prætor; to the magistrates, senate, and people, of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. Lucius Lentulus, the consul, freed the Jews that are in Asia from going into the armies, at my intercession for them. And when I had made the same petition some time afterward to Phanius, the emperor, and to Lucius Antonius, the vice-quæstor, I obtained that privilege of them also: and my will is that you take care that no one give them any disturbance."

The decree of the Delians. "The answer of the prætors, when Beotus was archon; on the twentieth day of the month Thargeleon. While Marcus Piso, the lieutenant, lived in our city, who was also appointed over the choice of the soldiers, he called us, and many others of the citizens, and gave order, that if there be here any Jews, who are Roman citizens, no one is to give them any disturbance about going into the army: because Cornelius Lentulus, the consul, freed the Jews from going into the army: on account of the superstition they are under. You are therefore obliged to submit to the prætor." And the like decree was also made respecting us by the Sardians.

"Caius Phanius, the son of Caius, emperor, and consul, to the magistrates of Cos, sendeth greeting. I would have you know that the ambassadors of the Jews have been with me, and desired they might have those decrees, which the senate had made about them: which decrees are here subjoined. My will is, that you have a regard to, and take care of, these men, according to the senate's decrees; that they may be safely conveyed home through your country."

The declaration of Lucius Lentulus, the consul. "I have dismissed those Jews who are Roman citizens, and who appear to me to have their religious rites, and to observe the laws of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of the superstition they are under. This act was done before the thirteenth of the calends of October."

"Lucius Antonius, the son of Marcus, vice-quæstor, and vice-prætor; To the magistrates, senate, and people of the Sardi-ans, sendeth greeting. Those Jews that are our fellow-citizens of Rome came to me, and demonstrated, that they had an assembly of their own, according to the laws of their forefathers; and this from the beginning: as also a place of their own, wherein they determined their suits and controversies with one another. Upon their petition therefore to me, that these might be lawful to them, I give order that these privileges be preserved, and they be permitted to do accordingly."

The declaration of Marcus Publius, the son of Spurious; and of Marcus, the son of Marcus, and of Lucius, the son of Publius. "We went to the pro-consul, and informed him of what Dositheus, the son of Cleopatrida 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, on account of the superstition they were under Accordingly he did dismiss them. This was done before the thirteenth of the calends of October."

"In the month Quintilis,* when Lucius Lentulus and Caius Marcellus were consuls; and there were present Titus Appius Balbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant, of the Horatian tribe; Titus Tongius, of the Crustumine tribe, Quintus Resius the son of Quintus; Titus Pompeius, the son of Titus; Cornelius Longinus; Caius Servilius Bracchus, the son of Caius, a military tribune, of the Tarentine tribe; Publius Clusius Gallus, the son of Publius, of the Veturian tribe; Caius Teutius, the son of Caius, a military tribune, of the Emilian tribe; Sextus, Antilius Serranus, the son of Sextus, of the Esquiline tribe; Caius Pompeius, the son of Caius, of the Sabbatine tribe; Titus Appius Menander, the son of Titus; Publius Servilius Strabo, the son of Publius; Lucius Paccius Capito, the son of Lucius, of

* July.

the Colline tribe; Aulus Furius Tertius, the son of Aulus; and Appius Menas. In the presence of these persons Lentulus pronounced this decree: I have before the tribunal dismissed 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."

"The magistrates of the Laodiceans, to Caius Rubilius, the son of Caius, the consul, send greeting. Sopater, the ambassador of Hyrcanus the high-priest, hath delivered us an epistle from thee; whereby he lets us know that certain ambassadors were come from Hyrcanus, the high-priest of the Jews, and brought 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 not be prevented therefrom; because they are our friends and confederates; and that nobody may injure them in our provinces. Now although the Tralians there present contradicted them, and were not pleased with these decrees, yet didst thou give order that they should be observed; and informedst us that thou hadst been desired to write this to us about them. We therefore, in obedience to the injunctions received from thee, have received thy epistle; and have laid it up among our public records. And as to the other things about which thou didst send, we will take care that no complaint be made against us."

"Publius Servilius, the son of Publius, of the Galban tribe, proconsul, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Milesians, sendeth greeting. Prytanus, the son of Hermes, a citizen of yours, came to me when I was 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 their sacred rites received from their forefathers; and to manage 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 from making use of their own customs."

"The decree of those of Pergamus. When Cratippus was prytanis, on the first day of the month Desius, the decree of

the prætors was this. Since the Romans, following the conduct of their ancestors, undertake dangers for the common safety of all mankind; and are ambitious to settle their confederates and friends in happiness, and in firm peace; and since the nation of the Jews, and their high-priest Hyrcanus, sent as ambassadors to them, Strabo the son of Theodatus, Apollonius, the son of Alexander, Eneas, the son of Antipater, Aristobulus, the son of Amyntas, and Sosipater, the son of Philip, worthy and good men; who gave a particular account of their affairs; the senate thereupon made a decree about what they had desired of them; that Antiochus the king, the son of Antiochus, should do no injury to the Jews, the confederates of the Romans; and that the fortresses and the havens, and the country, and whatsoever else he had taken from them, should be restored; and that it may be lawful for them to export their goods out of their own havens; and that 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 Ptolemy, king of Alexandria: because he is our confederate, and friend: and that according to their desire the garrison that is in Joppa may be ejected. Now Lucius Pettius, one of our senators, a worthy and good man, gave order that we should take care that these things should be done, according to the senate's decree; and that their ambassadors might return home in safety. Accordingly we admitted Theodorus into our senate, and took the epistle out of his hands, as well as the decree of the senate. And as he discoursed with 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 every body that comes to him; 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 the senate's decree. Theodorus also, who brought the epistle, desired of our prætors that they would send Hyrcanus a copy of that decree; as also ambassadors to signify to him the affection of our people; and to exhort them to preserve and augment their friendship for us, 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

* We have here a most remarkable and authentic attestation of the citizens of

friendly to the Jews, even in the days of Abraham; who was the father of all the Hebrews, as we have also found it set down in our public records."

"The decree of those of Halicarnassus. When Memnon, the son of Orestidas, by descent, but by adoption of Eunonymus, was priest in the month Aristerion, the decree of the people, upon the representation of Marcus Alexander, was this. Since we have ever a great regard to piety towards God, and to holiness; and since we aim to follow the people of the Romans, who are the benefactors of all men, and what they have written to us about a league of friendship and mutual assistance between the Jews and our city, and that their sacred offices, and accustomed festivals and assemblies, may be observed by them: we have decreed, that as many men and women of the Jews as are willing so to do, may celebrate their sabbaths, and perform their holy offices according to the Jewish laws, and may* make their proseuchæ at the sea side; according to the custom of their forefathers. And if any one, whether he be a magistrate, or private person, hinder them from so doing, he shall be liable to a fine; to be applied to the uses of the city."

"The decree of the Sardiens. This decree was made by the senate and people, upon the representation of the prætors. Whereas those Jews who are our fellow citizens, and live with us in this city, have ever had great benefits heaped upon them by the people; and have come now into the senate, and desired of the people that, upon the restitution of their law, and their liberty by the senate and people of Rome, they may assemble

Pergamus, that Abraham was the father of all the Hebrews; that their own ancestors were in the eldest times, the friends of those Hebrews; and that the public acts of their city extant confirmed the same. This evidence is too strong to be evaded by our present ignorance of the particular occasion of such ancient friendship and alliance between those people. See the like full evidence of the kindred of the Lacedæmonians and the Jews; and that because they were both the posterity of Abraham; by a public epistle of these people to the Jews, preserved in the first book of the Maccabees xii. 19—23. and thence by Josephus, in his Antiquities, XII. 4. both which authentic records are highly valuable. It is also worthy of observation, what Moses Chorenensis, the principal Armenian historian, informs us of, page 83. that Arsaces, who raised the Parthian empire, was of the seed of Abraham, by Chetura; and that thereby was accomplished that prediction, which said, "Kings of nations shall proceed from thee." Gen. xvii. 6.

* See the note on Book XII. chap. 2.

together according to their ancient legal custom; and that we will not bring any suit against them about it; and that a place may be given, where they may have 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 on the days formerly appointed; and to act according to their own laws: and that such a place shall be set apart for them by the prætors, for that building and inhabiting the same, as they shall esteem fit for the purpose. And that those who take care of the provisions for the city, shall take care that such sorts of food, as they esteem fit for their eating, maybe imported into the city."

"The decree of the Ephesians. When Menophilus was prytanis; on the first day of the month Artemisius, this decree was made by the people; and Nicanor, the son of Euphemus, pronounced it, upon the representation of the prætors. Since the Jews that dwell in this city have petitioned Marcus Julius Pompeius, the son of Brutus, the proconsul, that they may be allowed to observe their sabbaths; and to act in all things according to the customs of their forefathers, without impediment from any body; the prætor 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 day, nor be fined for so doing: but that they be allowed to do all things according to their own laws."

Now there are many* such decrees of the senate and imperators of the Romans, and those different from these before us, which have been made in favour of Hyrcanus, and of our nation; as also there have been more decrees of the cities, and rescripts of the prætors to such epistles as concerned our rights and privileges. And certainly such as are not ill disposed to

* If we compare Josephus's former promises to produce all the public decrees of the Romans in favour of the Jews, with his excuse here, for omitting many of them; we may observe, that when he came to transcribe all those decrees he had collected, he found them so numerous, that he thought he should too much tire his readers if he had attempted it: which he thought a sufficient apology for his omitting the rest of them. Yet do those by him produced, afford such a strong confirmation to his history, and give such great light to even the Roman antiquities themselves; that I believe the curious are not a little sorry for such omission.

what we write, may believe that they are all to this purpose; and that by these specimens which we have inserted. For since we have produced evident marks, that may still be 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 them all down, as needless and uninteresting. For I cannot suppose any one so perverse, as not to believe the friendship we have had with the Romans; while they have demonstrated the same by such a great number of their decrees relating to us. Nor will they doubt of our fidelity as to the rest of those decrees; since we have shewn the same in those we have produced. And thus have we sufficiently explained that friendship and confederacy we at those times had with the Romans.

CHAP. XI.

MARCUS* SUCCEEDS TO THE PRESIDENCY OF SYRIA, ON THE ASSASSINATION OF SEXTUS CÆSAR; CASSIUS COMES INTO SYRIA, AND DISTRESSES JUDEA; AND MALICHUS, AFTER TREACHEROUSLY KILLING ANTIPATER, IS SLAIN BY HEROD.

ABOUT this time† the affairs of Syria were in great disorder, on the following occasion. Cecilius Bassus, one of Pompey's party, laid a treacherous design against Sextus Cæsar, and slew him: and then took his army, and got the management of public affairs into his own hands. So there arose a great war about Apamia; while Cæsar's generals came against him, with an army of horsemen and footmen. To these Antipater also sent succours, and his sons with them; as calling to

* For Marcus, this president of Syria, sent as successor to Sextus Cæsar, the Roman historians require us to read Murcus in Josephus; and this perpetually, both in these Antiquities, and in his history of the War: as the learned generally agree. Whether he himself originally wrote the name Marcus or Murcus; or whether the transcribers have not put a usual for an unusual name; which is supposed to have been a practice not uncommon amongst them; cannot now be known.

† An. 45.

mind the kindnesses they had received from Cæsar; and on that account he thought it but just to require punishment for him, and to take vengeance on the man that had murdered him. And as the war was* drawn out into a great length, Marcus came from Rome to take Sextus's government upon him. But Cæsar was slain by Cassius and Brutus, in the senate-house, after he had retained the government three years and six months.

As the war that arose upon the death of Cæsar was now† begun, and the principal men were all gone, some one way, and some another, to raise armies, Cassius came from Rome into Syria, in order to receive the army that lay in the camp at Apamia; and having raised the siege, he brought over both Bassus and Marcus to his party. He then went over the cities, and got together weapons and soldiers; and laid great taxes upon those cities. And he chiefly oppressed Judea, and exacted of it seven hundred talents. But Antipater, when he saw the state to be in so great consternation and disorder, he divided the collection of that sum, and appointed his two sons to gather it. And so, that part of it was to be exacted from Malichus, who was ill disposed to him; and part by others. And because Herod did exact what was required of him from Galilee before others, he was in the greatest favour with Cassius. For he thought it prudent 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 a state of slavery; the two most potent of which were Gophna and Emmaus: and besides these, Dydda and Thamna. Nay, Cassius was so very angry at Malichus, that he would have killed him, had not Hyrcanus, by the means of Antipater, sent him a hundred talents of his own, and thereby pacified his anger.

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 Antipater perceived his

* The reason of the protraction of this war at Apamia, before the murder of Cæsar, Dr. Hudson observes, may be seen in Strabo, XVI. page 762. though the entire passage be too large for this place. See Prideaux at the years 46, 45, 44, 43.

† An. 44.

design, and 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 made his defence with an oath, 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 perceiving the distress that Malichus was in, 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, proceeded so far, that he had almost killed him: but still at the intercession of Antipater, he saved him.

Antipater, however, little thought that by saving Malichus, he had preserved his own murderer. For now Cassius and Marcus had got together an army, and entrusted the entire care of it with Herod, and made him general of the forces of Coele-syria, and gave him a fleet of ships, and an army of horsemen and footmen; and promised that, after the war was over, they would make him king of Judea. For a war was already begun between Antony and the younger Cæsar. But as Malichus was most afraid of Antipater, he took him out of the way: and by the offer of money persuaded the butler of Hyrcanus, with whom they were both to feast, to kill him by poison.* This being done, and he having armed men with him, settled the affairs of the city. But when Antipater's sons, Herod and Phasaelus, were acquainted with this conspiracy against their father, and had indignation at it, Malichus denied all; and utterly disclaimed any knowledge of the murder. And thus died Antipater; a man that had distinguished himself for piety, and justice, and love to his country. And whereas Herod resolved immediately to revenge his father's death, and was coming upon Malichus with an army for that purpose; the eldest of his sons, Phasaelus, thought it best rather to get this man into their hands by policy, lest they should appear to begin a civil war in the country. So he accepted of Malichus's defence for himself, and pretended to believe him that he had no hand in the violent death of Antipater his father; but erected a fine

* An. 43.

monument for him. Herod also went to Samaria; and when he found them in great distress, he revived their spirits, and composed their differences.

A short time after this, Herod, upon the approach of a festival, came with his soldiers into the city: whereupon Malichus was alarmed, and persuaded Hyrcanus not to permit him to come into the city. Hyrcanus complied: and for a pretence of excluding him alledged, that a rout of strangers ought not to be admitted when the multitude were purifying* themselves. But Herod had little regard to the messengers that were sent to him, and entered the city in the night time, and affrighted Malichus. Yet did he remit nothing of his former dissimulation; but wept for Antipater, and bewailed him as a friend of his, with a loud voice. But Herod and his friends thought it proper not openly to contradict Malichus's hypocrisy; but to give him tokens of mutual friendship, in order to prevent his suspicion of them.

However, Herod sent an account of his father's murder to Cassius; who knowing what sort of man Malichus was, as to his morals, sent him back word, that he should revenge his father's death; and also sent privately to the commanders of his army at Tyre, with orders to assist in the execution of a very just design. Now when Cassius had taken Laodicea, they all went together to him, and carried him garlands and money, and Herod thought that Malichus might be punished while he was there. But he was somewhat apprehensive of the thing, and designed to make some great attempt; and because his son was then a hostage at Tyre, he went to that city, and resolved to steal him away privately, and to march thence into Judea; and as Cassius was in haste to march against Antony, he thought to bring the country to revolt, and to procure the government for himself. But Providence opposed his counsels; and Herod, being a shrewd man, and perceiving what his intention was, sent a servant thither beforehand, in appearance indeed to get a supper ready; (for he had said before, that he would feast them all there; but in reality to the commanders of the army, whom he persuaded to go out against Malichus with their daggers. So they went out, and met him near the

* See John xi. 55.

city, upon the sea shore, and stabbed him. Hyrcanus was so astonished that his speech failed him; and when, after some difficulty, he had recovered himself, he asked Herod, what the matter could be? and who it was that slew Malichus? 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 punishment that was inflicted on Malichus, for what he wickedly did to Antipater.

But when Cassius was marched out of Syria, disturbances arose in Judea: for Felix, who was left at Jerusalem with an army, made a sudden attempt against Phasaelus; and the people themselves rose in arms. But Herod went to Fabius, the prefect of Damascus, and was desirous to run to his brother's assistance; but was hindered by a distemper 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 many benefits from them, yet did he support their enemies. For Malichus's brother had caused many places to revolt, and kept garrisons in them; and particularly Massada, the strongest fortress of them all. In the mean time Herod recovered of his disease, and came, and took from Felix all the places he had gotten; and, upon certain conditions, dismissed him also.

CHAP. XII.

HEROD EJECTS ANTIGONUS, THE SON OF ARISTOBULUS, OUT OF JUDEA; AND GAINS THE FRIENDSHIP OF ANTONY, BY SENDING HIM MUCH MONEY. ANTONY WRITES TO THE TYRIANS ON BEHALF OF THE JEWS.

NOW Ptolemy,* the son of Menneus, brought back into Judea Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus; who had already raised

* In this and the following chapters, the reader will easily remark, how truly Gronovius observes, in his notes on the Roman decrees in favour of the Jews, that their rights and privileges were commonly purchased of the Romans with money.

an army, and had, by money, made Fabius his friend; and this because he was of kin to him. Marion also gave him assistance. He had been left by Cassius to tyrannise over Tyre; for this Cassius was a man that seized on Syria, and then kept it under, in the way of a tyrant. Marion also marched into Galilee, which lay in his neighbourhood, and took three of its 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 made presents, out of his good will to that city. When he had despatched these affairs, and was gone to meet Antigonus, he joined battle with him, and defeated him; and drove him out of Judea, when he was just come to its 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 the family of Hyrcanus, by having espoused 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 which wife he became the father of three male, and two female children. He had also married before this another wife, out of a lower family of his own nation; whose name was Dōris: by whom he had his eldest son Antipater.

Now Antonius and Cæsar had beaten Cassius near Philippi; as others have related. But after the victory Cæsar went into Gaul;* and Antony marched for Asia. When he was arrived at Bithynia, he had ambassadors that met him from all parts. The principal men also 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 all the power. But Antony paid great respect to Herod, who was

Many examples of this sort, both as to the Romans, and others in authority, will occur in our Josephus, both now and hereafter; and need not be taken particular notice of on the several occasions in these notes. Accordingly the chief captain confesses to St. Paul, that "with a great sum he had obtained his freedom," Acts xxii. 28. As had St. Paul's ancestors, very probably, purchased the like freedom, for their family, by money; as the same author justly concludes also.

* For Γαλλίας, or Gaul, the Roman historians, and Josephus himself in the history Of the War, I. 12. directs us to read, *Ιταλίαν*, Italy. For thither went Octavius Cæsar, after he and Antony had beaten Brutus and Cassius at Philippi. Whence Antony went into Asia, as Josephus agrees with them.

come to him to make his defence against his accusers. On which account his adversaries could not so much as obtain a hearing. This favour Herod had gained by money: but still, when Antony was come to Ephesus, Hyrcanus, the high-priest, and our nation, sent an ambassage to him; which 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's desires were just; and wrote immediately to 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.

“ Marcus Antonius, imperator, to Hyrcanus, the high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews, sendeth greeting. If you be in health, it is well: I am also in health, with the army. Lysimachus, the son of Pausanius, and Josephus, the son of Meneus, and Alexander, the son of Theodorus, your ambassadors, met me at Ephesus; and have renewed that ambassage which they had formerly been upon at Rome; and have diligently acquitted themselves of the present ambassage, which thou and thy nation have entrusted to them; and have fully declared the good will thou hast 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 of life is constant, and religious. So I reckon upon you as our own. But when those that were adversaries to you, and to the Roman people, and abstained neither from cities, nor temples; and did not observe the agreement they had confirmed by oath; it was not only on account of our own 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 the gods. For the sake of which we suppose it was that the sun* turned away his light

* This clause plainly alludes to that well known, but unusual and very long darkness of the sun, which happened upon the murder of Julius Cæsar, by Brutus and Cassius: which is taken great notice of by Virgil, Pliny, and other Roman authors. See Virgil's Georgics I. just before the end; and Pliny's Natural History, II. 30.

from us; as unwilling to view the horrid crime they were guilty of in the case of Cæsar. We have also overcome their conspiracies, which threatened the gods themselves, which Macedonia received: as it is a climate peculiarly proper for impious and insolent attempts: and we have overcome that confused rabble, half mad with spite against us, which they got together at Philippi, in Macedonia; when they seized on the places that were proper for their purpose, and, as it were, walled them round with mountains to the very sea; and where the passage was open only through a single gate. This victory we gained, because the gods had condemned these men for their wicked enterprises. Now Brutus, when he had fled as far as Philippi, was shut 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 the time to come: and that Asia may be at rest from war. We therefore make that peace which God hath given us common to our confederates also: insomuch that the body of Asia is now recovered out of that distemper it was under, by the means of our victory. I therefore, bearing in mind both thee and your nation, shall take care of what may be for your advantage. I have also sent epistles in writing to the several cities: that if any persons, whether freemen or bondmen, have been sold under* the spear by Caius Cassius, or his subordinate officers, they may be set free. And I will that you kindly make use of the favours which I and Dolabella have granted you. I also forbid the Tyrians to use any violence with you; and for what places of the Jews they now possess, I order them to restore them. I have withal accepted of the crown which thou sendest me."

"Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting. The ambassadors of Hyrcanus, high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews, appeared before me at Ephesus, and told me, that you are in possession of part of their country; which you entered upon under the government of our adversaries. Since therefore we have undertaken a war for obtaining the government; and have taken care to do what was agreeable to piety and justice: and have brought to punishment those that had neither any remembrance of the kindnesses they had received, nor had kept their oaths;

* Publicly.

I will that you be at peace with those that are our confederates: as also that what you have taken by the means of our adversaries shall not be reckoned your own, but be returned to those from whom you took them. For none of them took their provinces or their armies by the gift of the senate; but they seized them by force, and bestowed them by violence upon such as became useful to them in their unjust proceedings. Since therefore those men have received the punishment due to them we desire that our confederates may retain whatsoever it was that they formerly possessed, without disturbance: and that you restore all the places which belonged to Hyrcanus, the ethnarch of the Jews, which you have had, though it were but one day before Caius Cassius began an unjustifiable war against us, and entered into our province. 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 contest with him about your respective rights, it shall be lawful for you to plead your cause, when we come upon the places concerned. For we shall alike preserve the rights, and hear all the causes, of our confederates."

"Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting. I have sent you my decree; of which I will that you 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 triumvirate over the public affairs, made this declaration. Since Caius Cassius, in the revolt he hath made, hath pillaged that province, which belonged not to him, and was held by garrisons there encamped; while they were our confederates; and hath spoiled that nation of the Jews that was in friendship with the Roman people as in war: and since we have overcome his madness by arms, we now correct by our decrees and judicial determinations what he hath laid waste: that those things may be restored to our confederates. And as for what hath been sold of the Jewish possessions, whether they be bodies or 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 not comply with this decree of mine, shall be punished for his disobedience. And if such a one be caught, I will take care that the offender suffer condign punishment."

The same thing did Antony write to the Sidonians, the Antiochians, and the Aradians. 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.

HEROD AND PHASAEUS ARE MADE TETRARCHS, AFTER HAVING BEEN ACCUSED TO NO PURPOSE: THE PARTHIANS BRING ANTIGONUS INTO JUDEA, AND TAKE HYRCANUS AND PHASAEUS CAPTIVES: HEROD SAVES HIMSELF BY FLIGHT.

WHEN Antony came into Syria,* he fell in love with queen Cleopatra, who met him in Cilicia. There came now also a hundred of the most potent of the Jews to accuse Herod, and those about him; and set men of the greatest eloquence among them to speak. But Messala contradicted them on behalf of the young men: and this in the presence of Hyrcanus, who was Herod's† father-in-law already. When Antony had heard on both sides, at Daphne, he asked Hyrcanus, who they were that governed the nation best? He replied, Herod, and his friends. Hereupon Antony, by reason of the old friendship he had made with his father, Antipater, when he was with Gabinius, 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 would have put them to death, but that Herod obtained their pardon.

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 settle the government upon Herod. But

* An. 41.

† We may here observe that espousals alone were of old esteemed a sufficient foundation for affinity. Hyrcanus being here called father-in-law to Herod, because his grand-daughter Mariamne was betrothed to him; although the marriage was not completed till four years afterward. Thus does Virgil style Chorebus the son-in-law to Priamus, before he had actually married his daughter: *Æneid II. v. 344.* See the notes here; see also Matth. i. 16. with Grotius's note upon that place.

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 as they did not acquiesce, the Romans ran upon them with their daggers, and slew some, and wounded more of them: and the rest fled away, and went home, and lay still in great consternation. And when the people made a clamour against Herod, Antony was so provoked at it, that he slew the prisoners.

Now in the second* year, Pacorus, the king of Parthia's son, and Barzapharnes, a commander of the Parthians, possessed themselves of Syria. Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, also was now dead: and Lysanias 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 great interest in him. Now Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women: upon condition they would take the government 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 expedition into Judea on that account, and carried Antigonus with them. Pacorus went along the maritime parts; but the commander, Barzapharnes, through the midland. Now the Tyrians excluded Pacorus; but the Sidonians, and those of Ptolemais, received him. However Pacorus sent a troop of horsemen into Judea, to take a view of the state of the country, and to assist Antigonus; and he sent the king's butler, 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 country by their assistance. The place is called Drymi: and when some others came and 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 Phasaelus's and Herod's party came to the other's assistance, and a battle ensued 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

* Probably of Antony's coming into Asia.

with them, by the people who rose up against them. But Herod was revenged on these seditious adversaries a little afterward, when he fought with them, and slew a great number of them.

But while there were daily skirmishes, the enemy waited for the coming of the multitude out of the country to the feast of Pentecost. And when that day was come, many thousands of the people were gathered together about the temple; some in armour, and some without. Now those that came guarded both the temple and the city, excepting what belonged to the palace, which Herod guarded with a few of his soldiers. And Phasaelus had the charge of the wall: while Herod, with a body of his men, sallied out upon the enemy, who lay in the suburbs, and fought courageously, and put many thousands to flight: some fleeing into the city, some into the temple, and some into the outer fortifications: for some such fortifications there were in that place. Phasaelus came also to his assistance. Yet was Pacorus, the general of the Parthians, at the desire of Antigonus, admitted into the city, with a few of his horsemen: under pretence indeed, as if he would appease the sedition; but in reality to assist Antigonus in obtaining the government. And when Phasaelus met him, and received him kindly, Pacorus persuaded him to go himself, as ambassador to Barzapharnes; which was done fraudulently. Accordingly Phasaelus suspecting no 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.

So both Hyrcanus and Phasaelus went on the ambassage. But Pacorus left with Herod two hundred horsemen, and ten men, who were called the free men; and conducted the others on their journey. And when they were in Galilee, the governors of the cities there met them in their arms. Barzapharnes also received them at first with cheerfulness, and made them presents: though he afterward conspired against them. And Phasaelus, with his horsemen, were conducted to the sea side. But when they heard that Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians 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 by night, while a guard came about them secret-

ly; and they had then been seized upon, had they not waited for the seizure of Hérod by the Parthians, that were about Jerusalem, lest, upon the slaughter of Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, he should have an intimation of it, and escape out of their hands. 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 flee away immediately on horseback, and not stay any longer. And there was one Ophellius who, above all the rest, was earnest for him to do so. For he had heard of this treachery from Saramalla, 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 Hyrcanus, nor to bring his brother into danger. But he went to Barzapharnes, and told him, he did not act justly, when he made such a contrivance: 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 no injury. But the Barbarians swore to him, that there was no truth in any of his suspicions: but that he was troubled with nothing but false supposals; and and then went away to Pacorus.

But as soon as he was gone away, some men came and bound Hyrcanus and Phasaelus: while Phasaelus greatly reproached the Parthians for their perjury. However, that butler, who was sent against Hérod, had it in command to get him without the walls of the city, and seize upon him. But messengers had been sent by Phasaelus to inform Hérod of the perfidiousness of the Parthians. And when he knew that the enemy had seized upon them, he went to Pacorus, and to the most potent of the Parthians, as to the lords of the rest. But, although they knew the whole matter, they 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 his letters: for that they were not taken by his adversaries, but were coming to give him an account of the good success Phasaelus had had. Hérod did not give credit to what they said, for he had heard that his brother was seized upon by others also. And the* daughter of Hyrcanus, whom he had espoused, also advised him not to credit them; which made him still more suspi-

* Alexandra.

scious 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.

Now while the Parthians were in consultation what was fit to be done, (for they did not think it proper to make an open attempt upon a person of his character,) and while they put off the determination to 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, than to give heed to what was said on the other side, he determined, that, when the evening came on, he would make use of it for his flight, and not make any longer delay, as if the dangers from the enemy were not yet certain. He therefore removed with the armed men whom he had with him; and set his wives upon the beasts: as also his mother, and sister, and her whom he was about to marry, Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus; with her mother, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him; and without the enemies' privity pursued his way to Idumea. Nor could any enemy of his, who then saw him in this case, be so hard-hearted, but would have commiserated his fortune; while the women drew along their infant children, and left their own country, and their friends in prison, with tears in their eyes, and sad lamentations; and in expectation of nothing but what was of a melancholy nature.

Herod, however, raised his mind above the miserable state he was in, and was of good courage in the midst of his misfortunes; and, as he passed along, bade them every one 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 they had. Accordingly they tried to bear with patience the calamity they were under, as he exhorted them to do. Yet was he once almost going to kill himself, upon the overthrow of a waggon, and the danger his mother was then in of being killed: and this on two accounts; because of his great concern for her, and because he was afraid lest, by this delay, the enemy should overtake him in the pursuit. But as he was drawing his sword, and going to kill himself therewith, those that were present restrained him, and told him, that he ought not to desert them, and leave them a prey to their ene-

mies; for that it was not the part of a brave man to free himself from the distresses he was in, and to overlook his friends that were in the same distresses also: so that he was compelled to let that horrid attempt alone, partly out of shame at what they said to him, and partly out of regard to the great 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 with the utmost haste to the fortress of Massada. And though he had many skirmishes with such of the Parthians as attacked and pursued him, he was conqueror in them all.

Nor indeed was he free from the Jews all along, as he was in his flight. For by that time he was gotten sixty furlongs out of the city, and was upon the road, they fell upon him, and fought hand to hand with him: but he put them to flight, and overcame them: not like one that was in distress, and in necessity, but like one that was excellently prepared for war, and had what he wanted in great plenty. And on this very place where he now overcame the Jews, he, some time afterward, built a most excellent palace, and a city round about it, and called it Herodium. And when he was come to Idumea, at a place called Thressa, his brother Joseph met him: and he then held a council to take advice about his affairs, and what was fit to be done in his circumstances, since he had a great multitude that followed him, besides his mercenary soldiers, and the place Massada, whither he proposed to retreat, was too small to contain so great a multitude. So he sent away the greater part of his company, being above nine thousand, and bade them go, some one way, and some another, and so save themselves in Idumea, and gave them what would buy them provisions in their journey, but he took with him those that were least encumbered, and were most intimate with him, and came to the fortress, and placed there his wives, and his followers, being about eight hundred in number; there being in the place a sufficient quantity of corn, and water, and other necessaries; and went directly for Petra, in Arabia. But when it was day, the Parthians plundered all Jerusalem, and the palace; and abstained from nothing but Hyrcanus's money, which was three hundred talents. A great deal of Herod's money escaped; and principally all he had been so provident as to send to Idumea beforehand. Nor indeed did what was in the

city suffice the Parthians: but they went out into the country, and plundered it, and demolished the city Marissa.

Thus was Antigonus brought back into Judea by the king of the Parthians; and received Hyrcanus and Phasaelus for his prisoners. But he was greatly cast down because the women had escaped; whom he had intended to have given the enemy; as having promised they should have them, with the money, for their reward. But being afraid that Hyrcanus, who was under the guard of the Parthians, might have his kingdom restored to him by the multitude, he cut off his ears; and thereby took care that the high-priesthood should never come to him any more; because he was maimed: while the law* required that this dignity should belong to none but such as had all their members entire. But now one cannot but here admire the fortitude of Phasaelus; who, perceiving that he was to be put to death, did not think death any terrible thing at all: but to die thus by the means of his enemy, he thought most pitiable and dishonourable: and therefore, since he had not his hands at liberty, but the bonds he was in prevented 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 distress as he was in. It is also reported, that when he had made a great wound in his head, Antigonus sent physicians to him, in order to cure it; and by ordering them to infuse 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; since he now left behind him one who would revenge his death, and who was able to inflict punishment on his enemies.

CHAP. XIV.

OF THE INGRATITUDE OF THE KING OF ARARIA; AND OF HEROD'S SUCCESSFUL APPLICATION TO THE ROMAN SENATE; BY WHOM HE IS MADE KING OF THE JEWS.

THE great misfortunes of Herod did not discourage his mind but propelled him to new and surprising undertakings. For

* This law of Moses, that the priests were to be without blemish, as to all the parts of their bodies, is in Levit. xxi. 17—24. And Spanheim, on the parallel place of the history Of the War, I. 9, 13. observes that the same law obtained at Athens also.

he went to Malchus, king of Arabia, whom he had formerly been very kind to, in order to receive somewhat by way of requital, now he was in more than ordinary want of it; and desired he would let him have some money; either by way of loan, or as his free gift; on account of the many benefits he had received from him. For not knowing what was become of his brother, he was in haste to redeem him out of the hand of his enemies; as willing to give three hundred talents for the price of his redemption. He also took with him the son of Phasaelus, a child of but seven years of age, that he might be a hostage for the repayment of the money. But there came messengers from Malchus 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, however, was only a pretence, which he made use of, that he might not be obliged to repay what he owed him: and this he was farther induced to, by the principal men among the Arabians; that they might cheat him of what sums they had received from his father Antipater, and which he had committed to their fidelity. He 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.

Hereupon he resolved to go away, and accordingly took 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 came to Rhinocolura; and there he heard what had befallen his brother. Though Malchus soon repented of what he had done, and came running after Herod; but with no manner of success. For he was gone a great way off, and made haste into the road to Pelusium. And when the stationary ships that lay there hindered him from sailing to Alexandria, he went to their captains: by whose assistance, and that out of great regard to him, he was conducted into Alexandria, and was retained there by Cleopatra. Yet was she not able to prevail with him to stay there, because he was making haste to Rome; even though the weather was stormy, and he was informed that the affairs of Italy were very tumultuous and in great disorder.

So he set sail for Pamphylia: and falling into a violent storm, he had much difficulty to escape to Rhodes; with the loss of the ship's burden. And there it was that two of his friends,

Sappinas and Ptolemeus, met with him. And as he found that city very much damaged in the war against Cassius, though he were in necessity himself, he neglected not to do it a kindness; 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 when he was come from thence to Rome, he first related to Antony what had befallen him in Judea; and that Phasaelus his brother was seized on by the Parthians, and put to death by them; that Hyrcanus was detained captive by them; and that they had made Antigonus king, who had promised them a thousand talents, with five hundred women; who were to be of the principal families, and of the Jewish stock; and that he carried off the women by night; and that by undergoing a great 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 contemned all these terrible dangers in order to come, as soon as possible, to him; who was his hope, and only succour, at this time.

This account made Antony commiserate* the change that had happened in Herod's condition. And reasoning with himself, that this was a common case among those that are placed in such great dignities, and that they are liable to the mutations that come from fortune, he was very ready to give him the assistance he desired; and this because he recollected the friendship he had had with Antipater; because Herod offered him money to make him a king, as he had formerly given it him to make him tetrarch, and chiefly because of his hatred to Antigonus: for he took him to be a seditious person, and an enemy

* Concerning the Chronology of Herod, and the time when he was first made king at Rome; and concerning the time when he began his second reign, without a rival, upon the conquest or slaughter of Antigonus; both principally derived from this and the two next chapters in Josephus; see the Harm. of the Evang. page 150—155, and the note on chap. 15. It is, however, very strange, that in such a violent haste as Herod now was, Josephus should use such words, and that both here, and in the history Of the War, I. 14. as almost imply his building a great ship at Rhodes, in his passage to Italy; for which to be sure, he now had no time at all. Spanheim says, on the place Of the War now quoted, that he only hired a ship now at Rhodes; and that as Josephus's affirmation also; which, though not at all unlikely in itself, but rather highly probable, yet has no foundation in the copies. See also for this chronology of Herod, Josephus's own speech to the Jews, Of the War, V. 9.

to the Romans.* Cæsar was also the forwarder to raise Herod's dignity, and to give him his assistance in what he desired, on account of the toils of war which he had himself undergone with Antipater, his father, in Egypt; and of the hospitality he had treated him withal; and the kindness he had always shewn him; as also to gratify Antony, who was very zealous for Herod. So a senate was convened: and Massala first, and then Atratinus, introduced Herod into it: and enlarged upon the benefits they had received from his father; and reminded them of the good will he had borne the Romans. At the same time they accused Antigonus, and declared him an 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 farther, that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king. This seemed good to all the senators; and they made a decree accordingly.

This was the principal instance of Antony's affection for Herod, that he not only procured him a kingdom which he did not expect; (for he did not come with an intention to ask the kingdom for himself; which he did not suppose the Romans would grant him; who used to bestow 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 by his mother) but that he procured it for him so suddenly, that he obtained what he did not expect, and departed out of Italy in seven days. This young† man, the grandson, Herod afterward took care to have slain; as we shall shew in its proper place. But when the senate was dissolved, Antony and Cæsar went out of the senate house, with Herod between them, and with the consuls and other magistrates before them; in order to offer sacrifices, and to lay up their decrees in the capitol. Antony also feasted Herod the first day of his reign. And thus did this man receive the kingdom; having obtained it in the hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad; when Caius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio the first time.

In the mean time Antigonus besieged those that were in Masada; who had plenty of all other necessaries, but were only in

* See Chap. 13.

† Aristobulus, jun. See Book XV. chap. 3.

want* of water. Insomuch that on this occasion Joseph, Herod's brother, was contriving to run away from it, with two hundred of his dependents, to the Arabians. For he had heard that Malchus repented of the offences he had been guilty of with regard to Herod. But God, by sending rain in the night time, prevented his going away; for their cisterns were thereby filled, and he was under no necessity of removing on that account. But they were now of good courage; and the more so, because the sending that plenty of water which they had been sadly in want of, seemed a mark of Divine providence. So they made a sally, and fought hand to hand with Antigonus's soldiers, and destroyed a great number of them. At the same time Ventidius, the general of the Romans, was sent out of Syria, to drive the Parthians out of it; and marched after them into Judea; in pretence indeed to succour Joseph; but in reality the whole affair was no more than a stratagem, in order to get money of Antigonus. So they pitched their camp very near to Jerusalem; and obtained a great deal of money from Antigonus; and then he retired himself with the greater part of the army. But that the wickedness he had been guilty of might not be found out, he left a certain part of his soldiers, under the command of Silo; with whom also Antigonus cultivated an acquaintance; that he might cause him no disturbance; and was still in hopes that the Parthians would come again, and defend him.

CHAP. XV.

OF HEROD'S RETURN FROM ITALY, AND HIS SUCCESSES AGAINST HIS ENEMIES.

BY this time Herod had sailed out of Italy to Ptolemais, and had gotten together a numerous army, both of strangers and of his own countrymen; and marched through Galilee against Antigonus. Silo also and Ventidius came and assisted him; being persuaded by Dellius, who was sent by Antony to assist in bringing back Herod. Now Ventidius was employed in ap-

* This grievous want of water at Massada, till the place had like to have been taken by the Parthians, mentioned both here, and Of the War, I. 15. is an indication that it was now summer time: which agrees to my determination of the time of the year when Herod was made king at Rome. See harm. of the Evang. page 150, 151.

peasing the disturbances that had been made in the cities, by the means of the Parthians. And Silo was in Judea, but corrupted by Antigonus. However, as Herod went along, his army increased every day; and all Galilee, with some small exceptions, joined him. But as he was marching to those that were in Massada; for he was obliged to endeavour to save those that were in that fortress, now they were besieged, because they were his relations: Joppa was a hindrance to him. For it was necessary for him to take that place first; it being a city at variance with him; that no strong hold might be left in his enemies' hands behind him, when he should go to Jerusalem. And when Silo made this a pretence for rising up from Jerusalem, 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 unable to defend himself. But when Herod had taken Joppa, he made haste to liberate those of his family that were in Massada. Now of the people of the country some joined him because of the friendship they had had with his father; and some because of the splendid appearance he made; and others 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 somewhat from him afterward, if he were once firmly settled in the kingdom.

Herod had now* a strong army. And as he marched on, Antigonus laid snares and ambushes 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 Ressa; and then went on for Jerusalem. The soldiery also that was with Silo accompanied him all along; as did many of the citizens; being afraid of his power. And 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 sallied out in a crowd, and came to fight hand to hand with the first ranks of Herod's army, he gave orders, that they should 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 bear any old grudge at even his most open enemies; but was ready to forget the offences which

* An. 39.

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 Idumean, i. e. a* half Jew: whereas they ought to bestow it on one of the royal family, as their custom was. For that in case they at present bare any ill-will to him, and had resolved to deprive him of the kingdom, as having received it from the Parthians; yet were there many others of his family that might by their law† take it, and these such as had no way offended the Romans; and being of sacerdotal family, it would be an unworthy thing to put them by. Now while they said thus one to another, and fell to reproaching one another on both sides, Antigonus permitted his own men, that were upon the wall, to defend themselves. Who using their bows, and shewing great alacrity against their enemies, easily drove them away from the towers.

And now it was that Silo discovered that he had taken bribes. For he set a good number of his soldiers to complain aloud of the want of provisions they were in; and to require money to buy them food; and that it was fit to let them go into places proper for winter quarters; since the places near the city were a desert, by reason that Antigonus's soldiers had carried all away. So he set the army upon removing, and endeavoured to march away. But Herod pressed Silo not to depart; and exhorted Silo's captains and soldiers not to desert him, when Cæsar, and Antony, and the Senate had sent him thither. For that he would provide them plenty of all the things they wanted; and easily procure them a great abundance of what they required. After which entreaty he immediately went out into the country, and left not the least pretence to Silo for his departure. For he brought an unexpected quantity of provisions; and sent to those friends of his who inhabited about Samaria,

* This affirmation of Antigonus's, spoken in the days of Herod, and in a manner to his face, that he was an Idumean, i. e. a half Jew, seems to me of much greater authority than that pretence of his favourite and flatterer, Nicolaus of Damascus, that he derived his pedigree from the Jews, as far backward as the Babylonish captivity, chap. 1. Accordingly Josephus always esteems him an Idumean: though he says his father Antipater was of the same people with the Jews, chap. 8. and by birth a Jew, XX. 8. as indeed all such proselytes of justice, as the Idumeans, XIII. 9. were in time esteemed the very same people with the Jews.

† Deut. xvii. 15.

to bring down corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle, and all other provisions, to Jericho; that there might be no want of a supply for the soldiers for the time to come. Antigonus was sensible of this: and sent presently over the country such as might restrain and lie in ambush for, those that went out for provisions. So these men obeyed the orders of Antigonus, and got together a great number of armed men about Jericho; and sat about the mountains, and watched those that brought the provisions. However, Herod was not idle in the mean time. For he took ten bands of soldiers, of whom five were of the Romans, and five of the Jews, with some mercenaries among them, and with some few horsemen, and came to Jericho. And as they found the city deserted, but that five hundred of them had settled themselves on the tops of the hills, with their wives and children, those he took, and sent away. But the Romans fell upon the city, and plundered it; and found the houses full of all sorts of good things. So the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back again; and sent the Roman army to take their winter quarters in the countries that were come over to him: Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria. And so much did Antigonus gain of Silo for the bribes he gave him, that part of the army should be quartered at Lidda; in order to please Antony. So the Romans laid their weapons aside, and lived in plenty of all things.

Herod, however, was not pleased with lying still; but sent out his brother Joseph against Idumea, with two thousand armed footmen, and four hundred horsemen; while himself came to Samaria, and left his mother and his other relations there; for they were already gone out of Massada; and went into Galilee, to take certain places which were held by the garrisons of Antigonus. And he passed on to Sepphoris, as God sent a snow while Antigonus's garrisons withdrew themselves; and had great plenty of provisions. He also went thence, and resolved to destroy those robbers that dwelt 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 a village called Arbela. And on the fortieth day after he came himself, with his whole army. And as the enemy sallied out boldly upon him, the left wing of his army gave way. But appearing with a body of men, put those to flight 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 they ran away by different roads. So he brought over to him all Galilee, excepting those that dwelt in the caves; and distributed money to every one of his soldiers, giving them a hundred and fifty drachmæ apiece, and much more to their captains; and sent them into winter quarters. At which time Silo came to him, and his commanders with him, because Antigonus would not give them provisions any longer; for he supplied them for no more than one month. Nay he had sent to all the country about, and ordered them to carry off the provisions that were there, and retire to the mountains, that the Romans might have no provisions to live upon, and so might perish by famine. But Herod committed the care of that matter to Pheroras, his youngest brother, and ordered him to repair Alexandrium. Accordingly he quickly made the soldiers abound with great plenty of provisions, and rebuilt Alexandrium, which had been before desolate.

About this time it was that Antony continued some time at Athens; and Ventidius, who was now in Syria, sent for Silo, and commanded him to assist Herod in the first place to finish the present war, and then to send for their confederates, for the war they themselves were engaged in. But as for Herod, he went in 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 exceeding abrupt; and in their middle were no other than precipices, with certain entrances into the caves; and those caves were encompassed with sharp rocks. And in these did the robbers lie concealed, with all their families about them. But the king caused certain chests to be made, in order to destroy them, and to be hung down, bound about with iron chains, by an engine, from the top of the mountains. It being not 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 chests down proved to be a matter of great danger, because of the vast depth they were to be let down; although they had their provisions in the chests themselves. But when the chests were let down, and not one of those in the mouths of the caves durst

come near them, but lay still out of fear, some of the armed men girt on their armour, and by both of their hands took hold of the chain by which the chests were let down, and went into the mouths of the caves, because they fretted that such delay was made, by the robbers not daring to come out of the caves. And when they were at any of these mouths, they first killed many of those that were in the mouths with their darts; and afterwards pulled those to them that resisted them, with their hooks, and tumbled them down the precipices, and afterwards 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 heard the lamentations that were made; and they despaired of escaping. However, when the night came on, that put an end to the whole work. And as the king proclaimed pardon by a herald to such as delivered themselves up to him, many accepted of the offer. The same method of assault 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 combustible matter within them. Now there was one old man who was caught within one of these caves, with a wife and seven children; these prayed him to give them leave to go out, and yield themselves up to the enemy: but he stood at the cave's mouth, and always slew that child of his who went out, until 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 underwent death rather than slavery. But before 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 security for his life. By which means all these caves were at length subdued entirely.

When the king had sent Ptolemy over these parts of the country, as his general, he went to Samaria, with six hundred horsemen, and three thousand armed footmen, as intending to fight Antigonus. But still this command of the army did not succeed well with Ptolemy: but those that had been troublesome to Galilee before, attacked him, and slew him; and when they had done this, they fled among the lakes, and places almost inaccessible, laying waste and plundering whatsoever

they could come at in those places. But Herod soon returned, and punished them for what they had done. For some of these rebels he slew; and others of them, who had fled to the strong holds, he besieged, and both slew them, and demolished their strong holds. And when he had thus put an end to their rebellion, he laid a fine upon the cities of a hundred talents.

In the mean time Pacorus was fallen* in a battle; and the Parthians were defeated, when Ventidius sent Macheras to the assistance of Herod, with two legions, and a thousand horsemen: while Antony encouraged him to make haste. But Macheras, 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 Antigonus suspecting this intention of his coming, did not admit him into the city, but kept him at a distance, with slinging stones at him; and plainly shewed what he himself meant. But when Macheras was sensible that Herod had given him good advice, and that he had made a mistake in not hearkening to that advice, he retired to the city Emmaus; and what Jews he met with he slew, 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, and went to Samaria, and resolved to go to Antony about these affairs, and to inform him that he stood in no 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 Macheras followed him, and desired that he would not go to Antony; or if he were resolved to go, that he would join his brother Joseph with him, and let them fight against Antigonus. So he was reconciled to Macheras, upon his earnest entreaties. Accordingly he left Joseph there with his army; but charged him to run no hazards, nor to quarrel with Macheras.

But for his own part, he hastened to Antony; (who was then at the siege of Samosata, a place upon Euphrates,) with his troops, both horsemen and footmen, to be auxiliaries to him. And when he came to Antioch, and met there a great number of men that were very desirous to go to Antony, but durst not venture to go out of fear, because the Barbarians fell upon men on the road and slew many; he encouraged them, and became their conductor upon the road. Now when they were within

* On the 18th of July, according to Page.

two days' march of Samosata, the Barbarians had laid an ambush to disturb those that came to Antony; and where the woods made the passés narrow, as they led to the plains, there they laid not a few of their horsemen; who were to lie still until those passengers were gone by, into the wide place. Now as soon as the first ranks were gone by, (for Herod brought on the rear,) those that lay in ambush, who were about five hundred, fell upon them on the sudden; and when they had put the foremost to flight, the king came riding hard, with the forces that were about him; and immediately drove back the enemy. By which means he emboldened his own men to go on; insomuch that those who ran away before, now returned back; and the Barbarians were slain on all sides. The king also went on killing them, and recovered all the baggage; among which were a great number of beasts for burden, and of slaves; and proceeded on in his march. And whereas there were a great number of those in the woods that attacked them, and were near the passage that led into the plain, he made a sally upon 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 these called Herod their saviour and protector.

And when he was near to Samosata, Antony sent out his army in all their proper habiliments to meet him, in order to pay Herod this 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 actions he had performed 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 gave him the upper hand, as 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 himself to Egypt. Accordingly Sosius sent two legions before into Judea, to the assistance of Herod; and he followed himself with the body of the army.

Now Joseph was already slain in Judea, in the following manner. 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 Macheras had lent him five regiments;) he went hastily to Jericho, in order to reap the corn thereto belonging. And as the Roman regiments were but newly raised, and were unskilful in war; for they were in great part collected out of Syria; he was attacked 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 Pheroras, his brother, would have redeemed it at the price of fifty talents. After this 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 seditious. But Macheras fortified the place Gitta, in Samaria.

At this time messengers came to Herod, and informed him of what had been done; and when he was come to Daphne by Antioch they told him of the ill fortune that had befallen his brother. But this he had expected, from certain visions that appeared to him in his dreams: which clearly foreshewed his brother's death. So he hastened his march; and when he came 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 he came to Ptolemais. He also marched thence by night with his army, and proceeded along Galilee. Here it was that the enemy met him, and fought him, and were defeated, and shut up in the same place of strength, whence they had sallied out the day before. So he attacked the place in the morning. But by reason of a great storm that was then very violent, he was able to do nothing; but drew off his army into the neighbouring villages. Yet as soon as the other legion that Antony sent him was come to his assistance, those that were in garrison in the place were afraid; and deserted it in the night time. Then did the king march hastily to Jericho, intending to avenge himself on the enemy, for the slaughter of his brother. And when he had pitched his tents, he made a feast for the principal commanders; and after this collation was over, and he had dismissed his guests, he retired to his own chamber. And here may one see what kindness God had for the king. For the upper part of the house fell

down, when no body 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 danger.

But the next day six thousand of the enemy came down from the tops of the mountains to fight the Romans; which greatly terrified them. And the soldiers that were in light armour came near, and pelted the king's guards that were come out, with darts and stones: and one of them struck him on the side with a dart. Antigonus also sent a commander against Samaria, whose name was Pappus, with some forces; being desirous to shew the enemy how potent he was; and that he had men to spare in his war with them. He sat down to oppose Macheras. 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 themselves; and then returning to go against Pappus, who was encamped at a village called Isanas. 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 defeated them in the fight; and in order to be revenged on them for the slaughter of his brother, he pursued them sharply, and killed them as they ran away. And as* the houses were full of armed men, and many of them ran as far as the tops of the houses, he got them under his power, and pulled down the roofs of the houses; and saw the lower rooms full of soldiers that were caught, and lay all on a heap. So they threw stones down upon them, as they lay piled one upon another; and thereby killed them. Nor was there 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 damped the spirits of the enemy; who expected now what would come. For there appeared a mighty number of people, that came from places far distant, that were now about the village, but then ran away. And had it not been for the depth of winter, which then restrained them, the king's

* It may be worthy our observation here that these soldiers of Herod's could not have gotten upon the tops of these houses which were full of enemies, in order to pull up the upper floors, and destroy them beneath, but by ladders from the outside: which illustrates some texts in the New Testament, by which it appears that men used to ascend thither by ladders on the outside. See Matt. xxiv. 17. Mark xiii. 15. Luke v. 19. xvii. 31.

army had presently gone to Jerusalem: as being very courageous at this good success: and the whole work had been done immediately. For Antigonus was already considering how he might flee away, and leave the city.

At this time the king gave order that the soldiers should go to supper, (for it was late at night;) while he went into a chamber to use the bath; for he was very weary. And here it was that he was in the greatest danger: which yet, by God's providence, he escaped. For he was naked, and had but one servant that followed him, to be with him while he was bathing in an inner room; certain of the enemy, who were in their armour, and had fled thither out of fear, were then in the place. And as he was bathing, the first of them came out with his sword drawn, and went out at the doors; and after him a second, and a third armed in like manner; and were under such a consternation, that they did no hurt to the king; and thought themselves to have come off very well in suffering no harm themselves, in their getting out of the house. However, on the next day, he cut off the head of Pappus; (for he was already slain,) and sent it to Pheroras; as a punishment of what their brother had suffered by his means: for he was the man that slew him with his own hand.

When* the rigour of winter was over, Herod removed his army, and came near to Jerusalem, and pitched his camp hard by the city. Now this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome. And as he removed his camp, and came near that part of the wall where he could be most easily assaulted, he pitched that camp before the temple: intending to make his attacks in the same manner as did Pompey. So he encompassed the place with three bulwarks, and erected towers, and employed a great many hands about the work; and cut down the trees that were round about the city: and when he had appointed proper persons to oversee the works, even while the army lay before the city, he himself went to Samaria, to complete his marriage; and to take to wife the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus. For he had betrothed her already; as I have before† related.

* An. 37.

† See chap. 12.

CHAP. XVI.

HEROD, AFTER HIS MARRIAGE WITH MARIAMNE, TAKES JERUSALEM BY FORCE, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF SOSIUS; AND PUTS AN END TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ASMONEANS.

AFTER the wedding was over, Sosius came through Phœnicia; having sent his army over the midland parts. He also, who was their commander, came himself, with a great number of horsemen and footmen. The king also came from Samaria, and brought with him a numerous army; besides that which was there before: for they were about thirty thousand. And they all met together at the walls of Jerusalem, and encamped at the north wall of the city; being now an army of eleven legions, armed men on foot, and six thousand horsemen, with other auxiliaries out of Syria. The generals were two, viz. 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 at Rome; and that he might himself be king, according to the decree of the senate.

Now the Jews that were enclosed within the walls of the city, fought against Herod with great alacrity and zeal; for the whole nation was gathered together: they also gave out many prophecies respecting 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 for men, or for beasts; and by private robberies they made the want of necessaries greater. When Herod understood this, he opposed ambushes in the fittest places against their private robberies; and sent legions of armed men to bring in provisions; and that from remote places: so that in a little time they had great plenty. Now the three bulwarks were easily erected; because so many hands were continually at work upon them. For it was summer time, and there was nothing to hinder them in raising their works, neither from the air nor from the workmen. So they brought their engines to bear, and shook the wall of the city, and tried all manner of ways to get in. Yet did not these within discover any fear: but they also contrived not a few engines, to oppose those of the besiegers. They also

sallied out, and burnt not only those engines that were not yet perfected, but those that were: and when they came hand to hand their attempts were not less bold than those of the Romans; though they were inferior to them in skill. They also erected new works, when the former were ruined; and making mines under ground, they met each other, and fought there: and making use of brutish courage, rather than of prudent valour, they persisted in this war to the very last. And this they did while a mighty army lay round about them; and while they were distressed by famine, and the want of necessaries; for this happened to be a sabbatic year. The first that scaled the walls were twenty chosen men: the next were Sosius's centurions. For the first wall was taken in forty days; 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 hatred of the Jews. And when the outer court of the temple, and the lower city, were taken, the Jews fled into the inner court of the temple, and into the upper city. But now fearing lest the Romans should prevent them from offering their daily sacrifices to God, they sent an ambassage, and desired that they would only permit them to bring in beasts for sacrifices. This 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, by the rage of the Romans at the long duration of the siege; and by the zeal of the Jews that were on Herod's side; who were not willing to leave one of their adversaries alive. So they were murdered continually in the narrow streets, and in the houses by crowds, and as they were fleeing to the temple for shelter; and there was no pity taken of either infants or the aged; nor did they spare so much as the weaker sex. Nay, although the king sent about and besought them to spare the people, yet nobody restrained their hand from slaughter; but, as if they were a company of madmen, they fell upon persons of all ages, without distinction. And then Antigonus, without regard to either his past or present circumstances, came down from the citadel, and fell down at the feet of Sosius. He, however, took no pity of him, in the change of his fortune; but insulted him beyond measure, and

called him *Antigone*.* Yet did not he 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.

And now Herod had 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 it contained. But the king thinking a victory to be a more severe affliction than a defeat, if any of those things which it was not lawful to see should be seen by them; used entreaties and threatenings, and even sometimes force itself to restrain them. He also prohibited the ravage that was made in the city; and many times asked *Sosius*, whether the Romans would empty the city both of money and men, and leave him king of a desert? and told him, that he esteemed the dominion over the whole habitable earth, as by no means an equivalent satisfaction for such a murder of his citizens. And when *Sosius* said that this plunder was justly to be permitted the soldiers, for the siege they had undergone, he replied that he would give every one their reward out of his own money. And by this means he redeemed what remained of the city from destruction; and he performed what he had promised. For he gave a noble donation to every soldier, and a proportionable present to their commanders; but a most royal present to *Sosius* himself: till they all went away laden with money.

This destruction† befel the city of Jerusalem when *Marcus*

* *Antigone* is the name of a woman.

† Note here, that *Josephus* fully and frequently assures us, that there passed above three years between Herod's first obtaining the kingdom at Rome, and his second obtaining it upon the taking of Jerusalem, and death of *Antigonus*. The present history of this interval twice mentions the army's going into winter quarters: which perhaps belonged to two several winters, chap. 15. And though *Josephus* says nothing how long they lay in those quarters; yet does he give such an account of the long and studied delays of *Ventidius*, *Silo*, and *Machenas*, who went to see Herod settled in his new kingdom, but seem not to have had sufficient force for that purpose; and were certainly all corrupted by *Antigonus* to make the longest delays possible; and gives us such particular accounts of the many great actions of Herod's during the same interval, as fairly imply that interval, before Herod went to *Samosata*, to have been very considerable. However, what is wanting in *Josephus* is fully supplied by *Moses Chorenensis*, the Armenian historian, in his history of the same interval, II. 18, 19, 50. Where he directly assures us, that *Tigranes*, when king of Armenia, and the manager of this Parthian war, reigned two years after Herod was made king at Rome: and yet Antony did not hear of his death, in that very neighbourhood, at *Samosata*, till he was come thither to besiege it. After which Herod brought him an army; which was 340 miles' march, and through a difficult country full of enemies also: and joined with him in the siege of *Samo-*

Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls of Rome;* on the hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiad; on the third month; on the solemnity of the fast. As if a periodical revolution of calamities had returned, since that which befel the Jews under Pompey. For the Jews were taken by him on the same day; and this was after twenty-seven years' time. So when Sosius had dedicated a crown of gold to God, he marched 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 sons 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 Herod's fear of this it was, that he, by giving Antony a great deal of money, endeavoured to persuade him to have Antigonus slain: which if it were once done, he should be free from that fear. And thus did the government of the Asmoneans cease; a hundred and twenty-six years after it was set up. This family was a splendid and 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 dissentions with each other; and it then came to Herod, the son of Antipater; who was of 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 Asmonean family.

sata, till that city was taken. After which Herod and Sosius marched back with their larger armies the same number of 340 miles; and when, in a little time, they sat down to besiege Jerusalem, they were not able to take it but by a siege of five months. All which put together fully supplies what is wanting in Josephus; and secures the entire chronology of these times, beyond contradiction. But then, if we inquire into the true occasions of this long delay in the settlement of Herod in his new kingdom, after he had been declared king at Rome, we shall easily find by Josephus himself, that the Roman lieutenants, Ventidius, Silo and Macheras, who were to see Herod settled in the kingdom, were not in earnest to do it. Nor was any such design shewn in earnest till after he had been with Antony himself, and assisted him in the taking of Samosata. Upon which a new general, Sosius, was sent, with a sufficient force, and full commission to see it done effectually: and after which it appears that the war went on in earnest continually against Antigonus, till Jerusalem and himself were taken by Sosius and Herod; and Herod was fully settled in the kingdom of Judea.

* On the third year of the 185th Olympiad.

BOOK XV.

Containing an Interval of Eighteen Years.

FROM THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS, TO THE FINISHING OF THE TEM-
PLE BY HEROD.

CHAP. I.

CONCERNING POLLIO, AND SAMEAS. —HEROD SLAYS THE PRINCI-
PAL OF ANTIGONUS'S FRIENDS, AND SPOILS THE CITY OF ITS
WEALTH.—ANTONY BEHEADS ANTIGONUS.

HAVING already related the reduction of Jerusalem by So-
sius and Herod, and the taking of Antigonus captive; we will
now proceed in the narration. And since Herod had now the
government of all Judea put into his hands, he promoted such
of the private men in the city, as had been of his party; but ne-
ver left off avenging and punishing, every day, those that had
adhered to the party of his enemies. But Pollio the Pharisee,
and Sameas, a disciple of his, were honoured by him above all
the rest. For when Jerusalem was besieged, they advised the
citizens to receive Herod: for which advice they were well re-
quited. But this Pollio,* at the time when Herod was once
upon his trial of life and death, foretold, in way of reproach, to
Hyrchanus, and the other judges, how this Herod, whom they
suffered now to escape, would afterward inflict punishment on

* How Josephus could say, as it now stands in all his copies, but one, that it was Pollio, the master; and not Sameas, the scholar, who foretold that Herod would one day slay the Sanhedrim of the Jews and Hyrcanus; whereas he had lately told us, in all his copies, that it was Sameas, and not Pollio, XIV. 9. does not appear. Yet since one copy, even in this place, says it was Sameas; that may well be supposed to be the true reading. Otherwise it must be allowed as a slip of either Josephus's pen, or memory: which now and then happens to the most careful writers.

them all. Which had its completion in time; while God fulfilled the words he had spoken.

Herod, having Jerusalem now under his power, carried off all the royal ornaments, and spoiled the wealthy men of what they had gotten; and when, by these means, he had amassed a great quantity of silver and gold, he gave it to Antony and to 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 partly occasioned by the covetousness of the prince regnant; and partly by the sabbatic year, which was still going on, and forced the country to lie still uncultivated: since we are forbidden to sow our 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 seditious: 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 no way be brought to be quiet.† And Strabo of Cappadocia attests to what I have said; when he thus speaks: "Antony ordered Antigonus the Jew to be brought to Antioch, and there to be beheaded. And this Antony seems to have been the very first man who beheaded a king; as supposing he could no other way bend the minds of the Jews, so as to receive Herod, whom he had made king in his stead. For by no torments could they be forced to call him king: so great a fondness they retained for their former king. So he thought that this dishonourable death would diminish the value they had for

* That Antony put this Antigonus to death, is confirmed, (besides the testimony of Strabo, produced here in the text, by Josephus himself,) by Plutarch and Dio; as Dean Aldrich takes notice upon this occasion, in his notes On the War, I. 18. and Hudson and Reland, on the place before us.

† Herod not thinking himself safe in his kingdom, as long as this remainder of the old royal family continued alive, ever left soliciting Antony, till at length by a great sum of money he obtained that this poor prince should be put to death: to which he having been condemned by a formal sentence in Judicature, this sentence was executed upon him in the same manner as upon a common criminal by the rods and axe of the victor, which the Romans never before subjected any crowned head to. *Prideaux's Connection*, part II. book 7. B.

Antigonus's memory; and at the same time would diminish their hatred to Herod." .

CHAP. II.

OF THE LIBERATION OF HYRCANUS BY THE PARTHIANS; AND OF THE ACTIONS OF ALEXANDRA, WHEN SHE HEARD THAT ANANELUS WAS MADE HIGH-PRIEST.

NOW after Herod was in possession of the kingdom, Hyrcanus, the high-priest, who was then a captive among the Parthians, came to him again, and was set free from his captivity, in the following manner. Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, took Hyrcanus, who was first made high-priest, and afterward king: and Herod's brother, Phasaelus, captives; and were carrying them away into Parthia. Phasaelus indeed could not bear the reproach of being in bonds; and thinking that death, with glory, was better than any life whatsoever, he became his own executioner; as I have formerly* related.

But when Hyrcanus was brought into Parthia, the king Phraates treated him after a very gentle manner; as having already learned of what an illustrious family he was. On which account he set him free from his bonds; and gave him a habitation at Babylon; † where there were Jews in great numbers. The Jews honoured Hyrcanus as their high-priest, and king; as did all the Jewish nation that dwelt as far as Euphrates. This 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 from the beginning of a kind disposition towards him; and expecting that Herod would bear in mind what favour he had received from

* See Book XIV. chap. 13.

† The city here called Babylon by Josephus, seems to be one which was built by some of the Seleucidæ, upon the Tigris; which long after the utter desolation of old Babylon was commonly so called; and, I suppose, not far from Seleucia. Just as the latter adjoining city Bagdat had been, and is often called by the same old name of Babylon till this very day. And a plain reason occurs here which shews that Josephus meant no other than a city built on the Tigris; and this from his own way of speaking immediately; that not only the Jews at this Babylon, but over all the country, as far as Euphrates, paid this honour to Hyrcanus. Which surely implies, that this Babylon did not lie upon Euphrates; as the old Babylon certainly did. See Prideaux at the year 239, at large.

him; when he was upon his trial, and when he was in danger that a capital sentence would be pronounced against him, he delivered him from that danger, and from all punishment. Accordingly he talked of that matter with the Jews that came often to him, with great affection. But they endeavoured to retain him among them, and desired that he would stay with them; reminding him of the kind offices and honours they did him; and that those honours he paid him were not inferior to what they could pay to either their high-priests, or their kings. And what was a greater motive to determine him, they said, was this, that he could not have those dignities in Judea; because of that maim in his body, which had been inflicted on him by Antigonus: and that kings do not use to requite men for those kindnesses which they received when they were private persons; the height of their fortune making usually no small changes in them.

Now although they suggested these arguments to him for his own advantage, yet did Hyrcanus still desire to depart. Herod also wrote to him, and persuaded him to desire of Phraates, and the Jews that were there, that they should not grudge him the royal authority; which he should have jointly with himself. For that now was the proper time for himself to make him amends for the favours he had received from him; as having been brought up by him, and saved by him also; as well as for Hyrcanus to receive it. And as he wrote thus to Hyrcanus, so did he send also Saramallas, his ambassador, to Phraates, and many presents with him; and desired him, in the most obliging way, that he would be no hindrance to his gratitude toward his benefactor. But this zeal of Herod's did not flow from that principle: but because he had been made governor of that country without having any just claim to it, he was afraid afterward of a change in his condition: and so made what haste he could to get Hyrcanus into his power: or indeed to put him quite out of the way. Which last thing he effected.

Accordingly, when Hyrcanus came, full of assurance, by the permission of the king of Parthia, and at the expense of the Jews, who supplied him with money: Herod received him with all possible respect, and gave him the upper place at public meetings, and set him above all the rest at feasts: and thereby deceived him. He called him his father; and endeavoured,

by all the ways possible, that he might have no suspicion of any treacherous design against him. He also did other things in order to secure his government: which yet occasioned a sedition in his own family. For being cautious how he made any illustrious* person the high-priest of God, he sent for an obscure priest out of Babylon, whose name was Ananelus, and bestowed the high-priesthood upon him.

However, Alexander the daughter of Hyrcanus, and wife of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus the king, who had also brought Alexander two children, could not bear this indignity. Now this son was one of the greatest comeliness, and was called Aristobulus: and the daughter of Mariamne was married to Herod, and eminent for her beauty also. This Alexandra was much disturbed, and took the indignity offered to her son exceeding ill: that while he was alive, any one else should be sent for to have the dignity of the high-priesthood conferred upon him. Accordingly she wrote to Cleopatra, (a musician assisting her in taking care to have her letters carried;) to desire her intercession with Antony, in order to gain the high-priesthood for her son.

But as Antony was slow in granting this request, his friend Dellius† came into Judea upon some affairs; and when he saw Aristobulus, he stood in admiration at the tallness and handsomeness of the child; and no less at Mariamne the king's wife: and was open in his commendations of Alexandra, as the mother of most beautiful children. And when she came to discourse with him, he persuaded her to get pictures drawn of them both, and to send them to Antony: for that when he saw them, he would deny her nothing that she should ask. Accordingly Alexandra was elevated with these words of his, and sent the pictures to Antony. Dellius also talked extravagant-

* Here we have an eminent example of Herod's worldly and profane politics; when, by the abuse of his unlawful and usurped power, to make whom he pleased high-priest, in the person of Ananelus, he occasioned such disturbances in his kingdom, and in his own family, as suffered him to enjoy no lasting peace or tranquillity ever afterward. And such is frequently the effect of profane court politics about matters of religion in other ages and nations. The Old Testament is full of the miseries of the people of the Jews derived from such court politics: especially in, and after the days of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin; who gave the most pernicious example of it; who brought on the grossest corruption of religion by it; and the punishment of whose family for it was most remarkable. The case is too well known to require particular citations.

† Of this wicked Dellius, see the note On the War, I. 15.

ly, and said, that these children seemed not derived from men, but from some god. His design in doing so was to entice Antony into lewd pleasure with them. He was ashamed to send for the damsel, as being the wife of Herod; and avoided it, because of the reproaches he should have from Cleopatra on that account: but he sent, in the most decent manner he could, for the young man: but added this withal, "Unless he thought it hard upon him so to do." When this letter was brought to Herod, he did not think it safe to send one so handsome as was Aristobulus, in the prime of his life; (for he was sixteen years of age, and of so noble a family:) and particularly not to Antony, the principal man among the Romans, and the one that would abuse him in his amours; and besides, one that openly indulged himself in such pleasures as his power allowed him, without controul. He therefore wrote back to him, that "If this boy should only go out of the country, all would be in a state of war and uproar; because the Jews were in hopes of a change in the government; and to have another king over them."

When Herod had thus excused himself to Antony, he resolved that he would not entirely permit the child, or Alexandra, to be treated dishonourably. But his wife Mariamne urged him vehemently to restore the high-priesthood to her brother; and he judged it was for his advantage so to do; because if he once had that dignity, he could not go out of the country. So he called his friends together, and told them, that "Alexandra privately conspired against his royal authority, and endeavoured, by means of Cleopatra, so to bring it about, that he might be deprived of the government; and that by Antony's means this youth might have the management of public affairs in his stead. And that this procedure of hers was unjust; since she would at the same time deprive her daughter of the dignity she now had, and would bring disturbances upon the kingdom; for which he had taken a great deal of pains, and had gotten it with extraordinary hazards: that yet, while he well remembered her wicked practices, he would not leave off doing what was right himself; but would even now give the youth the high-priesthood: and that he formerly set up Ananelus, because Aristobulus was then so very young a child. Now when he had said this, not at random, but as he thought with the best discretion he had, in order to deceive the women, and those

friends whom he had taken to consult withal; Alexandra, out of the great joy she had at this unexpected promise, and out of fear from the suspicions she lay under, burst into tears, and made the following apology for herself, and said: that "As to the high-priesthood, she was very much concerned for the disgrace her son was under, and so did her utmost endeavours to procure it for him: but that as to the kingdom, she had made no attempts; and that if it were offered her for her son she would not accept it. And that now she would be satisfied with her son's dignity, while he himself held the civil government; and she had thereby the security that arose from his peculiar ability in governing, to all the remainder of her family: that she was now overcome by his benefits, and thankfully accepted of this honour shewn by him to her son; and that she would hereafter be entirely obedient. And she desired him to excuse her, if the nobility of her family, and that freedom of acting which she thought that allowed her, had made her act too precipitately and imprudently in this matter." So when they had spoken thus to one another, they came to an agreement; and all suspicions seemed to have vanished away.

CHAP. III.

ARISTOBULUS IS MADE HIGH-PRIEST, BUT AFTERWARDS MURDERED BY THE ORDER OF HEROD, WHO APOLOGIZES TO ANTONY.— ALSO CONCERNING JOSEPH AND MARIAMNE.

HEROD now took the high-priesthood from Ananelus; who, as we said before, was not of this country, but one of those Jews that had been carried captive beyond Euphrates. For there were many thousands of this people who had been carried captive, and dwelt about Babylonia; whence Ananelus came. He was one* of the stock of the high-priests; and had been of

* When Josephus says here, in his Greek copies, that this Ananelus, the new high-priest, was of the stock of the high-priests, we must remember that the Latin version in all copies, has not a syllable of any such clause. And since, in all copies, he had been just telling us, that he was a priest of an obscure family or character, chap. 2, it is not probable, that he could so soon say that he was of the stock of the high-priests. However Josephus here makes a remarkable observation, that this Ananelus was the third that was ever unjustly and wickedly turned out of the high-priesthood, by the civil power. No king or governor having ventured to do so, that Josephus knew of, but that heathen tyrant and persecutor Antiochus Epiphanes; that barbarous parricide Aristobulus, the first that assumed royal authority among the Maccabees; and this tyrant, king Herod the Great: although afterward that infamous practice became frequent, till the very destruction of Jerusalem: when the office of high-priesthood was at an end.

old a particular friend of Herod's. 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 family; though what he did was plainly unlawful. For on no preceding occasion was any one that had once been in that dignity deprived of it. It was Antiochus Epiphanes who first brake that law, and deprived Jesus, and made his brother Onias high-priest in his stead. Aristobulus was the second that did so; and took that dignity from his brother Hyrcanus. And this Herod was the third; who took that high office from Ananelus, and gave it to this young man Aristobulus.

Herod now 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 as Alexandra had already made attempts tending to innovations, so did he fear that she would go on therein, if she found a fit opportunity for so doing. So he gave a command, that she should dwell in the palace, and meddle with no public affairs. Her guards also were so careful, that nothing she did in private life every day was concealed. These hardships gradually put her out of patience, and she began to hate Herod. For as she had the pride of a woman to the utmost degree, she had great indignation at this 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 speech; and under the notion of an honorary guard, to live in a state of slavery and terror. She therefore sent to Cleopatra, and made a long complaint of the circumstances she was in; and entreated her to do her utmost for her assistance. Cleopatra hereupon advised her to take her son with her, and come away immediately 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 put herself into one, and her son into the other; and gave orders to such of her servants, as knew of her intentions, to carry them away in the night time. Now their road was to be thence to the sea side: and there was a ship ready to carry them into Egypt. Now Esop, one of her servants, happened to meet with Sabbion, one of her friends; and spake of this matter to him: as thinking he had known of it before. When Sabbion knew this, (who had formerly been an enemy of Herod's, and been esteemed one of those that laid snares for,

and gave the poison to, his father Antipater;) he expected that this discovery would change Herod's hatred into kindness. So he told the king of this private stratagem of Alexandra's. Whereupon he suffered her to proceed to the execution of her project, and caught her in the very fact. But still he passed by her offence: and though he had a great mind to do it, he durst not inflict any thing that was severe upon her. For he knew that Cleopatra would not bear that he should have her accused, on account of her hatred to him; but made a shew as if it were rather the generosity of his soul, and his great moderation, that made him forgive them. However he fully proposed to himself to put this young man out of the way, by one means or other. But he thought he might probably be better concealed, if he did it not immediately after what had lately happened.

Now, upon the approach of the feast of tabernacles, which is a festival very much observed among us, he let those days pass over: and both he and the rest of the people were very merry. Yet did the envy which at this time arose in him cause him to hasten the execution of his design. For when this youth Aristobulus, who was now in the seventeenth year of his age, went up to the altar, according to the law, to offer the sacrifices, and this with the ornaments of his high-priesthood: and when he performed* the sacred offices, he seemed to be exceeding comely; and taller than men usually were at that age; and to exhibit, in his countenance, a great deal of that high family he was sprung from; and a warm zeal and affection towards him appeared among the people; and the memory of the actions of his grandfather Aristobulus was fresh in their minds. And their affections got so far the mastery of them, that they could not forbear shewing 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 more rashly proclaimed the happiness they had received from his family, than was prudent under the existing government. Hereupon Herod resolved to complete what he had intended against the young man. When therefore the festival was over, and he

* This entirely confutes the Talmudists; who, as Reland here notes, pretend that no one under twenty years of age could officiate as high-priest among the Jews.

was feasting at Jericho,* with Alexandra; who entertained them there; he was very pleasant with the young man, and drew him into a lonely place; and at the same time played with him in a juvenile and ludicrous manner. Now the nature of that place was hotter than ordinary: so they went out in a body, and of a sudden, and in a vein of madness; and as they stood by the fish ponds, of which there were large ones about the house, they went to cool themselves by bathing, because it was in the midst of a sultry day. At first they were only spectators of Herod's servants and acquaintance, as they were swimming. But after a while, the young man, at the instigation of 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 suffocated. And thus was Aristobulus murdered. Having lived no more than eighteen† years; and kept the high-priesthood one year only. Which high-priesthood Ananelus now recovered again.

When this sad accident was related, the joy of the women was soon changed to lamentation, at the sight of the dead body that lay before them; and their sorrow was immoderate. The city of Jerusalem also, upon the spreading of this news, were 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 Alexandra was more deeply affected; upon her knowledge that he had been wilfully destroyed. But she was under a necessity of bearing up under it; out of her prospect of a greater mischief that might otherwise follow. And she oftentimes came to an inclination to kill herself with her own hands. But still she restrained herself; in hopes she might live long enough to revenge the unjust murder thus privately

* A Hebrew chronicle, cited by Reland, says, this drowning was at Jordan, not at Jericho; and this even when he quotes Josephus. Which reading of Jericho is yet fully confirmed by the last chapter of these Antiquities. I suspect the transcriber of the Hebrew chronicle mistook the name, and wrote Jordan for Jericho.

† The reading of one of Josephus's Greek MSS. and of Zonaras, seems here to be right; that Aristobulus was not eighteen years old when he was drowned. For he was not seventeen when he was made high-priest, chap. 2, and he continued in that office but one year, as in the place before us. In the first book Of the War, chap. 22, he is said to be seventeen when he was made high-priest, and soon after murdered.

committed. Nay she farther resolved to endeavour to live longer, and to give no occasion to think she suspected that her son was slain on purpose; and supposed that she might be in a capacity of revenging it, at a proper opportunity. However, Herod endeavoured that none abroad should believe that the child's death was caused by any design of his. And for this purpose he exhibited not only the ordinary signs of sorrow, but even burst into tears, and seemed to evince a real confusion of soul. And perhaps his affections were overcome on this occasion, when he saw the child's countenance so young, and so beautiful: although his death were supposed to tend to his own security. So far at least this grief served, as to make some apology for him. He also took care that his funeral should be very magnificent, by making great preparation of 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, who were in such deep sorrow, were astonished at it; and received in this way some consolation.

None of these things, however, could overcome Alexandra'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 informed her by what means her son had been murdered. Cleopatra, as she had formerly been desirous to give her what satisfaction she could, and commiserating Alexandra's fortunes, made the case her own; and excited Antony to punish the child's murder. For that it was an unworthy thing that Herod, who had been by him made king of a country that no way belonged to him, should be guilty of such horrid crimes against those that were of the royal blood. Antony was persuaded by these arguments. And when he came to Laodicea, he* sent 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 endeavouring 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

* An. 34.

† Of the four Josephs in these histories, see the note On the War, Book I. chap. 28.

a private charge, that if Antony should kill him, he also should kill Mariamne immediately. For that he had a tender affection for her, and was afraid of the injury that should be offered him, if, after his death, she for her beauty, should be engaged to some other man. But his 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 Herod had given Joseph this charge, and had no sure hopes of escaping with his life; he went away to Antony.

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 entered into conversation about Herod's kindness, and great affection towards her: and when the women, especially Alexandra, used to turn his discourses into raillery, 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, that Herod was not able to live without her; and that if he should come to any ill end, he could not endure a separation from her, even after he was dead. The women, however, as was natural, did not take this to be an instance of Herod's strong affection, 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's was a foundation for the women's severe suspicions about him afterwards.

At this time a report went about the city Jerusalem, among Herod's enemies, that Antony had tortured Herod, and put him to death. This report, as is natural, disturbed those that were about the palace; but chiefly the women. Upon which Alexandra endeavoured to persuade Joseph to go out of the palace, and flee away with them to the ensigns of the Roman legion; which then lay encamped about the city, as a guard to the kingdom, under the command of Julius. For that, by this means, if any disturbance should happen about the palace, they should be in greater security; as having the Romans favourable to them. And that besides, they hoped to obtain 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 extraction.

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 which he had carried with him from Jerusalem: and he soon induced him, upon discoursing with him, to leave off his indignation at him. So that Cleopatra's persuasions had less force, than the arguments and presents he brought, to regain his friendship. For Antony said, that it was not good to require an account of a king, as to the affairs of his government. For at this rate he could be no king at all: but that those who had given him that authority ought to permit him to make use of it. He also told Cleopatra, that it would be best for her not to meddle with the acts of the king's government. Herod wrote an account of these things; and enlarged upon the other honours which he had received from Antony. How he sat by him at his hearing causes, and took his diet with him every day; and that he enjoyed those favours from him, notwithstanding the reproaches that Cleopatra so severely laid against him, who, having a great desire of his country, and earnestly entreating Antony that the kingdom might be given to her, laboured with her utmost diligence to remove him out of the way. But that he still found Antony just to him; and had no longer any apprehensions of hard treatment from him. And that he was soon to set out upon his return, with a firmer additional assurance of his favour to him, in his reigning and managing public affairs; and that there was no longer any hope for Cleopatra's covetous temper; since Antony had given her Coelesyria, instead of what she desired: by which means he at once pacified her, and got clear of the entreaties which she had made him, to have Judea bestowed upon her.

When these letters were brought, the women laid aside their intention of fleeing to the Romans which they had thought of while Herod was supposed to be dead. Yet was not that purpose of theirs a secret. Bt when the king had conducted Antony on his way against the Parthians, and returning to Judea; both his sister Salome, and his mother, informed him of Alexandra's intentions. Salome also added somewhat farther against Joseph, though it were no more than a calumny: that he had often a criminal conversation with Mariamne. The reason of her saying so was, that she had for a long time borne her ill

will: for when they had differences with one another, Mariamne took great freedoms, and reproached the rest with the meanness of their birth. Herod whose affection to Mariamne was always very warm, was presently disturbed at this; and could not bear the torments of jealousy; but was still restrained from doing any rash thing, by the love he had for her. Yet did his vehement affection and jealousy together make him ask Mariamne by herself, about this matter of Joseph. But she denied it upon her oath, and said all that an innocent woman could possibly say in her own defence: so that by little and little the king was prevailed upon to drop the suspicion; and left off his anger at her: and being overcome with his passion for his wife, he made an apology to her for having seemed to believe what he had heard about her; and returned her a great many acknowledgments of her modest behaviour: and professed the extraordinary affection and kindness he had for her. Till at last, as is usual between lovers, they both burst into tears, and embraced each other with a most tender affection. But as the king gave more and more assurances of his belief of her fidelity, and endeavoured to draw her to a like confidence in him, Mariamne said, "Yet was not that command thou gavest, that if any harm came to thee from Antony, I, who had been no occasion of it, should perish with thee, a sign of thy love to me."

When these words were fallen from her, the king was shocked at them; and presently let her go out of his arms, and cried out, and tore his hair with his own hands, and said, that he had now an evident demonstration that Joseph had had criminal conversation with his wife: for that he would never have uttered what he had told him by himself, unless there had been a great familiarity, and such firm confidence, between them. And while he was in this passion, he had like to have killed his wife: but being still overcome by his love to her, he restrained his passion: though not without a lasting grief, and disquietness of mind. However, he gave order to slay Joseph, without permitting him to come into his sight. And as for Alexandra, he bound her, and kept her in custody, as the cause of all this mischief.

CHAP. IV.

OF CLEOPATRA'S AVARICE AND CRUELITIES; HER ARRIVAL IN JUDEA, AND THE ATTENTIONS SHE RECEIVED FROM HEROD.

AT this time the affairs of Syria were in confusion by Cleopatra's constant persuasions to Antony to make an attempt on every body's dominions. For she persuaded him to take those dominions from their several princes, and bestow them upon her. And she had a great influence upon him; by reason of his being enslaved to her by his affections. She was also by nature very covetous, and hesitated not to commit any wickedness. She had already poisoned her brother; because she knew that he was to be king of Egypt: and this when he was but fifteen years old. And she caused her sister Arsinoe to be slain* by the means of Antony; when she was a supplicant at Diana's temple at Ephesus. For if there were but any hopes of getting money, she would violate both temples and sepulchres. Nor was there any holy place that was esteemed the most inviolable, from which she would not fetch the ornaments it had in it: nor any place so profane, but was to suffer the most flagitious treatment possible from her covetous humour. Yet did not all this suffice so extravagant a woman, who was a slave to her lusts. But she still imagined that she wanted every thing she could think of; and did her utmost to gain it. For this reason she hurried Antony on perpetually to deprive others of their dominions, and give them to her. And as she went over Syria with him, she contrived to get it into her possession. So he slew Lysanias,† the son of Ptolemy, accusing him of his bringing the Parthians upon those countries. She also petitioned Antony to give her Ju-

* This slaughter of Arsinoe by Mark Antony, when she had fled for refuge to this asylum, the temple of Diana, is confirmed by Appian V. page 676. Only he says, that it was at her temple at Miletus; and Josephus here at her temple at Ephesus. Which was the truth cannot, I suppose, be now determined.

† This Lysanias was the son of Ptolemy Menneus, and was king of Chalcis and Iteurea; and probably the same person that is mentioned by Strabo, XVI. page 756. That he was slain, is confirmed by Dio, XLIX. page 411, as Dean Aldrich observes. Who also adds, that the slaughter of Malichus about the same time, which Josephus joins with this of Lysanias, in his history Of the War, I. 22. is not mentioned either by Dio, or in the Antiquities of Josephus himself, or any other author. So that it is highly probable Josephus missed it here voluntarily, as having discovered his former mistake about it.

dea and Arabia; and in order thereto desired him to take these countries away from their present governors. As for Antony, he was so entirely overcome by this woman, that one would not think her conversation only could do it, but that he was some way bewitched to do whatsoever she would have him. Yet did the grossest parts of her injustice make him so ashamed, that he would not always hearken to her, to do those flagrant enormities she would have persuaded him to. That therefore he might not totally deny her; nor, by doing every thing that she enjoined him, appear openly to be an ill man; he took some parts of each of those countries away from their former governors, and gave them to her. Thus he gave her the cities that were within the river Eleutherus, as far as Egypt; excepting Tyre and Sidon; which he knew to have been free cities from their ancestors; although she pressed him very often to bestow these on her also.

When Cleopatra had obtained thus much, and had accompanied Antony in his expedition into Armenia, as far as Euphrates; she returned back, and came to Apamia, and Damascus, and passed on to Judea. There Herod met her, and farmed of her some parts of Arabia, and those revenues that came to her from the region about Jericho. This country bears that balsam, which is the most precious drug that is there, and grows there alone. The place also produces many and excellent palm-trees. When she was there, and was very often with Herod; she endeavoured to have criminal conversation with the king. Nor did she affect secrecy in the indulgence of such sort of pleasures. And perhaps she had, in some measure, a passion of love for him; or rather, what is most probable, she laid a treacherous snare for him, by aiming to obtain such an adulterous conversation from him. However, upon the whole, she seemed overcome with love to him. Now Herod had a great while borne no good will to Cleopatra, as 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 endeavours. However, he refused to comply with her proposals; and called a counsel of his friends to consult with them, whether he should not kill her, now he had her in his power? For that he should thereby deliver all those from a multitude of evils to whom she

was already become 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: since she would certainly not be faithful to him, in case any such necessity should come upon him as that he should stand in need of her fidelity. But when he thought to follow this advice, his friends told him that it was not right to attempt so great a thing, and run himself thereby into the utmost danger. And they begged of him to undertake nothing rashly: for that Antony would never bear it, though any one should evidently lay before his eyes that it was for his own advantage. And that the appearance of depriving him of her conversation by this violent and treacherous method, would probably set his affections more on a flame than before. Nor did it appear that he could offer any thing of tolerable weight in his defence; this attempt being against such a woman as was of the highest dignity of any of her sex at that time in the world. And as to any advantage to be expected from such an undertaking, if any such could be supposed in this case, it would appear to deserve condemnation, on account of the insolence he must take upon him in doing it. These considerations made it very plain, that in so doing he would find his government filled with mischiefs, both great and lasting, both to himself and his posterity: whereas it was still in his power to reject that wickedness she would persuade him to, and to come off honourably at the same time. So by thus representing to Herod the hazard he must, in all probability, run by this undertaking, they restrained him from it. He therefore treated Cleopatra kindly, and made her presents, and conducted her on her way to Egypt.

But Antony subdued Armenia, and sent Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, in bonds, with his children, and procurators, to Egypt; and made a present of them, and of all the royal ornaments which he had taken out of that kingdom to Cleopatra. And Artaxias the eldest of his sons, who had escaped at that time, took the kingdom of Armenia. He was, indeed, ejected by Archelaus, and Nero Cæsar, when they restored Tigranes his younger brother to that kingdom: but this happened a considerable time afterward.

But as to the tributes which Herod was to pay Cleopatra for that country which Antony had given her, he acted fairly with her, as deeming it not safe for him to afford any cause of Cleo-

patra to hate him. As for the king of Arabia, whose tribute Herod had undertaken to pay her; for some time indeed he paid him as much as came to two hundred talents. But he afterward became very slow in his payments; and could hardly be brought to pay some parts of it; and was not willing to pay even them without some deductions.

CHAP. V.

HEROD MAKES WAR WITH THE KING OF ARABIA, AND AFTER SEVERAL ENGAGEMENTS, SUBDUES HIM; AND IS CHOSEN BY THE ARABS TO BE GOVERNOR OF THAT NATION.—ALSO, CONCERNING A GREAT EARTHQUAKE.

HEREUPON Herod held himself ready to go against the king of Arabia; because of his ingratitude; and because, after all, he would do nothing that was just to him. Although Herod made the Roman war an occasion of delaying his own. For the battle at Actium was now expected; which happened in the second year of the hundred and eighty and seventh Olympiad: where Cæsar 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 raised great armies therewith; got together a 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 him to punish the king of Arabia; for he had heard, both from him, and from Cleopatra, how perfidious he was: For Cleopatra 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 army with him, in order to invade Arabia. So when his army of horsemen and footmen was ready, he marched to Diospolis. Thither the Arabians came also to meet them; for they were not unapprised 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 numerous army of the Arabians, at Cana, a place of Cœlesyria. Herod was informed of this beforehand: so he came against them, with the greatest part of his forces. And when he was

come near to Cana, he resolved to encamp himself, and he cast up a bulwark; that he might take a proper season for attacking the enemy. But as he was giving those orders, the multitude of the Jews cried out, that he should make no delay, but lead them against the Arabians. On this occasion they were in high spirit, as believing they were in very good order; and those especially were so that had been in the former battle, and had been conquerors; and had not permitted their enemies so much as to come to a close fight with them. And when they were so tumultuous, and shewed such great alacrity, the king resolved to make use of that zeal the multitude then exhibited. And when he had assured them he would not be behindhand with them in courage, he led them on, and stood before them in his armour: all the regiments following him in their several ranks. Hereupon a consternation fell upon the Arabians: for when they perceived that the Jews were not to be conquered, and were full of spirit, the greater part of them ran away, and avoided fighting. And they had been quite destroyed, had not Athenio fallen upon the Jews, and distressed them. This man was Cleopatra's general over the soldiers she had there, and was at enmity with Herod; and very wistfully looked on, to see what the event of the battle would be. He had also resolved, that in case the Arabians did any thing that was brave and successful, he would lie still; but in case they were beaten, as it really happened, he would attack the Jews with those forces he had of his own, and with those that the country had gotten together for him. So he fell upon the Jews unexpectedly, when they were fatigued and thought they had already vanquished the enemy, and made a great slaughter of them. For as the Jews had spent their courage upon their known enemies, and were about to enjoy themselves in quietness after their victory; they were easily beaten by these that attacked them afresh; and in particular received a great loss in places where the horses could not be of service, and which were very stony; and where those that attacked them were better acquainted with the places than themselves. And when the Jews had suffered this loss, the Arabians resumed their courage after their defeat; and, returning back again, slew those that were already put to flight. And indeed all sorts of slaughter were now frequent; and of those that escaped, a few only returned into the camp. So king Herod, when

he despaired of the battle, rode up to them, to bring them assistance. Yet he did not come time enough to render them any service; though he laboured hard to do it: but the Jewish camp was taken. So that the Arabians had unexpectedly a most glorious success; having gained that victory, which of themselves they were no way 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 make excursions, upon many parts of Arabia, and distress them by sudden incursions; while he encamped among the mountains, and avoided by any means to come to a pitched battle. Yet did he greatly harass the enemy by his assiduity, and the hard labour he took in this matter. He also took great care of his own forces; and used all the means he could to restore his affairs to their former state.

At this time the fight happened at Actium, between Octavius Cæsar and Antony; in the seventh* year of the reign of Herod. And then it was also that there was an earthquake in Judea: such an one as had not happened at any other time: and which earthquake brought a great destruction upon the cattle in that country. About ten† thousand men also perished by the fall of houses. But the army, which lodged in the field, received no damage from this sad accident. When the Arabians were 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 were quite overthrown, and the men were utterly destroyed; and thought there now remained nothing that could oppose them. Accordingly they took the Jewish ambassadors, who came to them, after all this had happened, to make peace with them, and slew them; and came with great alacrity against their army. But the Jews 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 themselves up to despair. For they had no hope that they should be upon a level with them

* The reader is here to take notice, that this seventh year of the reign of Herod, and all the other years of his reign, in Josephus, are dated from the death of Antigonus; or at the soonest from the conquest of Antigonus, and the taking of Jerusalem a few months before: and never from his first obtaining the kingdom at Rome above three years before; as some have very injudiciously done. See the rest of those dates, XV. 9, 10, and 11. and XVI 5.

† Or thirty thousand.

again in battle, nor obtain any assistance elsewhere; while their affairs at home were in such great distress. When matters were in this condition, the king persuaded the commanders by his words, and tried to raise their spirits, which were quite sunk. And first he endeavoured to encourage and embolden some of the better sort beforehand; and then ventured to make a speech to the multitude, which he had before avoided to do; lest he should find them uneasy because of the misfortunes which had happened. So he made a consolatory speech to the multitude, in the following manner.

“ You are not ignorant, my fellow-soldiers, that we have recently sustained many accidents, that we have put a stop to what we are about; and it is probable, that even those that are most distinguished for their courage, can hardly keep up their spirits in such circumstances. But since we cannot avoid fighting; and nothing that hath happened is of such a nature, but it may by yourselves be recovered into a good state, and this by one brave action well performed; I have proposed to myself, both to give you some encouragement, and at the same time, some information. Both which parts of my design will tend to this point, that you may still continue in your own proper fortitude. 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 occasioned by the injustice of our adversaries. For if you be once satisfied of this, it will be a real cause of alacrity 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 of what I shall say. You are not ignorant of the wickedness of the Arabians; which is to that degree as to appear incredible to all other men; and to include somewhat that shews 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 on the sudden. And what occasion is there for me to mention many instances of such their procedure? When they were in danger of losing their own government, and of being slaves to Cleopatra, what others were they that freed them from that fear? For it was the friendship I had with Antony, and the kind disposition he was in towards us, that hath been the occasion,

that even these Arabians have not been utterly undone; Antony being unwilling to undertake any thing which might be suspected by us of unkindness. But when he had a mind to bestow some parts of each of our dominions on Cleopatra, I also managed that matter so, that by giving him presents of my own, I might obtain a security to both nations: while I undertook myself to answer for the money; giving him two hundred talents, and becoming surety for those two hundred more which were imposed upon the land that was subject to this tribute. And this they have defrauded us of; although it was not reasonable that Jews should pay tribute to any man living; or allow part of their land to be taxable. But although that was to be, yet ought we not to pay tribute for these Arabians, whom we have ourselves preserved. Nor is it fit that they, who have acknowledged, with great integrity and sense of our kindness, that it is by our means they keep their principality, should injure us, and deprive us of what is our due; and this while we have remained their friends. And whereas the observance of covenants takes place among the bitterest enemies, but among friends is absolutely necessary, this is not observed among these men; who think gain to be the best of all things, let it be by any means whatsoever; and that injustice is no harm, if they may but get money by it. It is, therefore a question with you, whether the unjust are to be punished or not? when God himself hath declared his mind that so it ought to be; and hath commanded that we should abhor injuries and injustice. This is not only just but necessary, in wars between several nations. For these Arabians have done what both the Greeks and Barbarians own to be an instance of the grossest wickedness, with regard to our ambassadors; whom they have beheaded. While the Greeks declare that such ambassadors are sacred* and inviolable. And for ourselves, we have learned from God the most excellent of our doctrines, and the most holy part of our law, by angels, or ambassadors. For this name brings God to the knowledge of mankind; and is sufficient to reconcile enemies one to another. What wickedness then can be greater than the slaughter of ambassadors, who come to treat about

* Herod says here, that as ambassadors were sacred, when they carried messages to others; so did the laws of the Jews derive a sacred authority by being delivered from God by angels, or divine ambassadors, which is St. Paul's expression, about the same laws. Gal. iii. 19. Heb. ii. 2.

doing what is right? And when such have been their actions, how is it possible they can either 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 that the Arabians are either more courageous, or more numerous than we are. Now as to this in the first place, it is not fit for us to say so; for with whom is what is righteous, with them is God himself. Now where God is, there are 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 Athenion, and made war against us without declaring 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 those, who, when they fight upon the level, are continually beaten; and when they seem to be conquerors, they gain it by wickedness? And if we suppose that any one should deem them to be men of real courage, will not he be excited by that very consideration to do his utmost against them? For true valour is not shewn by fighting against weak persons, but in being able to overcome the most hardy. But then, if the distress 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 Arabians; by their supposal that what hath befallen us is greater than it really is. Moreover, it is not right that the same thing that emboldens them, should discourage us. For these men, you see, do not derive their alacrity from any advantageous virtue of their own; but from their hope, as to us, that we are quite cast down by our own misfortunes. But when we boldly march against them, we shall soon pull down their insolent conceit of themselves; and shall gain this by attacking them, that they will not be so insolent when we come to the battle. For our distresses are not so great, nor is what hath happened an indignation of the anger of God against us; as some imagine. For such things are accidental, and adversities that come 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 hath already happened. For had he been willing to afflict us still more thereby, he had not changed his mind so soon. And as for the war we are engaged in, he hath himself demonstrated, that he is willing it should go on; and that he knows it to be a just war. For while some of the people in the country have perished, all you who were in arms have suffered nothing; but are all preserved alive. Hence God makes it plain to us, that if you had universally, with your wives and children, been in 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 protector; and prosecute these men with a just bravery, who in point of friendship are unjust; in their battles perfidious; towards ambassadors impious; and always inferior to you in valour."

When the Jews heard this speech, their minds were animated, and more disposed to fight than before. So Herod, when he had offered* the sacrifices appointed by the law, made haste, and took them, and led them against the Arabians: and in order to that passed over Jordan; and pitched his camp near to that of the enemy. He also thought fit to seize upon a certain castle, that lay in the midst of them; as hoping it would be for his advantage, and would the sooner produce a battle; and, that if there were occasion for delay, he should by it have his camp fortified. And as the Arabians had the same intentions upon that place, a contest arose about it. At first they were but skirmishes; but afterwards there came more soldiers, and it proved a sort of engagement, and some fell on both sides; till those of the Arabian side were beaten and retreated. This was no small encouragement to the Jews: and when Herod ob-

* This piece of religion, the supplicating God with sacrifices, by Herod, before he went to this fight with the Arabians; taken notice of also in the first book of the war, chap. 19. is worth remarking: because it is the only example of this nature, so far as I remember, that Josephus ever mentions in all his particular accounts of this Herod. And it was when he had been in great distress, and discouraged by a defeat of his former army, and by a very great earthquake in Judea. Such 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 earthquake in Judea, as to venture to slay the Jewish ambassadors; were now under a strange consternation, and hardly able to fight at all.

served that the enemy's army were disposed to any thing rather than to come to an engagement, he ventured boldly to attempt the bulwark itself, and to pull it to pieces; and so to get nearer to their camp, in order to fight them. For when they were forced out of their trenches, they went out in disorder, and had not the least alacrity, or hope of victory. Yet did they fight hand to hand; because they were more numerous than the Jews; and because they were in such a disposition of war, that they were under a necessity of coming on boldly. So they came to a terrible battle; while not a few fell on each side. However, at length the Arabians fled; and so great a slaughter was made upon their being routed, that they were not only killed by their enemies, but became the authors of their own deaths also; and were trodden down by the multitude, and the great current of people in disorder; and were destroyed by their own armour. So five thousand men lay dead upon the spot, while the rest of the multitude soon ran within the bulwark for safety; but had no firm hope of safety, by reason of 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 any assistance that would get in to them; and prevented any, that had a mind to it, from running away.

When the Arabians were in these circumstances, they sent ambassadors to Herod; in the first place to propose terms of accommodation, and after that offer him, (so pressing was their thirst upon them, to undergo whatsoever he pleased, if he would free them from their present distress. But he would admit of no ambassadors, of no price of redemption, nor of any other moderate terms whatever; being very desirous to revenge those unjust actions which they had been guilty of towards his nation. So they were necessitated by other motives, and particularly by their thirst, to come out, and deliver themselves up to him, to be carried away captives. And in five days' time the number of four thousand were taken prisoners: while all the rest resolved to make a sally upon their enemies, and to fight it out with them: choosing rather, if so it must be, to die therein, than to perish gradually and ingloriously. When they had taken this resolution, they came out of their trenches; but were unable to sustain the fight; being too much debilitated both in mind and body; and having not room to exert them-

selves; and thought it an advantage to be killed, and a misery to survive. So at the first onset there fell about seven thousand of them. After which stroke, they let all the courage they had put on before fall; and stood amazed at Herod's warlike spirit under his own calamities. So, for the future, they yielded, and made him ruler of their nation. He was greatly elevated at so seasonable a success; and returned home, taking great authority upon him, on account of his bold and glorious expedition.

CHAP. VI.

HEROD CAUSES HYRCANUS TO BE PUT TO DEATH; AND OBTAINS THE CONFIRMATION OF HIS OWN DIGNITY FROM OCTAVIUS CÆSAR, WHOM HE ENTERTAINED IN A SUMPTUOUS MANNER.

HEROD'S other affairs were now very prosperous; and he was not to be easily assaulted on any side. Yet did there come upon him a danger that would hazard his entire dominions, after Antony had been beaten at the battle of Actium by Octavius Cæsar.* For at that time both Herod's enemies and friends despaired of his affairs: as it was not probable that he would remain without punishment, who had shewed so much friendship for Antony. His friends despaired, and had no hopes of his escape: but his enemies, though they outwardly appeared to be troubled at his case, were privately very glad of it: as hoping to obtain a change for the better. As for Herod himself, he saw that there was no one of royal dignity left, but Hyrcanus; and therefore 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 survived, and escaped the danger

* Antony had provoked Octavianus against him, by the wrong done to Octavia his sister, whom Antony had married, and yet divorced her for the gratification of his adulterous love to Cleopatra, though Octavia was much the handsomer of the two. Antony had likewise given out that Cleopatra had been married to Julius Cæsar, and that Cæsarion, whom she had by him, was his lawful son, and consequently had the proper right to the inheritance, which Octavianus held only as his adopted son. These things were objected against Antony; and Antony, by his agents and letters, was not forgetful to recriminate. But these things were no more than pretences: the true reason of their disagreement was, that both these two great men, being not contented with half of the Roman empire, were each resolved to have all, and accordingly agreed to throw the dice of war for it. *Plutarch De Antonio*; and *Prideaux's Connection*, anno 33. B.

he was in, he thought it the safest way to put it out of the power of 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 Cæsar, his envy prompted him to desire to slay him that would otherwise be king after him.

While Herod had these things in his mind, there was a certain occasion afforded him. For Hyrcanus was of so mild a temper, that he desired not to meddle with public affairs, nor to concern himself with innovations; but left all to fortune, and contented himself with what that afforded him. But Alexandra his daughter was a lover of strife; and was exceeding desirous of a change in the government: and spake to her father not to bear Herod's injurious treatment of their family, but to anticipate their future hopes, as he safely might: and desired him to write about those matters to Malchus, who was then governor of Arabia, to receive them, and to secure them from Herod: for that if they went away, and Herod's affairs proved, as it was likely they would, by reason of Cæsar's enmity to him, they should then be the only persons that could take the government: and this both on account of the royal family they were of, and on account of the good disposition of the multitude toward them. While she used these persuasions, Hyrcanus put off their suit. But as she shewed that she was a woman, and a contentious woman too, and would not desist either night or day; but would always be speaking to him about these matters, and about Herod's treacherous designs; she at last prevailed with him to entrust Dositheus, one of his friends, with a letter; wherein his resolution was declared: and he desired the Arabian governor to send to him some horsemen, who should receive him, and conduct him to the lake Asphaltites: which is three hundred furlongs distant from the bounds of Jerusalem. And he did therefore trust Dositheus with his letter, because he was a careful attendant on him, and on Alexandra; and had no small occasion to bear ill will to Herod. For he was a kinsman of one Joseph, whom he had slain; and a brother of those that were formerly slain at Tyre by Antony. Yet could not these motives induce Dositheus to serve Hyrcanus in this affair: for preferring the hopes he had from the present king, to those he had from him, he gave Herod the letter. So he took his kindness in good part; and bade him go on in serving him, by rolling up the epistle, and sealing it again, and delivering it

to Malchus; and then to bring back his letter in answer to it: for it would be much better if he could know Malchus's intentions also. And when Dositheus was very ready to serve him in this point also, the Arabian governor returned back for answer, that he would receive Hyrcanus, and all that should come with him, and even all the Jews that were of his party; that he would also send forces sufficient to secure them in their journey; and that he should be in no want of any thing he should desire. Now as soon as Herod had received this letter, he immediately sent for Hyrcanus, and questioned him about the league he had made with Malchus; and when he denied it, he shewed his letter to the Sanhedrim, and put the man to death immediately.

This account we give the reader, as it is contained in the commentaries of king Herod. 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. For they write, that Herod and he were 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, Whether he had received any letters from Malchus? and when he answered, that he had received letters, but those of salutation only; and when he asked farther, whether he had not received any presents from him? and when he replied, that he had received no more than four horses to ride on, which Malchus had sent him, 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 guilty of no offence, when he was thus brought to his end, they allege, how mild his temper had been; and, that even in his youth, he had never given any demonstration of boldness or rashness; and that the case was the same when he came to 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 eighty years old; and knew that Herod's government was in a secure state. He also came over Euphrates, and left those who greatly honoured him beyond that river; though he were to be entirely under Herod's government; and that it was a most incredible thing that he should undertake any thing by way of innovation, and not at all agree-

able to his temper: but that this was a plot of Herod's own contrivance.*

And this was the fate of Hyrcanus, after he had endured various turns of fortune in his life time. For he was made high-priest of the Jewish nation in the beginning of his mother Alexandra's reign; who held the government nine years. And when after his mother's death, he took the kingdom himself, and held it three months, he lost it, by the means of his brother Aristobulus. He was then restored by Pompey, and received all sorts of honour from him, and enjoyed them forty years. But when he was again deprived by Antigonus, and was maimed in his body, he was made a captive by the Parthians; and thence returned home again after some time, on account of the hopes that Herod had given him. None of these, however, came to pass according to his expectation; but he still conflicted with many misfortunes through the whole course of his life: and, what was the heaviest calamity of all, as we have related already, he came to an end which was undeserved by him. His character appeared to be that of a man of a mild and moderate disposition; and suffered the administration of affairs to be generally done by others under him. He was averse to the management of public affairs, nor had 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 agreeable either to justice or piety.

Now Herod, as soon as he had put Hyrcanus out of the way, hastened to Cæsar: and because he could not have any hopes of kindness from him on account of the friendship he had for Antony, he had a suspicion of Alexandra, lest she should take this opportunity to bring the multitude to a revolt; and introduce a sedition into the affairs of the kingdom. So he committed the care of every thing to his brother Pheroras; and

* As Hyrcanus was the only remaining person of the male line of the Asmo-neans, and had himself reigned in Judea under the protection of the Romans, till deposed by the Parthians; Herod suspected, that if any thing went hard with him, it would turn in favour of Hyrcanus; for restoring him again to the kingdom: and therefore, to prevent this, contrived a plot against that prince: as if he had held a correspondence with Malchus, king of Arabia, for the accomplishing of treasonable designs against him. Under this pretence, he caused him to be put to death, after he had passed the eightieth year of his age. *Prideaux's Connection*, part 2. book 8. B.

placed his mother Cypros, and his sister Salome, and the whole family at Massada: and gave him a charge, that if he should hear any sad news about him, he should take care of the government. But as to Mariamne his wife, because of the misunderstanding between her and her sister, and his sister's mother, which made it impossible for them to live together, he placed her at Alexandrium, with Alexandra her mother: and left his treasurer Joseph, and Sohemus of Ituria, 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 any mischief had befallen him, they should kill them both: and, as far as they were able, to preserve the kingdom for his sons, and for his brother Pheroras.

When he had given them this charge, he went to Rhodes, 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 a much more noble specimen of a great soul. For he did not betake himself to supplications, as men usually do upon such occasions; nor offered him any petition, as if he were an offender: but after an undaunted manner gave an account of what he had done. For he said that he had the greatest friendship for Antony; and did every thing he could that he might attain the government. That he was not indeed in the army with him; because the Arabians had diverted him: but that he had sent him both money and corn; which was but too little in comparison of what he ought to have done for him. "For," said he, "if a man own himself to be another's friend, and know him to be a benefactor, he is obliged to hazard every thing, to use every faculty of his soul, every member of his body, and all the wealth he hath, for him; in which I confess I have been too deficient. However, I am conscious to myself, that so far I have done right, that I have not deserted him upon his defeat at Actium: nor upon the evident change of his fortune, have I transferred my hopes from him to another; but have preserved myself, though not as a valuable fellow-soldier, yet certainly as a faithful counsellor to Antony; when I demonstrated to him, that the only way he had to save himself, and not to lose all his authority, was to slay Cleopatra, for when she was once dead, there would be no 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. He, however, would not attend to my advice; but preferred his own rash resolutions, which have happened unprofitably for him, but profitably for thee. Now therefore, in case thou determinest about me, and my alacrity 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 thy case, and only examine how I behave myself to my benefactors in general; and what a sort of friend I am, thou wilt find by experience that I shall do and be the same to thyself. For it is but changing the names, and the firmness of friendship that I shall bear to thee will not be disapproved by thee."

By this speech, and by his behaviour, which shewed Cæsar the frankness of his mind, he greatly gained upon him; who was himself of a generous and magnificent temper: insomuch that those very actions, which were the foundation of the accusations against him, procured him Cæsar's good will. Accordingly he restored him his diadem; 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. He also added, that Quintus Didius had written to him, that Herod had very readily assisted him in the affair* of the gladiators. So when he had obtained such a kind reception, 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 was procured for his greater security; he 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 not put to death one Alexander, who had been a companion of Antony's: but Cæsar had sworn to put him to death; and so he could not obtain that petition. And now he returned to Judea again, with greater honour and assurance than ever; and affrighted those that had expectations to the contrary: as still acquiring from his very dangers greater splendour than before, by the favour of God to him. So he prepared for the reception of Cæsar, as he was going out of Syria to invade

* See Of the War, Book I. chap. 20.

Egypt: and when he came, he entertained him at Ptolemais with all royal magnificence. He also bestowed presents on the army, and brought them provisions in abundance. He likewise proved to be one of Cæsar's most cordial 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 him and his friends. He also provided them with what they should want, as they passed over the arid 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 this means he more and more demonstrated to Cæsar the firmness of his friendship, and his readiness to assist him. And what was of the greatest advantage to him was, that his liberality came at a seasonable time also. And when they returned again out of Egypt, his assistances were no way inferior to the good offices he had formerly done them.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE EXECUTION OF SOHEMUS, AND MARIAMNE; ALEXANDRA, AND CASTOBARUS; HEROD'S MOST INTIMATE FRIENDS; AND THE SONS OF BABA.

HOWEVER, when Herod came into his kingdom again, he found his house all in disorder, and his wife Mariamne, and her mother Alexandra, very uneasy; for they naturally supposed, that they were not put into that fortress [Alexandrium] for the security of their persons; but as into a garrison for their imprisonment; and that they had no power over any thing either of others or of their own affairs. And Mariamne supposing that the king's love to her was rather pretended, as advantageous to himself, than real; she looked on it as fallacious. She also was grieved that he would not allow her any hopes of surviving him, if he should come to any harm himself. She also recollected what commands he had formerly given to Joseph; insomuch that she endeavoured to please her keepers, and especially Sohemus; as well apprised how all was in his

power. Sohemus was at first faithful to Herod, and neglected none of the things he had given him in charge: but when the women, by kind words, and liberal presents, had gained his affections over to them, he was by degrees overcome, and at length discovered to them all the king's injunctions: and this on that account principally, that he did not so much as hope he would come back with the same authority he had before. So that he thought he should escape any danger from him, and supposed that he did hereby much gratify the women, who were likely not to be overlooked in the settling of the government: nay, that they would be able to make him ample recompense: since they must either reign themselves, or be very near to him that should reign. He had a farther ground of hope also, that though Herod should have all the success he could wish for, and should return again, he could not contradict his wife, in what she desired: for he knew that the king's fondness for her was inexpressible. These were the motives that drew Sohemus to discover what injunctions had been given him. So Mariamne was greatly displeased to hear, that there was no end of the dangers she was under from Herod; and was greatly uneasy at it; and wished that he might obtain no favours from Cæsar; and esteemed it an almost insupportable task to live with him any longer. And this she afterwards openly declared, without concealing her resentments.

And now Herod sailed home with joy, at the unexpected good success he had had: and went first of all to his wife, and told her the good news, as preferring her before the rest, on account of his fondness for her, and the intimacy there had been between them, and saluted her. But so it happened, that as he told her of the good success he had had, she was so far from rejoicing, that she rather was sorry for it. Nor was she able to conceal her resentments: but, depending on her dignity, and the nobility of her birth, in return for his salutations, she gave a groan and declared evidently that she rather grieved than rejoiced at his success: and this till Herod was disturbed at her, as affording him not only marks of her suspicion, but evident signs of her dissatisfaction. 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 to her: but by always changing one passion for another, he was still in great uncertainty. And thus was he entangled between hatred and love; and was frequently disposed to inflict punishment on her, for her insolence towards him: but being deeply in love with her, he was not able to get quit of this woman. In short, as he would gladly have her punished, so was he afraid lest, ere he were aware, he should, by putting her to death, bring a heavier punishment upon himself at the same time.

When Herod's sister and mother perceived that he was in this temper, with regard to Mariamne, they thought they had now an excellent opportunity of exercising their hatred against her: and provoked Herod, by telling him such long stories and calumnies about her, as might at once excite his hatred and his jealousy. Now though he willingly listened to their words, yet had not he courage enough to do any thing to her, as if he believed them. But still he became worse disposed to her: and these ill passions were more and more inflamed on both sides: while she did not hide her disposition towards him; and he turned his love to her, into wrath against her. But when he was just going to put this matter past all remedy, he heard the news, that Cæsar was the victor in the war; and that Antony and Cleopatra were both dead; and that he had conquered Egypt. Hereupon he made haste to go to meet Cæsar; and left the affairs of his family in their present state. However Mariamne recommended Sohemus to him, as he was setting out on his journey; and professed that she owed him thanks for the care he had taken of her; and asked of the king for him a place in the government: upon which an honourable employment was bestowed upon him accordingly.

Now when Herod was come into Egypt, he was introduced to Cæsar with great freedom; as already a friend of his; and received very great favours from him. For he made him a present of those four hundred Galatians* who had been Cleopatra's guards: and restored that country to him again, which, by her means, had been taken away from him. He also added to his kingdom, Gadara, and Hippos, and Samaria: and, besides those, the maritime cities, Gaza, and Athedon, and Joppa and Strato's tower.

* Gauls.

Upon these new acquisitions, he grew more magnificent; and conducted Cæsar as far as Antioch. But upon his return, as much as his prosperity was augmented by the foreign additions that had been made him, so much the greater were the distresses that came upon him in his own family; and chiefly in the affair of his wife: wherein he formerly appeared to have been most of all fortunate. For the affection he had for Mariamne was no way inferior to the affections of such as are on that account celebrated in history; and this very justly. As for her, she was in other respects a chaste woman, and faithful to him: yet was she somewhat rough by nature, and treated her husband imperiously; because she saw he was so fond of her, as to be enslaved by her. She did not also consider seasonably with herself, that she lived under a monarchy, and that she was at another's disposal: and accordingly would often behave herself after a saucy manner to him. Which yet he usually put off in a jesting way; and bore with moderation, and good temper. She would also expose his mother and sister openly, on account of the meanness of their birth: and would speak unkindly of them. Insomuch that there was before this a disagreement and unpardonable hatred among the women; and it was now come to greater reproaches of one another than formerly. Which suspicions increased, and lasted a whole year after Herod returned from Cæsar. However, these misfortunes, which had been kept under some decency for a great while, burst out at once upon such an occasion as was now offered. For as the king was one day, about noon, lain down on his bed to rest him; he called for Mariamne, out of the great affection he had always for her. She came in accordingly; but would not lie down by him. And when he was very desirous of her company, she shewed her contempt of him: and added, by way of reproach, that he had caused* her father and her brother to be slain. And when he took this injury very unkindly, and was ready to use violence to her, in a precipitate manner, the king's sister Salome, observing that he was

* Whereas Mariamne is here represented as reproaching Herod with the murder of her father Alexander, as well as her brother Aristobulus: while it was her grandfather Hyrcanus, and not her father Alexander, whom he caused to be slain (as Josephus himself informs us, chap. 6.) we must either take Zonaras's reading, which is here grandfather rightly; or else we must, as before, chap. 1. allow a slip of Josephus's pen or memory, in the place before us.

more than ordinarily, disturbed, sent in to the king his cup-bearer, who had been prepared long beforehand for such a design; and bade him tell the king, how Mariamne had persuaded him to give his assistance in preparing a love potion for him: and if he appeared to be greatly concerned, and should ask, what that love potion was? to tell him, that she had the potion; and that he was desired only to give it him. 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 instructions, she sent him in at this time 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 persuaded him to give him a love potion. 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, as the safest course he could take, both 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 ordered that eunuch of Mariamne's, who was most faithful to her, to be brought to the torture, about this potion; as well knowing it was not possible that any thing could be done without him. And when the man was under the utmost agonies, he could say nothing concerning the thing he was tortured about; but so far he knew, that Mariamne's hatred against him was occasioned by somewhat that Sohemus had said to her. Now as he was saying this, Herod cried out aloud, and said, that Sohemus, who had been at all other times most faithful to him and to his government, would not have betrayed what injunctions he had given him, unless he had had a nearer conversation than ordinary with Mariamne. So he gave order that Sohemus should be seized on, and slain immediately. But he allowed his wife to take her trial; and he assembled those that were most faithful to him; and laid an elaborate accusation against her, for this love potion, and composition; which had been charged upon her by way of calumny. 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 court was at length satisfied that he was so resolved, they passed the sentence of death upon her. But when the sentence was pass-

ed, 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. Salome and her party, however, laboured hard to have the woman put to death; and they prevailed with the king to do so, and advised this out of caution, lest the multitude should be tumultuous, if she were suffered to live. And thus was Mariamne led to execution.

When Alexandra observed how things went, and that there were small hopes that she should escape the like treatment from Herod, she changed her behaviour, to quite the reverse of what might have been expected from her former boldness; and this after a very indecent manner. For out of her desire to shew how entirely ignorant she was of the crimes laid against Mariamne, she leaped out of her place, and approached her daughter in the hearing of all the people; and cried out, that she had been an ill woman, and ungrateful to her husband; and that her punishment came justly upon her, for her insolent behaviour; for that she had not made proper returns to him who had been their common benefactor. And when she had for some time acted after this hypocritical manner, and been so outrageous as to tear her hair; this indecent and dissembling behaviour, as was to be expected, was greatly condemned by the rest of the spectators; as it was principally by her the poor woman was to suffer. For at the first she gave her not a word, nor was discomposed at her peevishness; and only looked at her: yet did she out of a greatness of soul discover her concern for her mother's offence; and especially for her exposing herself in a manner so unbecoming. But as for herself, she went to her death with an unshaken firmness of mind and without changing colour: and thereby evidently discovered the nobility of her descent to the spectators, even in the last moments of her life.

And thus died Mariamne: a woman of an excellent character, both for chastity and greatness of soul: but she wanted moderation, and had too much of contention in her nature; yet had she all that can be said in the beauty of her body, and her majestic appearance in conversation: and thence arose the greatest part of the occasions why she did not prove so agreeable to the king, nor live so pleasantly with him, as she might otherwise have done. For while she was most indulgently

used by the king, out of his fondness for her; and did not expect that he could do any thing hard to her: she took too unbounded a 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 sister, till they became enemies to her: and even he himself also did the same; on whom alone she depended for her expectations of escaping the last of punishments.

But when she was dead, the king's affections for her were kindled in a more outrageous manner than before: for his love to her was not of a calm nature; nor such as we usually meet with among other husbands. For at its commencement, it was 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 seize him in such a peculiar manner, as looked like divine vengeance upon him, for the taking away her life. For he would frequently call for her; and frequently lament for her, in a most violent manner. He also bethought him of every thing he could make use of to divert his mind from thinking of her; and contrived feasts and assemblies for that purpose. But nothing would suffice. He, therefore, laid aside the administration of public affairs; and was so far conquered by his passion, that he would order his servants to call for Mariamne; as if she were still alive, and could still hear them. And when he was in this way, there arose a pestilential disease, and carried off the greatest part of the multitude, and of his best and most esteemed friends: and made all men suspect, that this distemper was brought upon them by the anger of God, for the injustice that had been done to Mariamne. This circumstance affected the king still more; till at length he forced himself to go into desert places; and there under pretence of going a hunting, bitterly afflicted himself. Yet had he not borne his grief there many days, before he fell into a most dangerous distemper himself. He had an inflammation upon him, and a pain in the hinder part of his head, joined with madness. And the remedies that were used, did him no good at all; but proved contrary to his case, and so at length brought him to despair. All the physicians also that were about him, partly because the medicines they brought for his recovery could not at all con-

quer the disease; and partly because his diet could be no other than what his disease inclined him to; desired him to eat whatever he had a mind to; and so left the small hopes they had of his recovery in the power of that diet, and committed him to fortune. And thus did his distemper go on while he was at Samaria, now called Sebaste.

Alexandra, in the mean time, abode at Jerusalem: and being informed what condition Herod was in, she endeavoured to get possession of the fortified places that were about the city, which were two, the one belonging to the city, the other belonging to the temple. And those that could get them into their hands had the whole nation under their power. For without the command of them it was not possible to offer their sacrifices. And to think of leaving off those sacrifices, is to every Jew plainly impossible; who are still more ready to lose their lives, than to leave off that divine worship which they have been wont to pay unto God. Alexandra, therefore, discoursed with those that had the keeping of these strong holds; that it was proper for them to deliver the same to her, and to Herod's sons; lest, upon his death, any other person should seize upon the government. And that upon his recovery none could keep them more safely for him than those of his own family. These words, however, were not by them taken in good part; for as they had been in former times faithful to Herod, they resolved to continue so now more than ever; both because they hated Alexandra; and because they thought it a sort of impiety to despair of Herod's recovery, while he was yet alive. For they had been his old friends; and one of them, whose name was Achiabus, was his cousin german. They sent messengers therefore to acquaint him with Alexandra's design. So he made no longer delay,* but gave orders to have her slain. Yet was it still with difficulty, and after he had endured great pain that he got clear of his distemper. He was still sorely afflicted both in mind and body; and made very uneasy; and readier than ever upon all occasions to inflict punishment upon those that fell under his hand. He also slew the most intimate of his friends, Costobarus, and Lysimachus, and Gadias, who was also called Antipater; as also Dositheus: and that upon the following occasion:—

* An. 28.

Costobarus was an Idumean by birth; and one of principal dignity among them; and one whose ancestors had been priests to the Koze, whom the Idumeans had formerly esteemed as a god. But after Hyrcanus had made a change in their political government, and made them receive the Jewish customs, and law, Herod made Costobarus governor of Idumea, and Gaza; and gave him his sister Salome to wife. And this was upon his slaughter of his uncle Joseph, who had that government before; as we have related* already. When Costobarus had gotten to be so 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 but just she should desire that country for him of Antony; 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 thought that, upon the diminution of Herod's power, it would not be difficult for him to obtain the entire government over the Idumeans, and somewhat more also. For he raised his hopes still higher; as having no small pretences, both by his birth, and by these riches, which he had gotten by his constant attention to filthy lucre. And accordingly it was not a small matter that he aimed at. So Cleopatra desired this country of Antony; but failed of her purpose. Herod, on receiving intelligence of this, was ready to kill Costobarus: yet upon the intreaties of his sister and mother he forgave him, and vouchsafed to pardon him entirely, though he still had a suspicion of him afterward for this his attempt.

But some time afterward, when Salome happened to quarrel with Costobarus, she† sent him a bill of divorce, and dissolved

* Chap. 3.

† Here is a plain example of a Jewish lady giving a bill of divorce to her husband: though in the days of Josephus it was not by the Jews esteemed lawful for a woman so to do. See the like XX. 7. and among the Parthians, XVIII. 9. However the Christian law, when it allowed divorce for adultery, Matt. v. 32. allowed the innocent wife to divorce her guilty husband; as well as the innocent husband, to divorce his guilty wife; as we learn from the shepherd of Hermas, Mand. IV. and from the second apology of Justin Martyr: where a prosecution was brought

her marriage with him. Though this was not according to the Jewish laws: for with us it is lawful for a husband to do so; but a wife if she depart from her husband, cannot of herself be married, to another, unless her former husband put her away. However, Salome chose to follow not the law of her country, but the law of her authority; and so renounced her wedlock; and told her brother Herod, that she left her husband out of her good will to him; because she perceived, that he, with Antipater, and Lysimachus, and Dositheus, were raising a sedition against him. As an evidence of which she alleged the case of the sons of Babas; that they had been by him preserved alive already for the interval of twelve years: which proved to be true. But when Herod thus unexpectedly heard of it, he was greatly surprised at it: and the more so, because the relation appeared incredible to him. As for the fact relating to these sons of Babas, Herod had formerly taken great pains to bring them to punishment, as being enemies to his government. But they were now forgotten by him, on account of the length of time since he had ordered them to be slain. Now the case 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 great number of them invited 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. So these men acted thus politically, and, as they thought, for their own advantage. But when the city was taken, and Herod had gotten the government into his hands, and Costobarus was appointed to hinder men from passing out at the gates, and to guard the city; that those citizens that were

upon the Christians upon such a divorce. And I think the Roman laws permitted it at that time, as well as the laws of Christianity. Now this Babas, who was one of the race of Asmoneans, or Maccabees, is related by the Jews, as Dr. Hudson here remarks, to have been so eminently religious in the Jewish way, that excepting, the day following the tenth of Tisri, the great day of atonement; when he seems 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 been guilty of, but did not distinctly remember. See somewhat like it of Agrippa the Great, XIX. 7. and Job i. 4.

of the party opposite to the king might not get out of it; Costobarus, being sensible that the sons of Babas were had in respect and honour by the whole multitude, and supposing that their preservation might be of great advantage to him in the changes of government afterward; set them by themselves, and concealed them in his own farms. And when the thing was suspected, he assured Herod upon oath that he knew nothing of the matter: and so overcame the suspicions that lay upon him. Nay, after that, when the king had publicly proposed a reward for the discovery, and had put in practice all sorts of methods for searching out this matter, he would not confess it. But being persuaded that when he had at first denied it, if the men were found, he should not escape unpunished, he was forced to keep them secret; not only out of his good will to them, but out of a necessary regard to his own preservation. But when the king knew the thing, by his sister'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 with them, to be slain. Insomuch that there were now none left of the kindred of Hyrcanus: and the kingdom was entirely in Herod's power; and there was nobody remaining of such dignity as could put a stop to what he did against the Jewish laws.

CHAP. VIII.

OF A CONSPIRACY AGAINST HEROD, FOR THE FOREIGN PRACTICES HE HAD INTRODUCED; AND OF THE BUILDING OF SEBASTE, CÆSAREA, AND OTHER EDIFICES.

ON this account Herod revolted from the laws of his country, and corrupted their ancient constitution, by the introduction of foreign practices: which constitution yet ought to have been preserved inviolable. By which means we became guilty of great wickedness afterward; while those religious observances, which used to lead the multitude to piety, were now neglected. For, in the first place, he appointed solemn games to be celebrated every fifth year, in honour of Cæsar; and built a theatre at Jerusalem; as also a very great amphitheatre in the plain. Both of them were indeed costly works; but opposite to the Jewish customs. For we have had no such shews delivered

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 neighbouring countries, and called men together out of every nation. The wrestlers 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; and by the glory of victory to be there gained. So the principal persons that were the most eminent in these sorts of exercises were gotten together. For there were very great rewards for victory proposed, not only to those that performed their exercises naked; but to those that performed as musicians also, and were called Thymelici. And he spared no pains to induce all persons, the most famous for such exercises, to come to this contest for victory. He also proposed no small rewards to those who ran for the prizes in chariot races; when they were drawn by four, three, or two pair of horses. He also imitated every thing, though ever so costly, or magnificent, in other nations; out of an ambition that he might give the most public demonstrations of his grandeur. Inscriptions also of the great actions of Cæsar, and trophies of those nations which he had conquered in his wars, and all made of the purest gold and silver, encompassed the theatre. 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 games. He had also made a preparation of wild beasts, in great abundance; and of such other animals as were either of uncommon strength, or of such a sort as were rarely seen. These were prepared either to fight with one 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 expenses here exhibited; and at the great dangers that were here 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 in-

* These grand plays, and shews, and Thymelici, or music meetings; and chariot races, when the chariots were drawn by four, three, or two pair of horses, &c. instituted by Herod in his theatres, were still, as we see here, considered by the sober Jews as heathenish sports, and tending to corrupt the manners of the Jewish nation; and to bring them into love with Paganish idolatry, and Paganish conduct of life; to the dissolution of the law of Moses; and accordingly were severely condemned by them; as appears here and every where else in Josephus.

stance of barefaced impiety, to throw men to wild beasts, for the purpose of 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 distaste to the Jews: for as they imagined them to be images, included within the armour that hung round about them, they were greatly displeased; because it was not the custom of their country to pay honour to such images.

Herod was perfectly acquainted with the disturbance they were under: and as he thought it unseasonable to use violence, he spake 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, that although they should 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 that they would not 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 shewed them the trophies; and asked 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 the outward ornaments which were about them, and shewed them the naked pieces of wood: which pieces of wood, now without any ornaments, became matter of great sport and laughter to them; because they had before always had the ornaments of images themselves in derision.

When therefore Herod had thus dissipated the vehemency of passion under which the multitude had been; the greatest part of the people were disposed to change their conduct, and not to be displeased at him any longer. But still some of them retained their displeasure against him, for his introduction of new customs: and esteemed the violation of the laws of their country as likely to be the origin of very great mischiefs. 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 he had made in their government, introduced such customs as they had never been used to before: as indeed in pretence a king, but in reality one that shewed him-

self an enemy to their whole nation. On this account ten men, ~~that~~ were citizens of Jerusalem, conspired together against Herod, and swore to one another to undergo any dangers in the attempt; and took daggers with them, under their garments, for the purpose of killing him. Now there was a certain blind man among these conspirators, who had thus sworn, on account of the indignation he had against what he heard to have been done. He was not indeed able to afford the rest any great assistance in this undertaking; but was ready to undergo any suffering with them, in the event of their sustaining any harm; inso-much that he became a very great encourager of the rest of the undertakers.

When they had taken this resolution, they went up into the theatre; hoping that Herod himself could not escape them, as they should fall upon him so unexpectedly; and supposing that if they missed of 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 order to suggest to the king what injuries he had done to the multitude. These conspirators standing thus previously prepared, went about their design with great alacrity. But there was one of those spies of Herod's that were appointed to 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. So when he reflected on the hatred which he knew the majority of the people bore 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; and called those that were accused of this 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 ends with all the decency they could; and so as not to recede from their resolute behaviour. For they shewed no shame for what they were about; nor denied it: but when they were seized, they shewed their daggers, and professed that the conspiracy they had sworn to was a holy and a pious action; that what they intended to do was not for gain, nor out of any indulgence to their passions; but principally for those common customs of their country, which all the Jews were obliged to observe, or to die for them. This was 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 them; and patiently underwent all the torments 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 him, and was not only slain by them, but pulled to pieces limb from limb, and given to the dogs. This action was seen by many of the citizens; yet would not one of them discover the perpetrators 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 the fact were then so terribly punished by the king, that their entire families were destroyed for this rash attempt. Yet did not the obstinacy of the people, and that undaunted constancy they shewed in the defence of their laws, make Herod any easier to them; but he still strengthened himself after a more secure manner, and resolved to encompass the multitude every way, lest such innovations should terminate in an open rebellion.

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 rebuilt by himself; he contrived to make Samaria a fortress for himself also against 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 fortified that place, which was a day's journey distant from Jerusalem: and which would therefore, be useful to him in common, to keep both the country and the city in awe. He also built another fortress for the whole nation. It was anciently called Strato's tower, but was by him named Cæsarea. He chose out some select horsemen, and placed them in the great plain; and built for them a place in Galilee, called Gaba;* with Hesebonitis in Perea. And these were the places which he particularly built. While he was always inventing somewhat farther 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 tumults; which they did continually upon any small commotion; and that if they did make any commotions, he might know of it; while some of his spies might be upon them from the neighbourhood, and might both

* Perhaps Gamala.

be able to know what they were attempting, and to prevent it. And when he went about building the walls of Samaria, he contrived to bring thither many of those that had been assisting to him in his wars; and many of the people in that neighbourhood, whom he made fellow citizens with the rest. This he did out of an ambitious desire of building a temple; and out of a desire to make the city more eminent than it had been before; but principally because he contrived that it might at once be for his own security, and a monument of his magnificence. He also changed its name; and called it Sebaste;* and parted the adjoining country, which was excellent in its kind, among the inhabitants of Samaria, that they might be in a happy condition, upon their first coming to inhabit. Besides this he encompassed the city with a wall, of great strength; and made use of the acclivity of the place for making his fortifications stronger. Nor was the compass of 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 about the middle of it, he built a sacred place, of a furlong and a half in circuit, and adorned it with all sorts of decorations; and therein erected a temple, which was illustrious on account of both its largeness and beauty. And as to the several parts of the city, he adorned them with decorations of all sorts also; and made the walls very strong for his own security, and made it, for the greatest part, a citadel: and as to the elegance of the buildings, it was taken care of also; that he might leave monuments of his taste and beneficence to future ages.

CHAP. IX.

OF THE FAMINE THAT HAPPENED IN JUDEA AND SYRIA; HEROD'S MARRIAGE WITH SIMON'S DAUGHTER; AND THE REBUILDING OF CÆSAREA, AND OTHER GRECIAN CITIES.

NOW on this year, which was the thirteenth of the reign of Herod, very great calamities came upon the country. Whether they were derived from the anger of God, or whether† this

* Augusta, in honour of Augustus Cæsar.

† Here we have an eminent example of the language of Josephus in his writing to Gentiles different from that when he wrote to the Jews. In his writing to whom

misery return 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 food which the want of corn occasioned, produced distempers in the bodies of men; and a pestilential disease prevailed; one misery following upon the back of another. And these circumstances that they were destitute both of methods of cure, and of food, made the pestilential distemper, which began after a violent manner, the more lasting. The destruction of men also after such a manner deprived those that had survived of all their courage; because they had no way to provide remedies sufficient for the distresses they were in. When therefore the fruits of that year were spoiled, and whatsoever they had previously laid up was spent, there was no foundation of hope for relief remaining; but the misery, contrary to what they expected, still increased upon them. And this not only on that year, while they had nothing for themselves left at the end of it; but what seed they had sown perished also; by reason of the ground not yielding its fruits on the second* year. This distress obliged them also out of necessity to eat many things that did not use to be eaten. Nor was the king himself free from any distress any more than other men; as being deprived of that tribute he used to have from the fruits of the grounds; 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 of his assistance since this miserable state of things had procured him the ha-

he still derives all such judgments from the anger of God. But because he knew many of the Gentiles thought they might naturally come in certain periods, he complies with them in the following sentence. See the note On the War, I. 33.

* This famine for two years, that affected Judea and Syria, the 13th and 14th years of Herod: which are the 24th and 23d years before the Christian Era; seems to have been more terrible, during this time, than was that in the days of Jacob, Gen. xli. xlii. And what makes the comparison the more remarkable is this: that now, as well as then, the relief they had was from Egypt also; then from Joseph, the governor of Egypt under Pharaoh king of Egypt, and now from Petronius, the prefect of Egypt, under Augustus the Roman emperor. See almost the like case XX. 2 and 5. It is also worth our observation here, that these two years were a sabbatic year, and a year of Jubilee; for which Providence, during the theocracy, used to provide a triple crop beforehand: but became now, when the Jews had forfeited that blessing, the greatest years of famine to them ever since the days of Ahab. 1 Kings xvii. xviii.

ted of his subjects; for it is a constant rule that misfortunes are still laid to the account of those that govern.

In these circumstances he considered with himself how to procure some seasonable help. But this was a hard thing to be done: while their neighbours had no food to sell them, and their money also was gone; had it been possible to purchase a little food at a great price. However he resolved not to leave off his endeavours to assist his people. So he cut off the rich furniture that was in his palace, both of silver and gold; inso-much that he did not spare the finest vessels he had; or 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 Cæsar. And as not a few had already fled to him under their necessities; and as he was particularly a friend to Herod, and desirous to have his subjects preserved, 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 them what help they had. And Herod taking care the people should understand, that this help came from himself, did hereby not only remove the ill opinion of those that formerly hated him; but gave them the greatest possible demonstration of his good will. For in the first place, as for those who were able to provide their own food, he distributed to them their portion of corn in the exactest manner: but for those that were not able either by reason of their old age, or any other infirmity, to provide food for themselves, he made this provision for them; that the bakers should make their bread ready for them. He also took care that they might not be hurt by the dangers of winter, since they were in great want of clothing, by reason of the utter destruction of their sheep and goats till they had no wool to make use of; nor any thing else to cover themselves withal. And when he had procured these things for his own subjects, he went farther, in order to provide necessaries for their neighbours; and gave seed to the Syrians; which thing turned greatly to his own advantage also; this charitable assistance being afforded most seasonably to their fruitful soil: so that every-one had now a plentiful provision

* This Petronius, the prefect of Egypt, under Augustus Cæsar, is mentioned by Strabo, XVII. page 778, and by Dio Cassius, LIV. page 524, as Spanheim here informs us.

of food. Upon the whole, when the harvest of the land was approaching he sent no fewer than fifty thousand men, whom he had sustained, into the country. By which means he both repaired the afflicted condition of his own kingdom, with great generosity and diligence; and lightened the afflictions of his neighbours, who were under the same calamities. For there was nobody who had been in want that was left destitute of a suitable assistance by him. Nay farther, there were neither any people, cities, nor private men, who were to make provision for multitudes, and on that account were in want of support, and had recourse to him, but received what they stood in need of. Insomuch, that it appeared upon a computation, that the number of cori of wheat of ten Attic medimni a piece, that were given to foreigners, amounted to ten thousand; and the number that were given in his own kingdom was about eighty thousand. Now it happened, that this care and seasonable benefaction had such influence on the Jews, and was so extolled among other nations, as to wipe off that old hatred which his violation of some of their customs, during his reign, had procured him among all the nation, and that this liberality of his assistance in this their great necessity was a full satisfaction for all that he had done of that nature, as it also procured him great fame among foreigners. And it looked, as if these calamities, that afflicted his land to a degree plainly incredible, came in order to raise his glory, and to be to his great advantage. For the greatness of his liberality in these distresses which he now demonstrated beyond all expectation, did so change the disposition of the multitude towards him, that they were ready to suppose he had been from the beginning not such a one as they had found him to be by experience; but such a one as the care he had taken of them in supplying their necessities proved him now to be.

About this time he sent five hundred chosen men out of his body guards, as auxiliaries to Cæsar: whom Elius* Gallus led to the Red Sea: and who were of great service to him there. When therefore his affairs were thus improved, and again were in a flourishing condition, he built himself a palace in the upper

* This Elius Gallus seems to be no other than that Elius Largus, whom Dio speaks of, as conducting an expedition that was about this time made into Arabia Felix, LIII. according to Petavius: who is here cited by Spanheim. See a full account of this expedition in Prideaux, at the years 24 and 23.

city; raising the rooms to a very great height, and adorning them with the most costly furniture of gold, and marble seats, and beds; and these were so large, that they could contain many companies of men. These apartments were also of different sizes, and had particular names given them. For one apartment was called Cæsar's, another Agrippa's, &c. He also fell in love again, and married another wife: not suffering his reason to hinder him from living as he pleased. The occasion of this marriage was as follows. There was one Simon, a citizen of Jerusalem, the son of Boethus, a citizen of Alexandria, and a priest of great note there. This man had a daughter, who was esteemed the most beautiful woman of that time. And when the people of Jerusalem began to speak much in her commendation, it happened that Herod was much affected with what was said of her; and when he saw the damsel he was smitten with her beauty. Yet did he entirely reject the thoughts of using his authority to abuse her; as believing that by so doing he should be stigmatized for violence and tyranny. So he thought it best to take the damsel to wife. And while Simon was of a dignity too inferior to be allied to him; but still too considerable to be despised; he governed his inclinations after the most prudent manner, by augmenting the dignity of the family, and making them more honourable. Accordingly he deprived Jesus, the son of Phabet, of the high-priesthood; and conferred that dignity on Simon: and so joined in affinity with him by marrying his daughter.

When this wedding was over, Herod built another citadel, in that place where he had conquered the Jews, when he was driven out of his government, and Antigonus enjoyed it. This citadel is distant from Jerusalem about sixty furlongs. 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 of the shape of a woman's breast. It is encompassed with circular towers; and has a straight ascent to it; which is composed of two hundred steps of polished stones. Within it are royal and very rich apartments, of a structure that provided both for security and for beauty. About the bottom there are habitations of such a structure as are well worth seeing; both on other accounts, and also on account of the water which is brought thither from a great way off, and at vast expense; for the place itself is destitute of water. The plain that is about

this citadel is full of edifices, not inferior to any city in largeness: and having the hill above it in the nature of a castle.

And now, when all Herod's designs had succeeded according to his hopes, he had not the least suspicion that any troubles could arise in his kingdom: because he kept his people obedient, as well by the fear they stood in of him, (for he was implacable in the infliction of his punishments,) as by the provident care he had shewn towards them after the most magnanimous manner, when they were under their distresses. But still he took care to have external security for his government, as a fortress against his subjects. For the orations he made to the cities were very fine, and full of kindness: and he cultivated a good understanding with their governors, and bestowed presents on every one of them; inducing them thereby to be more friendly to him, and using his magnificent disposition so as his kingdom might be the better secured to him: and this till all his affairs were every way more and more augmented. But then this magnificent temper of his, and that submissive behaviour and liberality which he exercised towards Cæsar, and the most powerful men of Rome, obliged him to transgress the customs of his nation, and to set aside many of their laws: and by building cities after an extravagant manner, and erecting temples: not* in Judea indeed, for that would not have been permitted; it being forbidden us to pay any honour to images, or representations of animals, after the manner of the Greeks; but still he did thus in the country properly, out of our bounds, and in the cities thereof. The apology which he made to the Jews for these things was, that all was done, not out of his own inclinations, but by the commands and injunctions of others, in order to please Cæsar, and the Romans; as though he had not the Jewish customs so much in his eye, as he had the honour of those Romans; while yet he had himself entirely in view all the while: and indeed was very ambitious to leave great monuments of his government to posterity. Whence it was that he was so zealous in building such fine cities, and expended such vast sums of money upon them.

* One may here take notice, that how tyrannical and extravagant soever Herod were in himself, and in his Grecian cities, as to those plays, shews, and temples for idolatry, mentioned above, chap. 8, and here also, yet durst even he introduce very few of them into the cities of the Jews: who, as Josephus here notes, would not even then have permitted it; so zealous were they still for many of the laws of Moses, even under so tyrannical a government as this of Herod the Great.

Now upon* his noticing a place near the sea, which was very proper for containing a city, and was before called Strato's tower, he set about getting a plan for a magnificent city there; and erected many edifices of white stone, with great diligence all over it. He also adorned it with most sumptuous palaces, and large edifices for containing the people; and what was the greatest and most laborious work of all, he adorned it with a haven, that was always free from the waves of the sea. Its largeness was not less than the Pyræum, at Athens; and had towards the city a double station for the ships. It was of excellent workmanship; and this was the more remarkable for its being built in a place that of itself was not suitable to such noble structures, but was to be brought to perfection by materials from other places, and at very great expenses. This city is situate in Phœnicia, in the passage by sea to Egypt, between Joppa and Dora; which are lesser maritime cities, and not fit for havens, on account of the impetuous south winds that beat upon them; which rolling the sands that come from the sea against the shores, do not admit of ships lying in their station: but the merchants are generally there forced to ride at their anchors in the sea itself. So Herod endeavoured to rectify this inconvenience; and laid out such a compass towards the land, as might be sufficient for a haven, wherein the great ships might lie in safety. And this he effected by letting down vast stones of above fifty feet 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 those dimensions. This mole which he built by the seaside 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 Procymatia or the first breaker of the waves: but the other half had upon it a wall, with several towers: the largest of which was a work of very great excellence, and was called Drusus, from the son-in-law of Cæsar, who died young. There were a great number of arches where the mariners dwelt; and there was also before them a key, or landing place, which ran round the entire haven, and was a most agreeable walk. But the entrance or mouth of the port was made on the north quarter; on which side was the stillest of the winds of all in this place. And the basis of the whole circuit on the left hand, at

* An 22.

the entrance of the port, supported a round turret; which was made very strong, in order to resist the greatest waves; while on the right hand, stood two vast stones, and those each of them larger than the turret which was over against them. These stood upright, and were joined together. Now there were edifices all along the circular haven made of the finest stone; with a certain elevation, whereon was erected a temple, that was seen a great way off, by those that were sailing for that haven, and had in it two statues, the one of Rome, the other of Cæsar. As the city itself was called Cæsarea: which was also built of fine materials, and was of a fine structure. Nay, the very subterranean vaults and cellars had no less of architecture bestowed on them, than had the building above ground. Some of these vaults carried things at even distances, to the haven, and to the sea; but one of them ran obliquely, and bound all the rest together; that both the rain and the filth of the streets were together carried off with ease, and the sea itself, upon the flux of the tide from without, came into the city, and washed it all clean. Herod also built therein a theatre of stone: and on the south quarter, behind the port, he erected an amphitheatre, capable of holding a vast number of men, and conveniently situated for a prospect of the sea. So this city was thus finished in twelve* years; during which time the king did not fail both to go on with the work, and to pay the charges that were necessary.

CHAP. X.

OF ZENODORUS AND THE TRACHONITES; AND THE ACCUSATION BROUGHT AGAINST HEROD BY THE GADARENES.—ALSO OF THE PHARISEES, THE ESSENES, AND MANAHEM.

WHEN Herod had rebuilt Sabaste, or Samaria, he resolved to send his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome, to enjoy the company of Cæsar. Accordingly when they came thither,

* Cæsarea being here said to be rebuilt, and adorned in twelve years; and soon afterwards in ten years, XVI. 5. there must be a mistake in one of the places, as to the true number: but in which of them it is hard positively to determine. I prefer the latter reading: because in the 13th and 14th years of Herod's reign was the terrible famine in Judea: which would prevent any fulness of his treasury for some years: because then it will begin in his 18th year, when we know he had recovered himself enough to set about rebuilding the temple.

they were entertained at the house of Pollio,* who was very fond of Herod's friendship; and they had leave to lodge in Cæsar's own palace; for he received these sons of Herod with all humanity, and gave Herod permission to give his kingdom to which of his sons he pleased: and, besides all this, he bestowed on him Trachon, and Batanea, and Auranitis, on the following occasion. One Zenodorus† had hired what was called the house of Lysanias. But he was not satisfied with its revenues, he became a partner with the robbers who inhabited the Trachones; and so procured himself a larger income. For the inhabitants of those places lived in a mad way, and pillaged the country of the Damascenes; while Zenodorus did not restrain them, but partook of the prey they acquired. Now as the neighbouring people were hereby great sufferers, they complained to Varro, who was then president of Syria, and entreated him to write to Cæsar about this injustice of Zenodorus. When these matters were laid before Cæsar, he wrote back to Varro to destroy those nests of robbers, and to give the land to Herod; that by his care the neighbouring countries might be no longer disturbed with these doings of the Trachonites. For it was not an easy thing to restrain them: since this way of robbery had been their usual practice, and they had no other way to get their living; because they had neither any city of their own, nor lands in their possession; but only some receptacles and dens in the earth; and there they and their cattle lived in common together. However, they had made contrivances to get pools of water, and laid up corn in granaries for themselves; and were able to make great resistance, by issuing out suddenly against any that attacked them. For the entrances of their caves were narrow; in which but one could come at a time: and the places within incredibly large, 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 difficult to be entered upon; unless any one gets into the plain road, by the guidance of another. For

* This Pollio, with whom Herod's sons lived at Rome, was not Pollio, the Pharisee, already mentioned by Josephus, chap. 1, and again presently after this, chap. 10, but Asinius Pollio, the Roman.

† The character of this Zenodorus is so like that of a famous robber, of the same name in Strabo, and that about this very country, about this time also, that I think Dr. Hudson hardly needed to have put a perhaps to his determination that they were the same. See Strabo, XVI. page 756.

these roads are not straight, but have several revolutions. But when these men are hindered from their depredations upon their neighbours, their custom is to prey one upon another ; insomuch that no sort of injustice comes amiss to them. But when Herod had received this grant from Cæsar, 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 neighbouring people.

Hereupon Zenodorus was grieved, in the first place, because his principality was taken away from him ; and still more so, because he envied Herod, who had gotten it. So he went up to Rome to accuse him ; but returned back without success. Now Agrippa was, about this time, sent to succeed Cæsar in the government of the countries beyond the Ionian sea ; and Herod met with him when he was wintering about Mitylene ;* (for he had been his particular friend and companion ;) and then returned into Judea again. Some of the Gadarenes now came to Agrippa, and accused Herod ; but they were sent back bound to the king, without a hearing. The Arabians, however, who of old bare ill will to Herod's government, were incensed, and at that time attempted to raise a sedition in his dominions ; and, as they thought, upon a more justifiable occasion. For Zenodorus, despairing already of success as to his own affairs, prevented his enemies by selling to those Arabians a part of his principality, called Auranitis, for the value of fifty talents. But as this was included in the donation of Cæsar, they contested the point with Herod, as unjustly deprived of what they had bought. Sometimes they did this by making incursions upon his territories, sometimes by attempting force against him, and sometimes by going to law with him. They also persuaded the poorer soldiers to help them, and were troublesome to him ; out of a constant hope that they should induce 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 although Herod had been a great while apprised of these attempts ; yet did not he indulge any severity against them ; but by rational methods aimed to mitigate things as not willing to give any handle for tumults.

* These cities, Mitylene and Gadara, have both coins still extant ; as Spanheim here informs us.

Now* when Herod had reigned for seventeen years, Cæsar came into Syria: at which time the greatest part of the inhabitants of Gadara clamoured against Herod, as one that was heavy in his injunctions, and tyrannical. These reproaches they chiefly ventured upon by the encouragement of Zenodorus; who took his oath that he would never leave Herod till he had procured that they should be separated from Herod's kingdom, and joined to Cæsar's province. The Gadarenes were induced hereby, and made 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 the principal man in the world who appeared almost inexorable in punishing crime in his own family; but very generous in remitting the offences that were committed elsewhere. And while they accused Herod of injuries, and plunderings, and subversions of temples, he stood unconcerned, and was ready to make his defence. However, Cæsar gave him his right hand; and remitted nothing of his kindness to him, upon this disturbance by the multitude.— And indeed these things were alleged the first day: but the hearing proceeded no farther. For as the Gadarenes saw the inclination of Cæsar and of his assessors; and expected, as they had reason to do, that they should be delivered up to the king; some of them, out of a dread of the torments they might undergo, cut their own throats in the night, and some of them threw themselves down precipices; and others cast themselves into the river, and destroyed themselves of their own accord. Which accidents seemed a sufficient condemnation of the rashness and crimes they had been guilty of. Hereupon Cæsar made no longer delay, but cleared Herod from the crimes he was accused of. Another happy accident there was, which was a farther great 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 Antioch in Syria. So Cæsar bestowed his country upon Herod. It lay between Trachon and Galilee; and contained Ulatha, and Paneas, 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

* AD. 21.

governed the vast Roman empire, first Cæsar, and Agrippa, who was his principal favourite; Cæsar preferred no one to Herod, besides Agrippa: and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod, besides Cæsar. And when he had acquired such freedom, he begged of Cæsar a tetrarchy for* his brother Pheroras; while he did himself bestow upon him a revenue of a hundred talents, out of his own kingdom: that in case he came to any harm himself, his brother might be in safety; and that his sons might not have any dominion over him. So when he had conducted Cæsar to the sea, and was returned home, he built a most beautiful temple of the whitest stone, in Zenodorus's country, near the place called Penium. This is a very fine cave in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth; and the cavern is abrupt, and prodigiously deep, and full of still water. Over it hangs a vast mountain; and under the caverns arise the springs of the river Jordan. Herod adorned this place, which was already a very remarkable one still farther, by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Cæsar.

At this time Herod released to his subjects the third part of their taxes: under pretence indeed of relieving them, after the dearth they had had; but the main reason was, to recover their good will, which he now wanted. For they were uneasy because of the innovations he had introduced in their practices; of the dissolution of their religion; and of the disuse of their own customs. And the people every where talked against him, like those that were still more and more provoked and disturbed at his procedure. Against these discontents however, he greatly guarded himself, and took away the opportunities they might have to disturb him; and enjoined them to be always at work. Nor did he permit the citizens either to assemble, or to walk, or eat together; but watched every thing they did; and when any were caught, they were severely punished. And many there were who were brought to the citadel Hyrcania,

* A tetrarchy properly and originally denoted the fourth part of an entire kingdom, or country: and a tetrarch, one that was ruler of such a fourth part: which always implies somewhat less extent of dominion and power than belong to a kingdom, and to a king. But this first exactness has not always been adhered to in the use of these words, and Pliny reckons no fewer than six about Decapolis, as Noldius takes notice, *De Herod.* page 368. But that Zenodorus was once tetrarch or governor of Trachonitis, we learn from Dio; as Spanheim observes here. This tetrarchy of Pherora's was in Perea, beyond Jordan.

both openly and secretly; and were there put to death. And there were spies set every where, both in the city, and in the roads, who watched those that met together. Nay, it is reported, that he did not himself neglect this part of caution; but that he would oftentimes assume the habit of a private man, and mix among the multitude, in the night time: and make trial what opinion they had of his government. And as for those that could no way be reduced to acquiesce under his scheme of government he prosecuted them all manner of way. But for the rest of the multitude, he required that they should be obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him; and at the same time compelled them to swear that they would bear him good will, and continue certain 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 punishments, yielded to what he required. But for such as were of a more open and generous disposition, and had indignation at the force he used to them, he by one means or other made away with them. He endeavoured also to persuade Pollio, the Pharisee, and Sameans and the greatest part of their scholars to take the oath. But these would neither submit so to do; nor were they punished together with the rest, out of the reverence he bore to Pollio. The Essenes also, as we call a sect of ours, were excused from this imposition. These men live the same kind of life as do those whom the Greeks call Pythagoreans: concerning whom I shall discourse more fully elsewhere.* However, it is proper to set down here the reasons wherefore Herod had these Essenes in such honour, and thought higher of them than their mortal nature required. Nor will this account be unsuitable to the nature of this history; as it will shew the opinion men had of these Essenes.

Now there was one of these Essenes, whose name was Manahem; who had this testimony, that he not only conducted his life after an excellent manner, but had the foreknowledge of future events given by God. This man once saw 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 him, or that he was in jest, reminded him that he was but a private person. But Manahem smiled to himself, and clapped him on the back with his hand; and said, "However that be, thou wilt

* See Of the Wars Book ii. chap. 8.

be king, and wilt begin thy reign happily ; for God finds thee worthy of it, and do thou remember the blows that Manahem hath given thee ; as being a signal of the change of thy fortune. And truly this will be the best reasoning for thee ; that thou love justice towards men, and piety towards God, and clemency towards thy citizens. Yet do I know how thy whole conduct will be ; that thou wilt not be such an one. For thou wilt excel all men in happiness, and obtain an everlasting reputation ; but wilt forget piety and righteousness. And those crimes will not be concealed from God, at the conclusion of thy life ; when thou wilt find that he will be mindful of them, and punish thee for them." At that time Herod did not attend to what Manahem said : as having no hopes of such advancement. But a little afterward, when he was so fortunate as to be advanced to the dignity of king, and was in the height of his dominion, he sent for Manahem, and asked him, how long he should reign ? But Manahem did not tell him the full length of his reign. Wherefore, upon that silence of his, he asked him farther, whether he should reign ten years or not ? he replied, "Yes twenty, nay thirty years ;" but did not assign the just limit of his reign. Herod was satisfied with these replies : and gave Manahem his hand, and dismissed him : and from that time he continued to honour all the Essenes. We have thought it proper to relate these facts to our readers, how strange soever they be ; and to declare what hath happened among us ; because many of these Essenes have, by their excellent virtue, been thought worthy of this knowledge of divine revelation.

CHAP. XI.

OF THE REBUILDING AND BEAUTIFYING OF THE TEMPLE ; AND OF THE TOWER OF ANTONIA.

IN the eighteenth year of his reign, and after the acts already mentioned, Herod undertook to rebuild of himself the temple*

* Of this temple of Herod, see my description of the Jewish temples, in the scheme relating to this work, chap. 15. Only we may here farther observe, that the fancy of the modern Jews, in calling this, which was really the third of their temple, the second temple, followed so long by later Christians seems to be without any solid foundation. The reason why the Christians here follow the Jews is because of the prophecy of Haggai, ii. 6—9, which they expound of the Messiah's coming to the second or Zorobabel's temple ; of which they suppose this of He-

of God, and make it larger in compass, and to raise it to a most magnificent altitude; as esteeming it to be the most glorious of all his actions as it really was, to bring it to perfection; and that this would be sufficient for an everlasting memorial of him. But as he knew the multitude were not ready nor willing to assist in so vast a design; he thought it advisable to prepare them first by making a speech to them; and then to set about the work itself. So he called them together, and spake thus:

“I think I need not remind you my countrymen, of 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 for myself. For I have neither been negligent in the most difficult times about what tended to ease your necessities: nor have the buildings I have made been so proper to preserve me, as yourselves, from injuries. And I imagine that, with God’s assistance, I have advanced the nation of the Jews to a degree of happiness which they never had before. And for the particular edifices belonging to your own country and your own cities; as also to those cities that we have lately acquired, which we have erected, and greatly adorned, and thereby augmented the dignity of your nation; it seems to me a needless task to enumerate them; 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 to you. Our fathers indeed, when they returned from Babylon, built this temple to God Almighty. Yet does it want sixty cubits of its largeness in altitude; for so much did that first temple which Solomon built exceed this temple. Nor let any one condemn our fathers for their negligence or want of piety 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 measures for its rebuilding. And it hath been by reason of the subjection of those fathers of ours to them and to their posterity, and after them to the Macedonians, that they

rod’s to be only a continuation, which is meant, I think, of his coming to the fourth and last temple, or to that future largest and most glorious one described by Ezekiel. Whence I take the former notion, how general soever, to be a great mistake. See the testament of Benjamin, § in the Authent. Rec. pag 406, and Lit. Accompl. of Proph. page 24, 25.

had not the opportunity to follow the original model of this sacred edifice; nor could raise it to its ancient altitude. But since I am now, by God's will, your governor; 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 in amity with and well regarded by, the Romans; who, if I may so say, are the rulers of the whole world; I will do my endeavour to correct that imperfection, which hath arisen from the necessity of our affairs, and the slavery we have been under formerly, and to make a thankful return, after 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."

This speech, however, affrighted many of the people, as being unexpected; and because it seemed incredible, it put a damp upon them; for they were afraid that he would pull down the whole edifice, and not be able to bring his intentions to perfection for its rebuilding. And this danger appeared to them to be very great; and the vastness of the undertaking to be such as could hardly be accomplished. But while they were in this disposition, the king told them, he would not pull down their temple till all things were prepared for the building it up again. And as he promised them this beforehand, so he did not break his word; but got ready a thousand wagons, that were to bring stones for the building; and chose out ten thousand of the most skilful workmen, and brought a thousand sacerdotal garments, for as many of the priests; and had some of them taught the art of stone-cutters, and others of carpenters, and then began to build: but not till every thing was well prepared for the work.

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. And this

* Some of our modern students in architecture have made a strange blunder here; when they imagine, that Josephus affirms the entire foundations of the temple, or holy house, sunk down into the rocky mountain, on which it stood, no less than 20 cubits. See Lamy de Templo, page 1083. Whereas it is clear, that they were the foundations of the additional 20 cubits only, above the hundred; (made perhaps weak on purpose, and only for shew and grandeur,) that sunk or fell down; as Dr. Hudson rightly understands him. Nor is the thing itself possible in the other sense. Agrippa's preparation for building the inner parts of the temple 20 cubits higher, history Of the War, V. 1. must, in all probability, refer to

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: their length was twenty-five cubits, their height was eight, and their breadth about twelve. And the whole structure, as was also the structure of the royal cloister, was on each side lower; but the middle was much higher; till they were visible to those that dwell in the country 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 with the temple itself. They were adorned with their embroidered veils, with their flowers of purple, and pillars interwoven. And over these, but under the crown-work, was spread out a golden vine, with its branches, hanging down from a considerable height; the largeness and fine workmanship of which was a surprising sight to the spectators; to see what vast materials were there, and with what great skill the workmanship was executed. He also encompassed the entire temple with very large cloisters; contriving them to be in a due proportion thereto; and he expended larger sums of money upon them than had been done before him; till it seemed that no one else had so greatly adorned the temple as he had done. There was a large wall to both the cloisters; which wall was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky ascent, that declined by degrees towards the east parts of the city, till it came to an elevated level. 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 built a wall below, beginning at the bottom; which was encompassed by a deep valley. And at the south side he laid rocks together, and bound them to each other with lead; and included some of the inner parts, till it proceeded to a great height; and till both the largeness of the square edifice, and its altitude were immense: and till the vastness of the stones in the front were plainly visible on the outside; yet so, that the inward parts were fastened together with iron, and preserved the joints immovable for all future

this matter: since Josephus says here, 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; appears by the parallel place, XX. 9 and other places, to be meant only, the first of Davtd's posterity, and the first builder of the temple.

* See Book XVIII. chap. 4.

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; he wrought it all into one outward surface, and filled up the hollow places which were about the wall, and made it a level on the external 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 top of all, there ran another wall of stone also: having on the east quarter, a double cloister, of the same length with the wall: in the midst of which was the temple itself. This cloister looked to the gates of the temple: and it had been adorned by many kings in former times. And round about the entire temple were fixed the spoils taken from barbarous nations. All these had been dedicated to the temple by Herod; with the addition of those he had taken from the Arabians.

Now on the north side of the temple was built a citadel, whose walls were square and strong, and of extraordinary firmness. This citadel was built by the kings of the Asmonean race, who were also high-priests, before Herod: and they called it the tower: in which were deposited the vestments of the high-priest which the high-priest only put on at the time when he was to offer sacrifice. These vestments king Herod kept in that place; and after his death they were under the power of the Romans, until the time of Tiberius Cæsar. Under whose reign Vitellius, the president of Syria, when he once came to Jerusalem, and had been most magnificently received by the multitude, he had a mind to make them some requital for the kindness they had shewn him. So, upon their petition to have those holy vestments in their own power, he wrote about them to Tiberius Cæsar; who granted his request. And this their power over the sacerdotal vestments continued with the Jews until the death of king Agrippa. But after that, Cassius Longinus, who was president of Syria; and Cuspius Fadus, who was procurator of Judea, enjoined the Jews to deposit those vestments in the tower of Antonia: for that they ought to have them in their power, as they formerly had. However, the Jews sent ambassadors to Claudius Cæsar, to intercede with him for them. Upon whose coming, king Agrippa junior being then at Rome, asked for and obtained the power over them from the emperor: who gave the command to Vitellius, 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, the day before a festival, went up to 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 it to the same place, and shewed the captain of the temple guards their seal, which corresponded with his own, and deposited them there. And that these things were so, the afflictions that happened to us afterwards about them are sufficient evidence. But for the tower itself, when Herod the king of the Jews had fortified it more firmly than before, in order to secure and guard the temple, he gratified Antonius, who was his friend, and the Roman ruler; and he then gave it the name of the tower of Antonia.

Now in the western quarters of inclosure of the temple, there were four gates. The first led to the king's palace, and went to a passage over the intermediate valley; two more led to the suburbs of the city; and the last led to the other city, where the road descended down into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again by the ascent. For the city lay over against the temple, in the manner of a theatre, and was encompassed with a deep valley, along the entire south quarter. But the fourth front of the temple, which was southward, had indeed itself gates* in its middle; as also it had the royal cloisters, with three walks, which reached in length from the east valley, unto that on the west: for it was impossible it should reach any farther. And this cloister deserves to be mentioned better than any other under the sun. For while the valley was very deep, and its bottom could not be seen, if you looked from above into the depth, this farther vastly high elevation of the cloister stood upon that height: insomuch that if any one looked down from the top of the battlements or down both those altitudes, he would be giddy; while his sight could not reach to such an immense depth. This cloister had pillars that stood in four rows, one over against the other all along; for the fourth row was interwoven into the wall, which also was built of stone. And the thickness of each pillar was such, that three men might, with their arms extended, fathom it round, and join their hands again: while its length was twenty-seven feet, with a double spiral at its basis. And the num-

* The number of these gates is wanting.

ber of all the pillars in that court was a hundred and sixty-two. Their chapiters were adorned with sculptures, after the Corinthian order; and caused an amazement to the spectators, by reason of the grandeur of the whole. These four rows of pillars included three intervals for walking in the middle of this cloister. Two of which walks were made parallel to each other, and were contrived after the same manner: the breadth of each of them was thirty feet; the length was a furlong;* and the height fifty feet. But the breadth of the middle part of the cloister was one and a half of the breadth of the other; and the height was double; for it was much higher than those on each side. But the roofs were adorned with deep sculptures in wood; representing many sorts of figures. The middle was much higher than the rest; and the wall of the front was adorned with beams, resting upon pillars, that were interwoven into it; and that front was all of polished stone; insomuch that its fineness, to such as had not seen it, was incredible; and such as had seen it, was greatly amazing. Thus was the first inclosure. In the midst of which, and not far from it, was the second; to be gone up to by a few steps. This was encompassed by a stone wall, for a partition; with an inscription, which forbade any foreigner to go in under pain of death. Now this inner inclosure had on its southern and northern quarters three gates, equi-distant from each other. But on the east quarter, towards the sun-rising, there was one large gate: through which such as were pure came in together with their wives. But the temple farther inward in that gate was not allowed to the women. But still more inward was there a third court of the temple, whereinto it was not lawful for any but the priests alone to enter. The temple itself was within this; and before that temple was the altar; upon which we offer our sacrifices and burnt-offerings to God. Into† none of these three did Herod enter: for he was forbidden; because he was not a priest. However, he took care of the cloisters, and the outer inclosures; and these he built in eight years.

* Four hundred cubits, each cubit about twenty-one inches.

† Into none of these three did king Herod enter, i. e. 1. Not into the court of the priests: 2. Nor into the holy house itself: 3. Nor in the separate place belonging to the altar; as the words following imply. For none but the priest, or their attendants the Levites, might come into any of them. See XVI. 4 Where Herod goes into the temple, and makes a speech in it to the people. But that could only be into the court of Israel; whither the people could come to hear him.

But the temple itself was built by the priests in a year and six months. Upon which all the people were full of joy: and presently they returned thanks, in the first place to God, and in the next place, for the alacrity the king had shewed. They feasted and celebrated this rebuilding of the temple. And the king sacrificed three hundred oxen to God; as did the rest, every one according to his ability. The number of which sacrifices it is not possible to set down; for it cannot be that we should truly relate it. For at the same time was this celebrations for the work about the temple, fell also the day of the king's inauguration; which he kept of an old custom as a festival; and it now coincided with the other. Which coincidence of them both made the festival most illustrious.

There was also an occult passage built for the king; which led from Antonio to the inner temple, at its eastern gate. Over this he also erected for himself a tower; that he might have an opportunity of a subterraneous ascent to the temple, in order to guard against any sedition which might be made by the people against their kings. It is also reported,* that during the time the temple was building, it did not rain in the day time; but that the showers fell only in the night; so that the work was not hindered. And this our fathers have delivered to us. Nor is it incredible; if any one have regard to the other manifestations of God. And thus was performed the work of the rebuilding of the temple.

* This tradition, which Josephus here mentions, as delivered down from their 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 46 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.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE BINDER.

1. Haman at the feet of Queen Esther to face	
2. Triumph of Mordecai,	
3. Elijah fed by Ravens,	80
4. Ahab Slain,	101
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