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Josephus released by Vespasian.

THE
GENUINE WORKS OF
Flavius Josephus
by the Late
WM. WHISTON, M.A.
Revised & Illustrated with Notes
by the Revd
SAM^L BURDER, A.M.
IN FOUR VOLUMES.
Vol. 4.



Triumph of Titus.

NEW YORK

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THE
GENUINE WORKS
OF
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 AND 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.
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THE
JEWISH WAR.

BOOK II.

Containing an Interval of Sixty-nine Years.

CHAP. XVIII.

OF THE CALAMITIES AND SLAUGHTERS THAT CAME UPON THE
JEWS.

NOW the people of Cæsarea had slain the Jews that were among them on the very same day and hour when the soldiers were slain. Which one would think must have come to pass by the direction of Providence. Insomuch that in one hour's time, above twenty thousand Jews were killed; and all Cæsarea was emptied of its Jewish inhabitants. For Florus caught such as ran away, and sent them in bonds to the galleys. Upon this stroke which the Jews received at Cæsarea, the whole nation was greatly enraged. So they divided themselves into several parties, and laid waste the villages of the Syrians, and their neighbouring cities, Philadelphia, Sebonitis, Gerasa, Pella, and Scythopolis; and after them Gadara, and Hippos. And falling upon Gaulanitis, they destroyed some cities there, and set others on fire; and then went to Kedasa, belonging to the Tyrians, and to Ptolemais, and to Gaba, and to Cæsarea. Nor was either *Sebaste, or Askelon able to oppose the violence with which they were attacked. And when they had burnt these to the ground, they entirely demolished Anthedon and Gaza. Many also of the villages that were about

* Samaria

every one of these cities were plundered ; and an immense slaughter was made of the men who were caught in them.

However, the Syrians equalled the Jews in the multitude of the men whom they slew. For they killed those whom they caught in their cities : and that not only out of the hatred they bare them, as formerly, but to prevent the danger under which they were from them, so that the disorders in all Syria were terrible ; and every city was divided into two armies, encamped one against another. And the preservation of the one party was in the destruction of the other. So the day time was spent in shedding of blood ; and the night in fear, which was of the two the more terrible. For when the Syrians thought they had ruined the Jews, they had the Judaizers in suspicion also. And as each side did not care to slay those whom they only suspected on the other, so did they greatly fear them, when they were mingled with the other, as if they were certainly foreigners. Greediness of gain was also a provocation to kill the opposite party, even to such as had formerly appeared very mild and gentle towards them. For they without fear plundered the effects of the slain, and carried off the spoils of those whom they slew to their own houses, as if they had been gained in a pitched battle. And he was a man of honour who got the greatest share, as having prevailed over the greatest number of his enemies. It was then common to see cities filled with dead bodies, still lying unburied ; and those of old men, mixed with infants, all dead and scattered about together. Women also lay amongst them, without any covering. The whole province was indeed full of inexpressible calamities ; while the dread of still more barbarous practices which were threatened, were every where greater than what had been already perpetrated.

Thus far the conflict had been between Jews and foreigners. But when they made excursions to Scythopolis, they found Jews that acted as enemies. For as they stood in battle array with those of Scythopolis, and preferred their own safety before their relation to us, they fought against their own countrymen. Nay, their alacrity was so very great, that those of Scythopolis suspected them. These were afraid, therefore, lest they should make an assault upon the city in the night time ; and to their great misfortune, should therefore make an apology for themselves to their

own people for their revolt from them. So they commanded them, that in case they would confirm their agreement, and demonstrate their fidelity to them, who were of a different nation, they should go out of the city, with their families, into a neighbouring grove. And when they had done as they were commanded, without suspecting any thing, the people of Scythopolis lay still for the interval of two days, to tempt them to be secure. But on the third night they watched their opportunity and cut all their throats : some, as they lay unguarded, and some as they lay asleep. The number that was slain was above thirteen thousand : and then they plundered them all of what they had.

It will now deserve our relation what befell Simon. He was the son of one Saul, a man of reputation among the Jews. This man was distinguished from the rest by the strength of his body, and the boldness of his conduct ; although he abused them both to the injury of his countrymen. For he came every day, and slew a great many of the Jews of Scythopolis : and he frequently put them to flight, and became himself alone the cause of his army's conquering. But a just punishment overtook him for the murders he had committed upon those of the same nation with him. For when the people of Scythopolis threw darts at them in the grove, he drew his sword, but did not attack any of the enemy. For he saw that he could do nothing against such a multitude. But he cried out after a very moving manner, and said, "O ye people of Scythopolis, I deservedly suffer for what I have done with relation to you, when I gave you such security of my fidelity, by slaying so many of those that were related to me. Wherefore we very justly experience the perfidiousness of foreigners, while we acted after a most wicked manner against our own nation. I will therefore die, polluted wretch as I am, by mine own hands. For it is not fit I should die by the hand of our enemies. And let the same action be to me both a punishment for my great crimes, and a testimony of my courage to my condemnation ; that so no one of our enemies may have it to boast of, that he slew me ; and no one may insult upon me as I fall." Now when he had said this, he looked round upon his family with eyes of commiseration and of rage. That family consisted of a wife and children, and his aged parents. So in the first place he caught his father by his

gray hairs, and ran his sword through him : and after that he did the like to his wife and children : every one almost offering themselves to his sword ; as desirous to prevent being slain by their enemies. So when he had gone over all his family, he stood upon their bodies to be seen by all ; and stretching out his right hand to be observed by all, he sheathed his entire sword in his own bowels. This young man was to be pitied on account of the strength of his body, and the courage of his soul. But since he had assured foreigners of his fidelity against his own countrymen, he suffered deservedly.

Besides this murder at Scythopolis, the other cities rose against the Jews that were among them. Those of Ascalon slew two thousand five hundred ; and those of Ptolemais two thousand ; and put not a few into bonds. Those of Tyre also put a great number to death ; but kept a great number in prison. Moreover, those of Hippos, and those of Gadara, did the like : while they put to death the boldest of the Jews ; but kept those of whom they were afraid in custody. As did the rest of the cities of Syria : according as they every one either hated them, or were afraid of them. Only the Antiochians, the Sidonians, and Apamians, spared those that dwelt with them : and would not endure either to kill any of the Jews, or put them in bonds. And perhaps they spared them, because their own number was so great, that they despised their attempts. But I think the greatest part of this favour was owing to their commiseration of those whom they saw to make no innovations. As for the Gerasens, they did no harm to those that abode with them ; and for those who had a mind to go away, they conducted them as far as their borders reached.

There was also a plot laid against the Jews in Agrippa's kingdom. For he was himself gone to Cestius Gallus, to Antioch ; but had left the care of the public affairs to one of his companions, named Noarus : who was of kin to king *Sohemus. Now there came seventy men, out of Batanea ; who were the most considerable, for their families and prudence, of the rest of the people.

* Of this Sohemus we have mention made by Tacitus. We also learn from Dio, that his father was king of the Arabians of Iturea : [which Iturea is mentioned by St. Luke, iii. 1.] both whose testimonies are quoted here by Dr. Hudson. See Io, 371.

These desired to have an army put into their hands : that if any tumult should happen they might have about them a guard sufficient to restrain such as might rise up against them. But Neorus sent out some of the king's armed men by night, and slew all those men. Which bold action he ventured upon without the consent of Agrippa : and was such a lover of money, that he chose to be so wicked to his own countrymen, though he brought ruin upon the the kingdom thereby. And thus cruelly did he treat that nation, and this contrary to the laws also, until Agrippa was informed of it. Who did not indeed dare to put him to death, out of regard to Sohemus ; but still he put an end to his procuratorship immediately. But as to the seditious, they took the citadel which was called Cypros, and was above Jericho : and cut the throats of the garrison ; and utterly demolished the fortifications. This was about the same time that the multitude of the Jews that were at Macherus persuaded the Romans, who were in garrison, to leave the place, and deliver it up to them. These Romans being in great fear, lest the place should be taken by force, made an agreement with them to depart, upon certain conditions. And when they had obtained the security they desired, they delivered up the citadel. Into which the people of Macherus put a garrison for their own security, and held it in their own power.

But for Alexandria, the sedition of the people of the place against the Jews was perpetual, and this from that very time when Alexander the Great, upon finding the readiness of the Jews in assisting him against the Egyptians, and as a reward for their assistance, gave them equal privileges in this city with the Grecians themselves. This honorary reward continued among them under his successors : who also set apart for them a particular place, that they might live without being polluted by the Gentiles ; and were thereby not so much intermixed with foreigners as before. They also gave them this farther privilege, that they should be called Macedonians. Nay, when the Romans got possession of Egypt, neither the first Cæsar, nor any one that came after him, thought of diminishing the honours which Alexander had bestowed on the Jews. But still conflicts perpetually arose with the Grecians : and although the governors did every day punish many of them, yet did the sedition grow worse. But at

this time especially, when there were tumults in other places also, the disorders among them were put into a greater flame. For when the Alexandrians had once a public assembly, to deliberate about an ambassage they were sending to Nero, a great number of the Jews came flocking to the theatre. But when their adversaries saw them, they immediately cried out, and called them their enemies, and said they came as spies. Upon which they rushed out, and laid violent hands upon them. And as for the rest, they were slain as they ran away. But there were three men whom they caught, and hauled along, in order to have them burnt alive. But all the Jews came in a body to defend them: who at first threw stones at the Grecians; but after that they took lamps, and rushed with violence into the theatre, and threatened that they would burn the people to a man. And this they had soon done, unless Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had restrained their passion. However, this man did not begin to teach them wisdom by arms; but sent among them privately some of the principal men, and thereby entreated them to be quiet, and not provoke the Roman army against them. But the seditious made a jest of the entreaties of Tiberius, and reproached him for so doing.

Now when he perceived that those that were for innovations would not be pacified, till some great calamity should overtake them, he sent out upon them those two Roman legions, that were in the city; and together with them five thousand other soldiers, who, by chance, were come thither out of Libya, to the ruin of the Jews. They were also permitted not only to kill them, but to plunder them of what they had, and to set fire to their houses. These soldiers rushed violently into that part of the city that was called Delta, where the Jewish people lived together; and did as they were bidden; though not without bloodshed on their own side also. For the Jews got together, and set those that were the best armed among them in the forefront, and made resistance for a great while. But when once they gave back, they were destroyed unmercifully: and their destruction was complete: some being caught in the open fields, and others forced into their houses: which houses were first plundered of what was in them, and then set on fire by the Romans. Wherein no mercy was showed to the infants, and no regard had to the aged: but they went on in the

slaughter of persons of every age, till all the place was overflowed with blood; and fifty thousand of them lay dead upon heaps. Nor had the remainder been preserved, had they not betaken themselves to supplication. So Alexander commiserated their condition, and gave orders to the Romans to retire. Accordingly, these being accustomed to obey orders, left off killing at the first intimation. But the populace of Alexandria bore so very great hatred to the Jews, that it was difficult to recall them; and it was a hard thing to make them leave their dead bodies.

And this was the miserable calamity which at this time befell the Jews at Alexandria. Hereupon Cestius thought fit no longer to lie still, while the Jews were every where up in arms. So he took out of Antioch the twelfth legion; and out of each of the rest he selected two thousand; with six cohorts of footmen, and four troops of horsemen; besides those auxiliaries which were sent by the kings. Of which *Antiochus sent two thousand horsemen, and three thousand footmen: with as many archers: and Agrippa sent the same number of footmen, and one thousand horsemen. Sohemus also followed with four thousand: a third part whereof were horsemen, but most part were archers. And thus did he march to Ptolemais. There were also great numbers of auxiliaries gathered together from the free cities; who had not indeed the same skill in martial affairs, but made up in their alacrity, and in their hatred to the Jews, what they wanted in skill. There came also along with Cestius, Agrippa himself; both as a guide in his march over the country, and a director of what was fit to be done. So Cestius took part of his forces, and marched hastily to Zabulon; a strong city of Galilee, which was called the city of men, and divides the country of Ptolemais from our nation. This he found deserted by its inhabitants, the multitude having fled to the mountains; but full of all sorts of good things. Those he gave leave to the soldiers to plunder, and set fire to the city; although it were of admirable beauty, and had its houses built like those in Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus. After this he overran all

* Spanheim notes on the place, that this later Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, is mentioned by Dio, LIX. page 645, and that he is mentioned by Josephus elsewhere twice also, V. 11. and Antiq. XIX. 8.

the country, and seized upon whatsoever came in his way, and set fire to the villages that were round about them ; and then returned to Ptolemais. But when the Syrians, and especially those of Berytus, were busy in plundering, the Jews resumed their courage ; for they knew that Cestius was retired ; and fell upon those that were left behind unexpectedly, and destroyed about two thousand of them.

Now Cestius himself marched from Ptolemais, and came to Cæsarea. But he sent part of his army before him to Joppa : and gave order, that if they could take that city by surprise they should keep it ; but that in case the citizens should perceive they were coming to attack them, they then should stay for him, and for the rest of the army. So some of them made a brisk march by the sea-side, and some by land, and so coming upon them on both sides, they took the city with ease. And as the inhabitants had made no provision beforehand for a flight, nor had gotten any thing ready for fighting ; the soldiers fell upon them, and slew them all, with their families ; and then plundered and burnt the city. The number of the slain was eight thousand four hundred. In like manner Cestius sent also a considerable body of horsemen to the toparchy of *Narbatene, that adjoined to Cæsarea : who destroyed the country, and slew a great multitude of its people. They also plundered what they had, and burnt their villages.

But Cestius sent Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee ; and delivered to him as many of his forces as he supposed sufficient to subdue that nation. He was received by the strongest city of Galilee, which was Sepphoris, with acclamations of joy. Which wise conduct of that city occasioned the rest of the cities to be in quiet. While the seditious part, and the robbers, ran away to the mountain Asamon, which lies in the very middle of Galilee, and is situate over against Sepphoris. So Gallus brought his forces against them. But while those men were in the superior parts above the Romans, they easily threw their darts upon them as they made their approaches ; and slew about two hundred of them. But when the Romans had gone round the mountains, and were gotten into the parts above their enemies,

* See chap. 14.

the others were soon beaten. Nor could they who had only light armour on sustain the force of them that fought them armed all over. Nor when they were beaten could they escape the enemy's horsemen. Insomuch that only some few concealed themselves in certain places hard to be come at, among the mountains, while the rest, above two thousand in number, were slain.

CHAP. XIX.

OF WHAT CESTIUS DID AGAINST THE JEWS ; HIS INVESTMENT OF JERUSALEM ; AND THE CALAMITIES HE UNDERWENT IN HIS RETREAT.

NOW Gallus, seeing nothing more that looked towards an innovation in Galilee, returned with his troops to Cæsarea. But Cestius removed with his whole army, and marched to *Antipatris. And when he was informed that there was a great body of Jewish forces gotten together in a certain tower called †Aphek, he sent a party before to fight them. But this party dispersed the Jews by affrighting them, before it came to a battle. So they came, and finding their camp deserted, they burnt it, as well as the villages that lay about it. But when Cestius had marched from Antipatris to Lydda, he found the city empty of its men. For the †whole multitude were gone up to Jerusalem to the feast of tabernacles. Yet did he destroy fifty of those that showed themselves, and burnt the city, and so marched forwards. And

* In the road to Jerusalem.

† See Antiquities, VIII 14.

‡ Here we have an eminent example of that Jewish language, which Dr. Wall truly observes we several times find used in the sacred writings ; I mean where the words all, or whole multitude, &c. are used for much the greatest part only ; but not so as to include every person, without exception. For when Josephus had said, that the whole multitude, [all the males,] of Lydda were gone to the feast of tabernacles, he immediately adds, that however no fewer than fifty of them appeared, and were slain by the Romans. Other examples somewhat like this I have observed elsewhere in Josephus : but I think, none so remarkable as this. See Wall's Critical Observations on the Old Testament, page 49, 50.

We have also here two eminent facts to be observed, viz. the first example, that I remember, in Josephus, of the onset of the Jews' enemies upon their country when their males were gone up to Jerusalem, to one of their three sacred festivals : which during the theocracy, God had promised to preserve them from, *Exod. xxxiv. 24.*

ascending by *Bethoron, he pitched his camp at a certain place called †Gabao; fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem.

But as for the Jews, when they saw the war approaching to their metropolis, they left the feast, and betook themselves to their arms. And taking courage greatly from their multitude, they went in a sudden and disorderly manner to the fight, with a great noise; and without any consideration of the rest of the seventh day: although the sabbath was the day to which they had the greatest regard. But that rage which made them forget their religious observance of the sabbath, made them too hard for their enemies in the fight. With such violence, therefore, did they fall upon the Romans, as to break into their ranks, and to march through the midst of them; making a great slaughter as they went. Insomuch, that unless the horsemen, and such part of the footmen as were not yet tired in the action had wheeled round, and succoured that part of the army which was not yet broken, Cestius, with his whole army, had been in danger. However, five hundred and fifteen of the Romans were slain: of which number four hundred were footmen, and the rest horsemen: while the Jews lost only twenty-two. Of whom the most valiant were the kinsmen of ‡Monobazus, king of Adiabene: and their names were Monobazus, and Kenedeus. And next to them were Niger of Perea, and Silas of Babylon; who had deserted from king Agrippa to the Jews. For he had formerly served in his army. When the front of the Jewish army had been cut off, the Jews retired into the city. But still Simon, the son of Giora, fell upon the backs of the Romans, as they were ascending up Bethoron, and put the hindmost of the army into disorder; and carried off many of the beasts that carried the weapons of war; and led them into the city. But as Cestius tarried there three days, the Jews seized upon the elevated parts of the city, and set watches at the entran-

The second fact is, the breach of the Sabbath by the seditious Jews in an offensive fight; contrary to the universal doctrine and practice of their nation in these ages; and even contrary to what they themselves afterward practised in the rest of this war. See the note on Antiq. XVI. 2.

* See Chap. 12.

† See Antiquities, VII. 1.

‡ See Antiquities, XX. 2.

ces, and appeared openly resolved not to rest, when once the Romans should begin to march.

Now when Agrippa observed that even the affairs of the Romans were likely to be in danger, while such an immense multitude of their enemies had seized upon the mountains round about; he determined to try what the Jews would agree to by words: as thinking that he should either persuade them all to desist from fighting; or however, that he should cause the sober part of them to separate from the opposite party. So he sent Borceus and Phebus, the persons of his party that were the best known to them; and promised that Cestius should give them his right hand, to secure them of the Romans' entire forgiveness of what they had done amiss, if they would throw away their arms, and come over to them. But the seditious, fearing lest the whole multitude, in hopes of security to themselves, should go over to Agrippa, resolved immediately to fall upon and kill the ambassadors. Accordingly they slew Phebus, before he said a word. But Borceus was only wounded, and so prevented his fate by fleeing away. And when the people were very angry at this, they had the seditious beaten with stones, and clubs; and drove them before them into the city.

But now Cestius, observing that the disturbances that were begun among the Jews afforded him a proper opportunity to attack them, took his whole army along with him, and put the Jews to flight, and pursued them to Jerusalem. He then pitched his camp upon the elevation called *Scopus, or the watch-tower; which was distant seven furlongs from the city. Yet did not he assault them in three days' time: out of expectation that those within might perhaps yield a little: and in the mean time he sent out a great many of his soldiers into the neighbouring villages, to seize upon their corn. And on the fourth day, which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperbereteus or Tisri, when he had put his army in array, he brought it into the city. Now the people were kept under by the seditious. But the seditious themselves were greatly affrighted at the good order of the Romans; and retired from the suburbs, and retreated into the inner part of the

* See Book V. chap. 2.

city, and into the temple. But when Cestius was come into the city, he set the part called * Bezetha, which is called Cenopolis or the new city, on fire : as he did also to the timber market. After which he came into the upper city, and pitched his camp over against the royal palace. And had he but at this very time attempted to get within the walls by force, he had won the city presently : and the war had been put an end to at once. But Tyrannius Priscus, the muster-master of the army, and a great number of the officers of the horse, had been corrupted by Florus ; and diverted him from that attempt. And that was the occasion that this war lasted so very long ; and thereby the Jews were involved in such incurable calamities.

In the mean time many of the principal men of the city were persuaded by Ananus, the son of Jonathan, and invited by Cestius into the city, and were about to open the gates for him. But he overlooked this offer, partly out of his anger at the Jews ; and partly because he did not thoroughly believe they were in earnest. Whence it was that he delayed the matter so long, that the seditious perceived the treachery, and threw Ananus and those of his party down from the wall, and pelting them with stones, drove them into their houses. But they stood themselves at proper distances in the towers, and threw their darts at those that were getting over the wall. Thus did the Romans make their attack against the wall for five days ; but to no purpose. But on the next day Cestius took a great many of his choicest men, and with them the archers ; and attempted to break into the temple at the northern quarter of it. But the Jews beat them off from the cloisters ; and repulsed them several times when they were gotten near to the wall : till at length the multitude of the darts cut them off, and made them retire. But the first rank of the Romans rested their shields upon the wall ; and so did those that were behind them ; and the like did those that were still more backward ; and guarded themselves with what they call Testudo ; the back of a tortoise : upon which the darts that were thrown fell, and slid off without doing them any harm. So the soldiers undermined the wall, without being themselves hurt ; and got all things ready for setting fire to the gate of the temple.

* See chap. 15.

Now it was that a horrible fear seized upon the seditious. In-
somuch that many of them ran out of the city, as though it were to
be taken immediately. But the people upon this took courage ;
and where the wicked part of the city gave ground, thither did
they come, in order to set open the gates and to admit Cestius as
their benefactor. Who, had he but continued the siege a little
longer, had certainly taken the city. But it was, I suppose, owing
to the *aversion God had already against the city and the sanc-
tuary, that he was hindered from putting an end to the war that
very day.

It then happened that Cestius was not conscious either how the
besieged despaired of success, nor how courageous the people
were for him : and so he recalled his soldiers from the place ;
and by despairing of any expectation of taking it, without having
received any disgrace, he retired from the city, without any rea-
son in the world. But when the robbers perceived this unexpect-
ed retreat of his, they resumed their courage, and ran after the
hinder parts of his army, and destroyed a considerable number of
both their horsemen, and their footmen. And now Cestius lay all
night at the camp, which was at Scopus : and as he went off far-
ther the next day, he thereby invited the enemy to follow him ;
who still fell upon the hindmost, and destroyed them. They also
fell on the flank on each side of the army, and threw darts upon
them obliquely. Nor durst those that were hindmost turn back upon
those who wounded them behind : as imagining that the multitude

* There may another very important and very providential reason be here as-
signed for this strange and foolish retreat of Cestius's : which, if Josephus had been
now a Christian, he might probably have taken notice of also : and that is, the afford-
ing the Jewish Christians in the city an opportunity of calling to mind the prediction
and caution given them by Christ, about 33½ years before : that when they should
see the abomination of desolation, (the idolatrous Roman armies, with the images of
their idols, in their ensigus, ready to lay Jerusalem desolate,) stand where it ought
not ; or, in the holy place. Or, when they should see Jerusalem compassed with
armies, they should then flee to the mountains. By complying with which, those
Jewish Christians fled to the mountains of Perea, and escaped this destruction. See
Lit. Accompl. of Proph. page 69, 70. Nor was there, perhaps, any one instance of a
more unpolitic, but more providential conduct than this retreat of Cestius, visible
during this whole siege of Jerusalem ; which yet was providentially such a great
tribulation as had not been from the beginning of the world to that time : no, nor
ever should be. Ibid. page 70, 71.

of those that pursued them was immense. Nor did they venture to drive away those that pressed upon them on each side; because they were heavy with their arms, and were afraid of breaking their ranks to pieces: and because they saw the Jews were light, and ready for making incursions upon them. And this was the reason why the Romans suffered greatly, without being able to revenge themselves upon their enemies. So they were galled all the way; and their ranks were put into disorder; and those who were thus put out of their ranks were slain. Among whom were Priscus, the commander of the sixth legion; and Longinus the tribune; and Emilius Secundus, the commander of a troop of horsemen. So it was not without difficulty that they got to Gabao, their former camp; and that not without the loss of a great part of their baggage. There it was that Cestius stayed two days, and was in great distress to know what he should do in these circumstances. But when, on the third day, he saw a still greater number of enemies, and all the parts round about him full of Jews, he understood that his delay was to his own detriment: and that if he stayed any longer there, he should have still more enemies upon him.

That he might flee the faster, therefore, he gave orders to cast away what might hinder the army's march. So they killed the mules, and other creatures, excepting those that carried their darts, and machines, which they retained for their own use: and this principally because they were afraid lest the Jews should seize upon them. He then made his army march on as far as *Bethoron. Now the Jews did not so much press upon them when they were in large open places. But when they were penned up in their descent through narrow passages, then did some of them get before, and hindered them from getting out of them, and others thrust the hindmost down into the lower places: and the whole multitude extended themselves, over against the neck of the passage, and covered the Roman army with their darts. In which circumstances, as the footmen knew not how to defend themselves, so the danger pressed the horsemen still more: for they were so pelted, that they could not march along the road in their ranks; and the ascents were so high that the cavalry were not able to

* See Chap. 12.

march against the enemy. The precipices also, and valleys into which they frequently fell, and tumbled down, were such on each side of them, that there was neither place for their flight, nor any contrivance could be thought of for their defence: till the distress they were at last in was so great, that they betook themselves to lamentations, and to such mournful cries as men use in the utmost despair. The joyful acclamations of the Jews also, as they encouraged one another, echoed the sounds back again. These last composing a noise of those that at once rejoiced and were in a rage. Indeed things were come to such a pass, that the Jews had almost taken Cestius's entire army prisoners, had not the night come on: when the Romans fled to Bethoron; and the Jews seized upon all the places round about them, and watched for their coming out in the morning.

Then it was that Cestius, despairing of obtaining room for a public march, contrived how he might best run away. And when he had selected four hundred of the most courageous of his soldiers, he placed them at the strongest of their fortifications: and gave order, that when they went up to the morning guard, they should erect their ensigns; that the Jews might be made to believe that the entire army was there still: while he himself took the rest of his forces with him, and marched, without any noise, thirty furlongs. But when the Jews perceived, in the morning, that the camp was empty, they ran upon those four hundred who had deluded them, and immediately threw their darts at them, and slew them: and then pursued after Cestius. But he had already made use of a great part of the night in his flight, and still marched quicker when it was day. Insomuch that the soldiers, through the astonishment and fear they were in, left behind them their engines for sieges, and for throwing of stones; and a great part of their other instruments of war.† So the Jews went on pursuing the Romans as far as Antipatris. After which, seeing they could not overtake them, they came back, and took the engines, and spoiled the dead bodies, and gathered the prey toge-

* See Book V. chap. 6.

† Many of the military machines in use in these early ages were very lumber-some and unwieldly, so that they were obliged, from necessity, to abandon them in particular exigency. B

ther which the Romans had left behind, and came back running and singing to their metropolis : while they had themselves lost a few only ; but had slain of the Romans five thousand and three hundred footmen, and three hundred and eighty horsemen. This defeat happened on the eighth day of the month Dios, or Marhevan, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero.*

CHAP. XX.

CESTIUS SENDS AMBASSADORS TO NERO.—THE PEOPLE OF DAMASCUS SLAY THOSE JEWS THAT LIVED WITH THEM.—THE PEOPLE OF JERUSALEM, AFTER PURSUING CESTIUS, RETURN TO PREPARE FOR THE DEFENCE OF THEIR CITY ; AND APPOINT SEVERAL GENERALS FOR THEIR ARMIES ; PARTICULARLY JOSEPHUS, THE WRITER OF THESE BOOKS.—SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS ADMINISTRATION.

AFTER this calamity had befallen Cestius, many of the most eminent of the Jews swam away from the city, as from a ship when it was going to sink. Costobarus, therefore, and Saul, who were brethren, together with Philip, the son of Jacimus, the commander of king Agrippa's forces, ran away from the city and went to Cestius. But how Antipas, who had been besieged with them in the king's palace, but would not now flee away with them, was afterward slain by the seditious, †we shall relate hereafter. However, Cestius sent Saul and his friends, at their own desire, to Achaia, to Nero ; to inform him of the great distress they were in ; and to lay the blame of kindling the war upon Florus ; as hoping to alleviate his own danger, by provoking his indignation against Florus.

In the mean time the people of Damascus, when they were informed of the destruction of the Romans, set about the slaughter of those Jews that were among them. And as they had them already cooped up in the place of public exercises, which they had done out of the suspicion they had of them, they thought they should meet with no difficulty in the attempt. Yet did they dis-

* A. D. 66.

† See Book IV. chap. 4.

trust their own wives; who were almost all of them addicted to the Jewish religion: on which account it was that their greatest concern was how they might conceal the thing from them. So they came upon the Jews, and cut their throats, as being in a narrow place; in number ten thousand, and all of them unarmed: and this in one hour's time, without any body to disturb them.

But as to those who had pursued after Cestius, when they were returned back to Jerusalem, they overbore some of those that favoured the Romans by violence; and some they persuaded by entreaties to join with them; and got together in great numbers in the temple; and appointed a great many generals for the war.—*Joseph also, the son of Gorion, and Ananus the high-priest, were chosen as governors of all affairs within the city: and with a particular charge to repair the walls. For they did not ordain †Eleazar, the son of Simon to that office; although he had gotten into his possession the prey they had taken from the Romans, and the money they had taken from Cestius; together with a great part of the public treasures: because they saw he was of a tyrannical temper: and that his followers were, in their behaviour, like guards about him. However, the want they were in of Eleazar's money, and the subtle tricks used by him, brought all so about, that the people were circumvented, and submitted themselves to his authority in all public affairs.

They also chose other generals for Idumea: Jesus, the son of Sapphias, one of the high-priests; and Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high-priest. They also enjoined ‡Niger, the then governor of ||Idumea, who was of a family that belonged to Perea beyond Jordan, and was thence called the Peraite, that he should

* From this name of Joseph, the son of Gorion, or Gorion the son of Joseph, as IV. 3. one of the governors of Jerusalem, who was slain at the beginning of the tumults by the zealots, IV. 6. the much later Jewish author of a history of that nation, takes his title; and yet personates our true Josephus, the son of Matthias. But the cheat is too gross to be put upon the learned world.

† See Chap. 19.

‡ See Book I. Chap. 1.

|| We may observe here that the Idumeans, as having been proselytes of justice since the days of John Hyrcanus, during about 195 years, were now esteemed as part of the Jewish nation, and here provided with a Jewish commander accordingly. See the note upon Antiq. XIII. 9.

be obedient to those forenamed commanders. Nor did they neglect the care of other parts of the country : but Joseph, the son of Simon, was sent as general to Jericho, as was Manasseh to Perea : and John, the Essene, to the toparchy of Thamna. Lydda was also added to his portion, and Joppa, and Emmaus. But John, the son of Matthias, was made governor of the toparchies of Gophnitica, and *Acrabatene : as was Josephus, the son of Matthias, both of the Galilees. †Gamala also, which was the strongest city in those parts, was put under his command.

So every one of the other commanders administered the affairs of his portion with what alacrity and prudence they were masters of. But as to Josephus, when he came into Galilee, his first care was to gain the good will of the people of that country : as sensible that he should thereby have in general good success, although he should fail in other points. And being conscious that if he communicated part of his power to the great men, he should make them his firm friends ; and that he should gain the same favour from the multitude, if he executed his commands by persons of their own country, and with whom they were well acquainted, he chose out ‡seventy of the most prudent men, and those elders in age,

* See Antiquities, XII. 8.

† Antiq. XIII. 15.

‡ We see here, and in Josephus's account of his own life, how exactly he imitated his legislator Moses ; or perhaps only obeyed what he took to be his perpetual law, in appointing seven lesser judges, for smaller causes, in particular cities ; and perhaps for the first hearing of greater causes : with the liberty of an appeal to seventy-one supreme judges : especially in those causes where life and death were concerned. As Antiq. IV. 8. See also Of the War, IV. 5. Moreover, we find that he imitated Moses, as well as the Romans, in the number and distribution of the subaltern officers of his army : as Exod. xviii. 25. Deut. i. 15. and in his charge against the offences common among soldiers : as Deut. xxiii. 9. In all which he showed his great wisdom, piety, and skilful conduct in martial affairs. Yet may we discern in his very high character of Ananus the high-priest, IV. 5 ; who seems to have been the same who condemned St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, to be stoned under Albinus the procurator ; that when he wrote these books, Of the War, he was not so much as an Ebonite Christian. Otherwise he would not have failed, according to his usual custom, to have reckoned his barbarous murder, as a just punishment upon him for his cruelty to the chief, or rather only Christian bishop of the circumcision. Nor, had he been then a Christian, could he immediately have spoken so movingly of the causes of the destruction of Jerusalem, without one word of either the condemnation of James, or crucifixion of Christ : as he did when he was become a Christian afterward.

and appointed them to be rulers of all Galilee : as he chose seven judges in every city to hear the lesser quarrels. For as to the greater causes, and those wherein life and death were concerned, he enjoined that they should be brought to him, and the seventy elders.

Josephus also, when he had settled these rules for determining causes by the law, with regard to the people's dealings one with another, betook himself to make provision for their safety against external violence. And as he knew the Romans would fall upon Galilee, he built walls in proper places : about Jotapata, Bersabee, and Salamis ; and besides these about Capharecco, Japha, and Sigo, and what they call mount Tabor, and Taricheæ, and Tiberias. He also built walls about the caves near the *lake of Gennesar ; which places lay in the lower Galilee. The same he did to the places of upper Galilee ; as well as to the rock called the rock of the Achabari, and to Seph, and Jamnith, and Meroth. And in Gaulanitis he fortified Seleucia, Sogane, and Gamala. But as to those of Sepphoris, they were the only people to whom he gave leave to build their own walls ; and this because he perceived they were wealthy, and ready to go to war, without standing in need of any injunction for that purpose. The case was the same with Gischala, which had a wall built about it by John the son of Levi himself, but with the consent of Josephus. But for the building of the rest of the fortresses, he laboured together with all the other builders, and was present to give the necessary orders for that purpose. He also got together an army out of Galilee of more than a hundred thousand young men ; all which he armed with the old weapons that he had collected together, and prepared for them.

And when he considered that the Roman power became invincible, chiefly by their readiness in obeying orders, and the constant exercise of their arms, he despaired of teaching his men the use of their arms, which was to be obtained by experience ; but observing that their readiness in obeying orders was owing to the multitude of their officers, he made his partitions in his army more after the Roman manner ; and appointed a great many subalterns.

* See Antiquities, V. 1. XVIII. 2.

He also distributed the soldiers into various classes, whom he had put under captains of tens, and captains of hundreds, and then under captains of thousands; and besides these he had commanders of large bodies of men. He also taught them to give the signals one to another, and to call and recall the soldiers by the trumpets; to expand the wings of an army, and make them wheel about; and when one wing had success, to turn again to assist those that were hard set; and to join in the defence of what had most suffered. He also continually instructed them in what concerned the courage of the soul, and the hardiness of the body. And above all he exercised them for war, by declaring to them distinctly the good order of the Romans: and that they were to fight with men who, both by the strength of their bodies and courage of their souls, had conquered in a manner the whole habitable earth. He told them, that he should make trial of the good order they would observe in war, even before it came to any battle, in case they would abstain from the crimes they used to indulge themselves in: such as theft, robbery, and rapine; and from defrauding their own countrymen: and never to esteem the harm done to those that were so near of kin to them any advantage to themselves. For that wars are managed the best, when the warriors preserve a good conscience; but that all such as are ill men in private life, will not only have those for enemies who attack them, but God himself also for their antagonist.

Now he chose for the war such an army as was sufficient: that is, sixty thousand footmen, and * two hundred and fifty horsemen. And besides these, on which he put the greatest trust, there were about four thousand five hundred mercenaries. He had also six hundred men as his body-guards. Now the cities easily maintained the rest of his army, excepting the mercenaries. For every one of the cities enumerated above, sent out half their men to the army, and retained the other half at home, in order to get provisions for them. Insomuch that the one part went to the war, and the other part to their work; and so those that sent out their

* I should think that an army of 60,000 footmen should require many more than 250 horsemen: and we find Josephus had more horsemen under his command than 250 in his future history. I suppose the number of the thousand is dropped in our present copies.

corn, were paid for it by those that were in arms, by that security which they enjoyed from them.

CHAPTER. XXI.

CONCERNING JOHN OF GISCHALA.—THE STRATAGEMS USED BY JOSEPHUS AGAINST THE PLOTS JOHN LAID AGAINST HIM; AND THE RECOVERY OF CERTAIN CITIES WHICH HAD REVOLTED FROM HIM.

NOW *as Josephus was thus engaged in the administration of the affairs of Galilee, there arose a treacherous person, † a man of Gischala, the son of Levi, whose name was John. His character was that of a very cunning and knavish person, beyond the ordinary rate of the other men of eminence there; and for wicked practices he had not his fellow any where. Poor he was at first: and for a long time his wants were a hinderance to him in his wicked designs. He was a ready liar; and yet very sharp in gaining credit to his fictions. He thought it a point of virtue to delude people; and would deceive even such as were the dearest to him. He was a hypocritical pretender to humanity; but where he had hopes of gain he spared not the shedding of blood. His desires were ever carried to great things; and he encouraged his hopes from those mean wicked tricks which he was the author of. He had also a peculiar knack of thieving. In some time he got certain companions in his impudent practices. At first they were but a few: but as he proceeded on in his evil course, they became still more and more numerous. He took care that none of his partners should be easily caught in their rogueries; but chose such out of the rest as had the strongest constitution of body, and

* The reader may observe a few variations in the circumstances relating to Josephus in this chapter, when they are compared with the same Josephus's accounts in the history of his own life. And I must confess I think those in his life ought, generally, to be corrected from these in his Books of the War. For as that life was written by him about thirty years after these Books of the War, he must have better rectified such circumstances at the former time than at the latter. And it seems to me that either these Books of the War were not then by him, when he wrote his history; or that he therein trusted his present memory too much, without consulting his books.

† See chap. 20.

the greatest courage of soul, together with great skill in martial affairs. So he got together a band of four hundred men, who came principally out of the country of Tyre; and were vagabonds, that had run away from its villages. And by the means of these he laid waste all Galilee, and irritated a considerable number, who were in great expectation of a war then suddenly to arise among them.

However, John's want of money had hitherto restrained him in his ambition after command, and in his attempts to advance himself. But when he saw that Josephus was highly pleased with the activity of his temper, he persuaded him, in the first place, to entrust him with repairing the walls of his native city Gischala: in which work he got a great deal of money from the rich citizens. He afterward contrived a very shrewd trick; and pretending that the Jews who dwelt in Syria were obliged to make use of oil that was made by others than those of their own nation, he desired leave of Josephus to send oil to their borders. So he bought four amphoræ with such Tyrian money, as was of the value of four Attic drachmæ: and sold every half amphora at the same price. And as Galilee was very fruitful in oil, and was peculiarly so at that time; by sending away great quantities, and having the sole privilege so to do, he gathered an immense sum of money together, which money he immediately used to the disadvantage of him who gave him that privilege. And, as he supposed, that if he could once overthrow Josephus, he should obtain himself the government of Galilee, so he gave order to the robbers that were under his command to be more zealous in their thievish expeditions; that by the rise of many that desired innovations in the country he might either catch their general in his snares, as he came to the country's assistance, and then kill him; or if he should overlook the robbers, he might accuse him for his negligence to the people of the country. He also spread abroad a report far and near, that Josephus was delivering up the administration of affairs to the Romans. And many such plots did he lay in order to ruin him.

Now at the same time certain young men of the village Darbaritta, who kept guard in the great plain, laid snares for Ptolemy, who was Agrippa's and Bernice's steward, and took from

him all that he had with him : among which things there were a great many costly garments, and no small number of silver cups, and six hundred pieces of gold ; yet were they not able to conceal what they had stolen ; but brought it all to Josephus to Taricheæ. Hereupon he blamed them for the violence they had offered to the king and queen ; and deposited what they brought to him with Eneas, the most potent man of Taricheæ, with an intention of sending the things back to their owners at a proper time. This act of Josephus's brought him into the greatest danger. For those that had stolen the things had an indignation at him ; both because they gained no share of it for themselves ; and because they perceived beforehand what was Josephus's intention, and that he would freely deliver up what had cost them so much pains, to the king and queen. These ran away by night to several villages, and declared to all men that Josephus was going to betray them. They also raised great disorders in all the neighbouring cities : insomuch that in the morning a hundred thousand armed men came running together. This multitude was crowded together at Taricheæ, and made a very peevish clamour against him : while some cried out, that they should depose the traitor ; and others that they should burn him. Now John irritated a great many ; as did also one Jesus, the son of Sapphias, who was then governor of Tiberias. Then it was that Josephus's friends, and the guards of his body were so affrighted at this violent assault of the multitude, that they all fled away but *four. And as he was asleep they awaked him, as the people were going to set fire to the house. And although those four that remained persuaded him to run away, he was neither surprised at his being deserted, nor at the great multitude that came against him : but leaped out to them with his clothes rent, and ashes sprinkled on his head ; with his hands behind him : and his sword hanging at his neck. At this sight his friends, especially those of Taricheæ, commiserated his condition. But those that were come out of the country, and those in their neighbourhood to whom his government seemed burdensome, reproached him : and bade him produce the money which belonged to them all immediately : and

* All but one. See his Life.

to confess the agreement he had made to betray them. For they imagined, from the habit in which he appeared, that he would deny nothing of what they had suspected concerning him : and that it was in order to obtain pardon that he had put himself into so pitiable a posture. But this humble appearance was only designed as preparatory to a stratagem of his : who thereby contrived to set those that were so angry at him at variance one with another, about the things they were angry at. However, he promised he would confess all. Hereupon he was permitted to speak : when he said, “ I did neither intend to send this money back to Agrippa, nor to gain it myself. For I did never esteem one that was your enemy, to be my friend : nor did I look upon what would tend to your disadvantage, to be my advantage. But, O people of Taricheæ, I saw that your city stood in more need than others of fortifications for your security : and that it wanted money in order for the building it a wall. I was also afraid lest the people of Tiberias and other cities should lay a plot to seize upon these spoils ; and therefore it was that I intended to retain this money privately, that I might encompass you with a wall. But if this does not please you, I will produce what was brought me, and leave it to you to plunder it. But if I have conducted myself so well as to please you, you may, if you think proper, punish your benefactor.”

Hereupon the people of Taricheæ loudly commended him : but those of Tiberias, with the rest of the company, gave him hard names, and threatened what they would do to him. So both sides left off quarrelling with Josephus, and began quarrelling one with another. So he grew bold upon the dependance he had on his friends, who were the people of Taricheæ, and about forty thousand in number ; and spake more freely to the whole multitude : and reproached them greatly for their rashness : and told them, that with this money he would build walls about Taricheæ ; and would put the other cities in a state of security also. For that they should not want money if they would but agree for whose benefit it was to be procured, and would not suffer themselves to be irritated against him who procured it for them.

Hereupon the rest of the multitude, that had been deluded, retired : but yet so that they went away angry. And two thousand

of them made an assault upon him in their armour. And as he was already gone to his own house, they stood without and threatened him. On which occasion Josephus again used a second stratagem to escape them. For he got upon the top of his house, and with his right hand desired them to be silent, and said he could not tell what they would have : nor could he hear what they said for the confused noise. But he said he would comply with all their demands, in case they would but send some of their number in to him that might talk with him about it. And when the principal of them, with their leaders, heard this, they came into the house. He then drew them to the most retired part of the house, and shut the door of that hall where he put them : and then had them whipped till every one of their inward parts appeared naked. In the mean time the multitude stood round the house ; and supposed that he had a long discourse with those that were gone in, about what they claimed of him. He had then the doors set open immediately, and sent the men out all bloody. Which so terribly affrighted those that had before threatened him, that they threw away their arms, and ran away.

But as for John, his envy grew greater upon this escape of Josephus's : and he framed a new plot against him. He pretended to be sick ; and by a letter desired that Josephus would give him leave to use the hot baths that were at Tiberias, for the recovery of his health. Hereupon Josephus, who hitherto suspected nothing of John's plots against him, wrote to the governors of the city, that they would provide a lodging and necessaries for John. Which favours when he had made use of, in two days' time he did what he came about. Some he corrupted with delusive frauds ; and others with money : and so persuaded them to revolt from Josephus. Silas, however, who was appointed guardian of the city by Josephus, wrote to him immediately ; and informed him of the plot against him. Which epistle, when Josephus had received, he marched with great diligence all night, and came early in the morning to Tiberias. At which time the rest of the multitude met him. But John, who suspected that his coming was not for his advantage, sent one of his friends, and pretended that he was sick ; and that being confined to his bed he could not come to pay him his respects. But as soon as Josephus had gotten the people of

Tiberias together at the Stadium, and tried to discourse with them about the letters that he had received, John privately sent some armed men, and gave them orders to slay him. But when the people saw that the armed men were about to draw their swords, they cried out. At which cry Josephus turned himself about : and when he saw that the swords were just at his throat, he marched away in great haste to the sea-shore ; and left off that speech which he was going to make to the people, upon an elevation of six cubits high. He then seized on a ship which lay in the haven ; and leaped into it, with two of his guards ; and fled away into the midst of the lake.

Now the soldiers he had with him took up their arms, and marched against the plotters. But Josephus was afraid lest a civil war should be raised by the envy of a few men, and bring the city to ruin. So he sent some of his party to tell them, that they should do no more than provide for their own safety ; that they should not kill any body ; nor accuse any for the occasion they had afforded of a disorder. Accordingly these men obeyed his orders, and were quiet. But the people of the neighbouring country, when they were informed of this plot, and of the plotter, got together in great multitudes to oppose John. But he prevented their attempt, and fled away to Gischala ; while the Galileans came running out of their several cities to Josephus. And as they were now become many thousands of armed men, they cried out that they were come against John, the common plotter against their interest : and would at the same time burn him, and that city which had received him. Hereupon Josephus told them that he took their good will to him kindly : but still he restrained their fury, and intended to subdue his enemies by prudent conduct, rather than by slaying them. So he excepted those of every city which had joined in this revolt with John, by name, who had readily been shown him by those that came from every city ; and caused public proclamation to be made, that he would seize upon the effects of those that did not forsake John within five days' time, and would burn both their houses, and their families with fire. Whereupon three thousand of John's party left him immediately : who came to Josephus, and threw their arms down at his feet. John then betook himself, together with his two thousand Syrian runa-

gates, from open attempts, to more secret ways of treachery. Accordingly he privately sent messengers to Jerusalem to accuse Josephus, as having too great power : and to let them know that he would soon come, as a tyrant, to their metropolis, unless they prevented him. But this accusation the people were aware of beforehand ; and had no regard to it. However, some of the grandees, out of envy, and some of the rulers also, sent money to John privately ; that he might be able to get together mercenary soldiers, in order to fight Josephus. They also made a decree of themselves, for recalling him from his government. Yet did they not think that decree sufficient. So they sent withal two thousand five hundred armed men ; and four persons of the highest rank among them. Joazar, the son of Nomicus ; Ananias, the son of Sadduk, and Simon and Judas, the sons of Jonathan ; all very able men in speaking ; that these persons might withdraw the good will of the people from Josephus. These had it in charge, that if he would voluntarily come away they should permit him to come and give an account of his conduct ; but if he obstinately insisted upon continuing in his government, they should treat him as an enemy. Now Josephus's friends had sent him word that an army was coming against him : but they gave him no notice beforehand what the reason of their coming was : that being only known among some secret councils of his enemies. And by this means it was that four cities revolted from him immediately ; Sepphoris, Gamala, Gischala, and Tiberias. Yet did he recover these cities without war : and when he had routed those four commanders by stratagem ; and had taken the most potent of their warriors, he sent them to Jerusalem. And the people of Galilee had great indignation at them, and were in a zealous disposition to slay, not only these forces, but those that sent them also, had not those forces prevented it by running away.

Now John was detained afterward within the walls of Gischala, by the fear he was in of Josephus. But within a few days Tiberias revolted again : the people within it inviting king Agrippa to return to the exercise of his authority there. And when he did not come at the time appointed, and when a few Roman horsemen appeared that day, they expelled Josephus out of the city. Now this revolt of theirs was presently known at Taricheæ. And as

Josephus had sent out all the soldiers that were with him to gather corn, he knew not how either to march out alone against the revolvers, or to stay where he was : because he was afraid the king's soldiers might prevent him if he tarried, and might get into the city. For he did not intend to do any thing on the next day, because it was the sabbath, and would hinder his proceeding. So he contrived to circumvent the revolvers by a stratagem. And in the first place he ordered the gates of Taricheæ to be shut, that nobody might go out, and inform those of Tiberias, for whom it was intended, what stratagem he was about. He then got together all the ships that were upon the lake, which were found to be two hundred and thirty : and in each of them he put no more than four mariners. So he sailed to Tiberias with haste, and kept at such a distance from the city, that it was not easy for the people to see the vessels : and ordered that the empty vessels should float up and down there ; while himself, who had but seven of his guards with him, and those unarmed also, went so near as to be seen. But when his adversaries, who were still reproaching him, saw him from the walls, they were so astonished that they supposed all the ships were full of armed men, and threw down their arms ; and by signals of intercession they besought him to spare the city.

Upon this Josephus threatened them terribly ; and reproached them, that when they were the first that took up arms against the Romans, they should spend their force beforehand in civil dissensions ; and do what their enemies desired above all things ; and that besides they should endeavour so hastily to seize upon him who took care of their safety ; and had not been ashamed to shut the gates of their city against him that built their walls : that, however, he would admit of any intercessors that might make some excuse for them : and with whom he would make such agreement as might be for the city's security. Hereupon ten of the most potent men of Tiberias came down to him presently. And when he had taken them into one of his vessels, he ordered them to be carried a great way off from the city. He then commanded that fifty others of their senate, such as were men of the greatest eminence, should come to him ; that they also might give him some security on their behalf. After which, under new preten-

ces, he called forth others, one after another, to make the leagues between them. He then gave order to the masters of those vessels which he had thus filled, to sail away immediately for Taricheæ; and to confine those men in the prison there. Till at length he took all their senate, consisting of six hundred persons; and about two thousand of the populace; and carried them away to Taricheæ.

And when the rest of the people cried out, that it was one Clitus that was the chief author of this revolt; they desired him to spend his anger upon him only. But Josephus, whose intention it was to slay nobody, commanded one Levius, belonging to his guards, to go out of the vessel in order to cut off both Clitus's hands. Yet was Levius afraid to go out by himself alone, to such a large body of enemies, and refused. Now Clitus saw that Josephus was in a great passion in the ship, and ready to leap out of it, in order to execute the punishment himself. He begged, therefore, from the shore, that he would leave him one of his hands, which Josephus agreed to; upon condition that he would himself cut off the other hand. Accordingly he drew his sword, and with his right hand cut off his left.* So great was the fear he was in of Josephus. And thus he took the people of Tiberias prisoners; and recovered the city again †with empty ships, and seven of his guard. Moreover, a few days afterward he retook Gischala; which had revolted with the people of Sepphoris; and gave his soldiers leave to plunder it. Yet did he get all the plunder together, and restored it to the inhabitants: and the like he did to the inhabitants of Sepphoris, and Tiberias. For when he had subdued those cities, he had a mind, by letting them be plundered, to give them some good instruction; while at the same time he regained their good will by restoring them their money again.

* Such hard and cruel conditions, did victors, flushed with success, and armed with power, compel the vanquished to submit to. It appears hence how dearly many purchase a wretchedly protracted mortal existence. B.

† I cannot but think this stratagem of Josephus's, which is related both here and in his Life, to be one of the finest that ever was invented and executed by any warrior whomsoever.

CHAP. XXII.

THE JEWS MAKE READY FOR THE WAR; AND SIMON THE SON
OF GIORAS BEGINS PLUNDERING.

THUS were the disturbances of Galilee quieted : and the people, upon their ceasing to prosecute their civil dissensions, betook themselves to make preparations for a war with the Romans. Now in Jerusalem the high-priest Ananus, and as many of the men of power as were not in the interest of the Romans, both repaired the walls, and made a great many warlike instruments. Inso-much that, in all parts of the city, darts, and all sorts of armour were upon the anvil. Although the multitude of the young men were engaged in exercises without any regularity ; and all places were full of tumultuous doings. But the moderate sort were exceeding sad : and a great many there were who, out of the prospect they had of the calamities that were coming upon them, made great lamentations. There were also such omens observed as were understood to be forerunners of evils, by such as loved peace : but were by those that kindled the war interpreted so as to suit their own inclinations. And the very state of the city, even before the Romans came against it, was that of a place doomed to destruction. However, Ananus's concern was to lay aside, for a while, the preparations for the war ; and to persuade the seditious to consult their own interest ; and to restrain the madness of those that had the name of zealots. But their violence was too hard for him. And what end he came to we shall relate *hereafter.

But as for the †Acrabbene toparchy, Simon, the son of Gioras, got a great number of those that were fond of innovations together ; and betook himself to ravage the country. Nor did he only harass the rich men's houses, but tormented their bodies, and appeared openly to affect tyranny in his government. And when an army was sent against him by Ananus, and the other rulers, he and his retired to the robbers that were at Masada ; and stayed there,

* See Book IV. chap. 5. † Antiq. XII. 1.

and plundered the country of Idumea with them ; till both Ananus, and his other adversaries were slain ; and until the rulers of that country were so afflicted with the multitude of those that were slain, and with the continual ravage of what they had, that they raised an army, and put garrisons into the villages, to secure them from those insults. And in this state were the affairs of Judea at that time.

THE
JEWISH WAR,

BOOK III.

Containing an Interval of about One Year.

FROM VESPASIAN'S COMING TO SUBDUE THE JEWS, TO THE
TAKING OF GAMALA.

CHAP. I.

VESPASIAN IS SENT INTO SYRIA BY NERO ; IN ORDER TO MAKE WAR
AGAINST THE JEWS.

WHEN Nero was informed of the Romans' ill success in Judea, a concealed consternation and terror, as is usual in such cases, fell upon him. Although he openly looked very big, and was very angry ; and said, that what had happened was rather owing to the negligence of the commander, than to any valour of the enemy. And as he thought it fit for him, who bare the burden of the whole empire, to despise such misfortunes ; he now pretended so to do : and to have a soul superior to all such sad accidents.— Yet did the disturbance that was in his soul plainly appear by the solicitude he was in how to recover his affairs again.

And as he was deliberating to whom he should commit the care of the East, now it was in so great a commotion : and who might be best able to punish the Jews for their rebellion, and might prevent the same distemper from seizing upon the neighbouring nations also ; he found no one but Vespasian equal to the task : and able to undergo the great burden of so mighty a war. Seeing he was grown an old man already in the camp ; and from his youth had been exercised in warlike exploits. He was also a man that

had long ago pacified the West, and made it subject to the Romans; when it had been put into disorder by the Germans. He had also by his arms recovered to them Britain, which had been little known before.* Whereby he procured to his father Claudius to have a triumph bestowed on him, without any exertion or labour of his own.

So Nero esteemed these circumstances as favourable omens: and saw that Vespasian's age gave him sure experience, and great skill; and that he had his sons as hostages for his fidelity to himself; and that the flourishing age they were in would make them fit instruments under their father's prudence. Perhaps also there was some interposition of Providence, which was paving the way for Vespasian's being himself emperor afterward. Upon the whole, he sent a man to take upon him the command of the armies that were in Syria. But this not without great encomiums and flattering compliments, such as necessity required, and such as might mollify him into compliance. So Vespasian sent his son Titus from Achaia, where he had been with Nero to Alexandria; to bring back with him from thence the fifth and the tenth legions: while himself, when he had passed over the Hellespont, came by land into Syria; where he gathered together the Roman forces; with a considerable number of auxiliaries from the kings in that neighbourhood.

CHAP. II.

OF A GREAT SLAUGHTER OF THE JEWS ABOUT ASCALON: AND THE ARRIVAL OF VESPASIAN AT PTOLEMAIS.

NOW the Jews, after they had beaten Cestius, were so much elevated with their unexpected success, that they could not govern their zeal: but like people blown up into a flame by their good

* Take the confirmation of this, in the words of Suetonius, here produced by Dr. Hudson. "In the reign of Claudius," says he, "Vespasian, for the sake of Narcissus, was sent as a lieutenant of a legion into Germany. Thence he removed into Britain: and fought thirty battles with the enemy." In Vesp. § 4. We may also here note from Josephus, that Claudius, the emperor, who triumphed for the conquest of Britain, was enabled so to do by Vespasian's conduct and bravery: and that he is here styled the father of Vespasian.

fortune, carried the war to remoter places. Accordingly they presently got together a great multitude of all their most hardy soldiers, and marched away for Ascalon. This was an ancient city, distant from Jerusalem five hundred and twenty furlongs; and always at enmity with the Jews. On which account they determined to make their first effort against it; and to make their approaches to it as near as possible. This excursion was led on by three men, who were the chief of them all, both for strength, and sagacity: Niger called the Peraite, Silas of Babylon, and John the Essene. Now Ascalon was strongly walled about; but had almost no assistance to be relied on near them. For the garrison consisted only of one cohort of footmen, and one troop of horsemen; whose captain was Antonius.

Those Jews, therefore, out of their anger marched faster than ordinary;* and as if they had come but a little way, approached very near the city, and were come even to it. But Antonius, who was not much unapprised of the attack they were going to make upon the city, drew out his horsemen beforehand. And being neither daunted at the multitude, nor at the courage of the enemy, he received their first attacks with great bravery; and when they crowded to the very walls, he beat them off. Now the Jews were unskilful in war, but were to fight with those that were skilful therein; they were footmen to fight with horsemen; they were in disorder, to fight those that were united together: they were poorly armed, to fight those that were completely so; they were to fight more by their rage, than by sober counsel; and were exposed to soldiers that were exactly obedient, and did every thing they were bidden upon the least intimation. So they were easily beaten. For as soon as ever their first ranks were once in disorder, they were put to flight by the enemy's cavalry; and those of them that came behind such as crowded to the wall, fell upon their own party's weapons; and became one another's enemies. And this so long till they all were forced to give way to the attacks of the horsemen, and were dispersed all the plain over: which plain was wide, and very fit

* As the evil passions give rise to war, at least in most cases, so they predominate in its execution. Mankind is, indeed, reduced to a most deplorable state of degeneracy, when they are so easily and evidently urged to what is evil, and with so much facility excited to that which is good. B.

for the cavalry. This circumstance was very commodious for the Romans; and occasioned the slaughter of the greatest number of the Jews. For such as ran away they could overrun them; and made them turn back. And when they had brought them back after their flight, and driven them together, they ran them through, and slew a vast number of them: insomuch that others encompassed others of them, and drove them before them, whithersoever they turned themselves, and slew them easily with their arrows: and the great number there were of the Jews seemed a solitude to themselves, by reason of the distress they were in. While the Romans had such good success, with their small number, that they seemed to themselves to be the greater multitude. And as the former strove zealously under their misfortunes, out of the shame of a sudden flight, and hopes of the change in their success; so did the latter feel no weariness, by reason of their good fortune. Insomuch that the fight lasted till the evening, till ten thousand of the Jews lay dead; with two of their generals, John and Silas: and the greater part of the remainder were wounded, with Niger, their remaining general; who fled away together to a small city of Idumea, called Sallis. Some few also of the Romans were wounded in this battle.

Yet were not the spirits of the Jews broken by so great a calamity, but the losses they had sustained rather quickened their resolution for other attempts. For overlooking the dead bodies which lay under their feet, they were enticed by their former glorious actions, to venture on a second destruction. So when they had lain still so little a while that their wounds were not yet thoroughly cured, they got together all their forces, and came with greater fury, and in much greater numbers to Ascalon. But their former ill fortune followed them; as the consequence of their unskillfulness, and other deficiencies in war. For Antonius laid ambushes for them in the passages they were to go through: where they fell into snares unexpectedly: and where they were compassed about with horsemen, before they could form themselves into a regular body for fighting: and were above eight thousand of them slain. So all the rest of them ran away; and with them Niger: who still did a great many bold exploits in his flight. However, they were driven along together by the enemy, who pressed hard

upon them, into a certain strong tower, belonging to a village called Bezedel. However, Antonius and his party, that they might neither spend any considerable time about this tower, which was hard to be taken; nor suffer their commander, and the most courageous man of them all, to escape from them, they set the wall on fire. And as the tower was burning, the Romans went away rejoicing; as taking it for granted that Niger was destroyed. But he leaped out of the tower in a subterraneous cave, in the innermost part of it, and was preserved. And on the third day afterward he spake out of the ground to those that, with great lamentation, were searching for him, in order to give him a decent funeral. And when he was come out, he filled all the Jews with an unexpected joy; as though he were preserved by God's providence, to be their commander for the time to come.

Now Vespasian took along with him his army from Antioch, (which is the metropolis of Syria, and, without dispute, deserves the place of the *third city in the habitable earth that was under the Roman empire, both in magnitude and other marks of prosperity,) where he found king Agrippa, with all his forces, waiting for his coming; and marched to Ptolemais. At this city also the inhabitants of Sepphoris of Galilee met him, who were for peace with the Romans. These citizens had beforehand taken care of their own safety: and being sensible of the power of the Romans, they had been with Cestius Gallus, before Vespasian came; and had given their faith to him, and received the security of his right hand: and had received a Roman garrison. And at this time they received Vespasian, the Roman general, very kindly; and readily promised that they would assist him against their own countrymen. Now the general delivered them, at their desire, as many horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient to oppose the incursions of the Jews, if they should come against them. And, indeed, the danger of losing Sepphoris would be no small one, in this war, that was now beginning; seeing it was the largest city of Galilee, and built in a place by nature very strong; and might be a security of the whole nation's fidelity to the Romans.

* Spanheim and Reland both agree, that the two cities here esteemed greater than Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, were Rome and Alexandria. Nor is there any occasion for doubt in so plain a case.

CHAP. III.

CONTAINING A DESCRIPTION OF GALILEE, SAMARIA, AND JUDEA.

NOW Phœnicia and Syria encompass about the Galilees; which are two, and called the Upper Galilee, and the Lower. They are bounded towards the sun-setting with the borders of the territory belonging to Ptolemais, and by Carmel: which mountain had formerly belonged to the Galileans, but now belonged to the Tyrians. To this mountain adjoins Gaba, which is called the city of horsemen: because those horsemen that were dismissed by Herod the king dwelt therein. They are bounded on the south with Samaria, and Scythopolis; as far as the river Jordan. On the east with Hippene, and Gadaris: and also with Gaulanitis, and the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa. Its northern parts are bounded by Tyre, and the country of the Tyrians. As for that Galilee which is called the Lower, it extends in length from Tiberias to Zebulon; and of the maritime places *Ptolemais is its neighbour. Its breadth is from the village called Xaloth, which lies in the great plain, as far as Bersabe. From which beginning also is taken the breadth of the Upper Galilee, as far as the village Baca: which divides the land of the Tyrians from it. Its length is also from Meroth to Thella, a village near to Jordan.

These two Galilees, of so great largeness, and encompassed with so many nations of foreigners, have been always able to make a strong resistance on all occasions of war. For the Galileans are inured to war from their infancy; and have been always very numerous. Nor has the country been ever destitute of men of courage; or wanted a numerous set of them. For their soil is universally rich, and fruitful, and full of plantations of trees of all sorts. Insomuch that it invites the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation, by its fruitfulness. Accordingly it is all cultivated by its inhabitants; and no part of it lies waste. The cities also lie here very thick; and the many villages there are here, are every where so full of people, by the richness of their soil, that

* Once belonging to the tribe of Aser; but afterward a sort of Gentile city.

the very least of *them contained above fifteen thousand inhabitants.

In short, if any one will suppose that Galilee is inferior to Perea in magnitude, he will be obliged to prefer it before it in its strength. For this is all capable of cultivation; and is every where fruitful. But for Perea, which is indeed much larger in extent, the greater part of it is desert, rough, and less disposed for the production of the milder kinds of fruits. Yet it has a moist soil, in other parts, and produces all kinds of fruits; and its plains are planted with trees of various sorts, but the olive-tree, the vine, and the palm-tree, are chiefly cultivated there. It is also sufficiently watered with torrents, which issue out of the mountains; and with springs that never fail to run, even when the torrents fail as they do in the dog-days. Now the length of Perea is from Macherus to Pella; and its breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan. Its northern parts are bounded by Pella, as we have already said; as well as its western by Jordan. The land of Moab is its southern border; and its eastern limits reach to Arabia, and Silbonitis; and besides to Philadelphine, and Gerasa.

Now as to the country of Samaria, it lies between Judea and Galilee. It begins at a village that is in the great plain, called Ginea; and ends at the Acrabene toparchy: and is entirely of the same nature with Judea. For both countries are made up of hills and vallies; and are moist enough for agriculture; and are very fruitful. They have abundance of trees, and are full of autumnal fruit, both that which grows wild, and that which is the effect of cultivation. They are not naturally watered by many rivers; but derive their chief moisture from rain-water, of which they have no want. And for those rivers which they have, all their waters are exceeding sweet. By reason also of the excellent grass they have, their cattle yield more milk than do those in other places. And what is the greatest sign of excellency, and of abundance, they each of them are very full of people.

In the limits of Samaria and Judea lies the village Anauth, which is also named Borceos. This is the northern boundary of Judea. The southern parts of Judea, if they be measured length-

* These were most probably the cities, not the villages.

ways, are bounded by a village adjoining to the confines of Arabia. The Jews that dwell there call it Jordan. However, its breadth is extended from the river Jordan, to Joppa. The city Jerusalem is situate in the very middle. On which account some have, with sagacity enough, called that city the navel of the country. Nor, indeed, is Judea destitute of such delights as come from the sea : since its maritime places extend as far as Ptolemais. It was parted into eleven portions. Of which the royal city Jerusalem was the supreme ; and presided over all the neighbouring country, as the head does over the body. As to the other cities that were inferior to it, they presided over their several toparchies. Gophna was the second of those cities ; and next to that Acrabatta : after them Thamna, Lydda, Emmaus, Pella, Idumea, Engaddi, Herodium, and Jericho : and after them came Jamnia, and Joppa : as presiding over the neighbouring people. And besides these there were the region of Gamala, and Gaulanitis, Batanea, and Trachonitis ; which are also parts of the kingdom of Agrippa. This last country begins at mount Libanus, and the fountains of Jordan ; and reaches breadthways to the lake of Tiberias ; and in length is extended from a village called Arpha, as far as Julias. Its inhabitants are a mixture of Jews and Syrians. And thus have I, with all possible brevity, described the country of Judea, and those that lie round about it.

CHAPTER. IV.

JOSEPHUS MAKES AN ATTEMPT UPON SEPPHORIS, BUT IS REPELLED.—TITUS COMES WITH A GREAT ARMY TO PTOLEMAIS.

NOW *the auxiliaries which were sent to assist the people of Sepphoris, being a thousand horsemen, and six thousand footmen, under Placidus the tribune, pitched their camp in two bodies, in the †great plain. The foot were put into the city, to be a guard to it ; but the horse lodged abroad in the camp. These last, by marching continually one way or other, and overrunning the parts of the adjoining country, were very troublesome to Josephus, and

* A. D. 67.

† There were too great plains in Judea. See Reland, tom. 1. chap. 55.

his men. They also plundered all the places that were out of the liberties of the city, and intercepted such as durst go abroad. On this account it was that Josephus marched against the city; as hoping to take what he had lately encompassed with so strong a wall, before they revolted from the rest of the Galileans, that the Romans would have had much ado to take it. By which means he proved too weak, and failed of his hopes; both as to the forcing the place, and as to his prevailing with the people of Sepphoris, to deliver it up to him. But by this means he provoked the Romans to treat the country according to the laws of war. Nor did the Romans, out of the anger they bore at this attempt, leave off either by night, or by day, burning the places in the plain; and stealing away the cattle that were in the country; and killing whatsoever appeared capable of fighting perpetually; and leading the weaker people as slaves into captivity. So that Galilee was completely filled with fire and blood. Nor was it exempted from any kind of misery or calamity. For the only refuge they had was, that when they were pursued, they could retire to the cities which had been walled by Josephus.

But as to Titus, he sailed over from Achaia to Alexandria, and that sooner than the winter season did usually permit. So he took with him those forces he was sent for; and, marching with great expedition, he came suddenly to Ptolemais: and there finding his father, together with the two legions, the fifth and the tenth, which were the most eminent legions of all, he joined them to that fifteenth legion which was with his father. Eighteen cohorts followed these legions. There came also five cohorts from Cæsarea, with one troop of horsemen: and five other troops of horsemen from Syria. Now these ten cohorts had severally a thousand footmen, but the other thirteen cohorts had no more than six hundred footmen apiece, with a hundred and twenty horsemen. There were also a considerable number of auxiliaries got together, that came from the kings *Antiochus, Agrippa, and Sohemus:

* This Antiochus was king of Commagene. Agrippa's kingdom has just been described, chap. 3. It contained, as Reland distinctly observes, only the tetrarchy of Philip given him by Claudius, and part of Galilee given him by Nero, i. e. that part which contained Tiberias, Taricheæ, and Julias, with fourteen villages thereto belonging; and Sohemus was king of Emesa in Syria.

each of them contributing one thousand footmen that were archers, and a thousand horsemen. Malichus also, the king of Arabia, sent a thousand horsemen; besides five thousand footmen, the greatest part of which were archers. So that the whole army, including the auxiliaries sent by the kings, as well horsemen as footmen, when all were united together, amounted to sixty thousand; besides the servants, who as they followed in vast numbers, so because they had been trained up in war, with the rest, ought not to be distinguished from the fighting men. For as they were in their master's service in times of peace, so did they undergo the like dangers with them in times of war. Insomuch that they were inferior to none either in skill or in strength; only they were subject to their masters.

CHAP. V.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE ROMAN ARMIES, AND CAMPS; AND OF OTHER PARTICULARS, FOR WHICH THE ROMANS ARE COMMENDED.

NOW one cannot but admire at the precaution of the Romans, in providing themselves of such household servants, as might not only serve at other times for the common offices of life, but might also be of advantage to them in their wars. And, indeed, if any one do but attend to the other parts of their military discipline, he will be forced to confess, that their obtaining so large a dominion, has been the acquisition of their valour, and not the bare gift of fortune. For they do not begin to use their weapons first in time of war: nor do they then put their hands first into motion, while they avoided so to do in times of peace. But as if their weapons did always cling to them, they have never any truce from warlike exercises. Nor do they stay till times of war admonish them to use them. For their military exercises differ not at all from the real use of their arms. But each soldier is every day exercised, and that with great diligence, as if it were in time of war. This is the reason why they bear the fatigue of battles so easily: for neither can any disorder remove them from their usual regularity; nor can fear affright them out of it; nor can labour tire them. Which firmness of conduct makes them always to overcome those

that have not the same firmness. Nor would he be mistaken that should call those their exercises bloodless battles; and their battles sanguinary exercises. Nor can their enemies easily surprise them with the suddenness of their incursions. For as soon as they have marched into an enemy's land, they do not begin to fight till they have walled their camp about. Nor is the fence they raise rashly made, or uneven. Nor do they all abide in it; nor do those that are in it take their places at random. But if it happen that the ground be uneven, it is first levelled. Their camp is also foursquare by measure: and carpenters are ready in great numbers, with their tools, to erect their buildings for them.

As for what is within the camp, it is set apart for tents: but the outward circumference resembles a wall, and is adorned with towers at equal distances: where between the towers stand the engines for throwing arrows and darts, and for slinging stones: and where they lay all other engines that can annoy the enemy, all ready for their several operations. They also erect four gates, one at each side of the circumference: and those large enough for the entrance of the beasts, and wide enough for making excursions, if occasion should require. They divide the camp within into streets, very conveniently; and place the tents of the commanders in the middle: but in the very midst of all is the general's own tent, in the nature of a temple. Insomuch that it appears to be a city built on the sudden; with its market-place, and place for handicraft trades; and with seats for the superior and inferior officers; where if any differences arise, their causes are heard and determined. The camp, and all that is in it, is also speedily encompassed with a wall round about; and this by the multitude and the skill of the labourers. And if occasion require, a trench is drawn round the whole, whose depth is four cubits, and its breadth is equal.*

* This description of the exact symmetry and regularity of the Roman army, and of the Roman encampments; with the sounding their trumpets, and order of war, described in this and the next chapter, is so very like to the symmetry and regularity of the people of Israel, in the wilderness, that one cannot well avoid the supposal, that the one was the ultimate pattern of the other; and that the tactics of the ancients were taken from the rules given by God to Moses. And it is supposed by some skilful in these matters, that these accounts of Josephus's, as to the Roman camp, armour, and conduct in war, are preferable to those in the Roman authors themselves.

When they have thus secured themselves, they live together by companies, with quietness, and decency: as are all their other affairs managed with good order and security. Each company have also their wood, and their corn, and their water brought them, when they stand in need of them. For they neither sup nor dine as they please themselves singly, but all together. Their times also for sleeping, watching, and rising, are notified beforehand by the sound of trumpets. Nor is any thing done without such a signal. And in the morning the soldiery go every one to their centurions, and these centurions to their tribunes, to salute them. With whom all the superior officers go to the general of the whole army: who then gives them the watch-word, and other orders; to be by them carried to all that are under their command. The same is observed when they go to fight: and thereby they turn themselves about on the sudden, when there is occasion for making sallies; and also as they come back when they are recalled in crowds.

Now when they are to go out of their camp, the trumpet gives a sound: at which time nobody lies still; but at the first intimation they take down their tents; and all is made ready for their going out. Then do the trumpets sound again, to order them to get ready for the march. Then they lay their baggage suddenly upon their mules, and other beasts of burden, and stand as at the place of starting, ready to march. They also set fire to their camp: because it will be easy for them to erect another, and that it may not ever be of use to their enemies. Then do the trumpets give a sound the third time, that they are to go out; in order to excite those that, on any account, are a little tardy: that so no one may be out of his rank when the army marches. Then the crier stands at the general's right hand, and asks them, thrice, in their own tongue, whether they be ready to go out to the war or not? To which they reply, as often, with a loud and cheerful voice, "We are ready." And this they do almost before the question is asked them, as if they were inspired with a kind of martial fury: and at the same time that they so cry out, they lift up their right hands.

When, after this, they are gone out of their camp, they all march without noise, and in a decent manner: and every one

keeps his own rank, as if they were going to war. The footmen are armed with breast-plates, and head-pieces; and have swords on each side; but the sword which is upon their left side, is much longer than the other.* For that on the right side is not longer than a span. Those footmen also that are chosen out from the rest of the foot soldiers have a spear and a long buckler: besides a saw, a basket, a pickaxe, an axe, a thong of leather, and a hook; with provisions for three days. So that a footman has no great need of a mule to carry his burdens. The horsemen have a long sword on their right sides, and a long pole in their hand.—A shield also lies by them obliquely on one side of their horses; with three or more darts that are held in their quiver, having broad points, and not smaller than spears. They have also head-pieces, and breast-plates, in like manner as have all the footmen. And for those that are chosen to be about the general, their armour no way differs from that of the horsemen belonging to other troops. And he always leads the legions forth, to whom the lot assigns that employment.

This is the manner of the marching and resting of the Romans: as also these are the several sorts of weapons they use. But when they are to fight, they leave nothing without forecast, nor to be done off-hand. But counsel is ever first taken before any work is begun: and what has been there resolved upon is put in execution presently. For which reason they seldom commit any errors; and if they have been mistaken at any time, they easily correct those mistakes. They also esteem any errors which they commit upon taking counsel beforehand, to be better than such rash success as is owing to fortune only. Because such a fortuitous advantage tempts them to be inconsiderate: while consultation, though it may sometimes fail of success, has this good in it, that it makes men more careful hereafter. But for the advantages that arise from chance, they are not owing to him that gains them. And as to what melancholy accidents happen unexpectedly, there is this comfort in them; that they had, however, taken the best consultations they could to prevent them.

* The design of two might be either, to attack at a greater or less distance, for which reason one was longer than the other: or, that the soldier might not be left defenceless in case of losing one, but might immediately employ the other against his antagonist. B.

Now they so manage the preparatory exercises of their weapons, that not the bodies of the soldiers only, but their souls may also become stronger. They are moreover hardened for war by fear. For their laws inflict capital punishments, not only for soldiers running away from their ranks; but for slothfulness and inactivity, though it be but in a lesser degree. Their generals also are still more severe than their laws. For they prevent any imputation of cruelty towards those under condemnation, by the great rewards they bestow on the valiant soldiers. And the readiness of obeying their commanders is so great, that it is very ornamental in peace: but when they come to a battle, the whole army is but one body; so well coupled together are their ranks; so sudden are their turnings about; so sharp their hearing, as to what orders are given them; so quick their sight of the ensigns; and so nimble are their hands when they set to work. Whereby it comes to pass, that what they do is done quickly; and what they suffer, they bear with the greatest patience. Nor can we find any examples where they have been conquered in battle, when they came to a close fight; either by the multitude of their enemies; or by their stratagems; or by the difficulties in the places they were in: no nor by fortune neither. For their victories have been surer to them than fortune could have granted them. In a case, therefore, where counsel still goes before action, and where, after taking the best advice, that advice is followed by so active an army, what wonder is it that Euphrates on the east, the ocean on the west, the most fertile regions of Libya on the south, and the Danube and the Rhine on the north, are the limits of this empire? One might well say, that the Roman possessions are inferior to the Romans themselves.

This account I have given the reader; not so much with the intention of commending the Romans, as of comforting those that have been conquered by them: and for the deterring others from attempting innovations under their government. This discourse of the Roman military conduct, may also be of use to such of the curious as are ignorant of it, and yet have a mind to know it. I return now from this digression.

CHAP. VI.

PLACIDUS ATTEMPTS TO TAKE JOTAPATA, AND IS BEATEN OFF.—
VESPASIAN MARCHES INTO GALILEE.

VESPASIAN, with his son Titus, had tarried some time at Ptolemais, and had put his army in order. But when Placidus, who had overrun Galilee, and had besides slain a great number of those whom he had caught; (which were only the weaker part of the Galileans, and such as were of timorous souls :) saw that the warriors ran always to those cities whose walls had been built by Josephus, he marched furiously against Jotapata, which was of them all the strongest: as supposing he should easily take it by a sudden surprise; and that he should thereby obtain great honour to himself among the commanders; and bring a great advantage to them in their future campaign: because, if this strongest place of them all were once taken, the rest would be so affrighted, as to surrender themselves. But he was mistaken in his undertaking. For the men of Jotapata were apprised of his coming to attack them, and came out of the city, and expected him there. So they fought the Romans briskly, when they least expected it; being both many in number, and prepared for fighting, and of great alacrity: as esteeming their country, their wives, and their children to be in danger; and easily put the Romans to flight, and wounded many of them; and slew *seven of them, because their retreat was not made in a disorderly manner: because the strokes only touched the surface of their bodies, which were covered with

* I cannot but here observe an eastern way of speaking, frequent among them, but not usual among us: where the word only or alone is not set down, but perhaps some way supplied in the pronounciation. Thus Josephus here says, that those of Jotapata slew seven of the Romans as they were marching off: because the Romans' retreat was regular; their bodies were covered over with their armour; and the Jews fought at some distance. His meaning is clear, that these were the reasons why they slew only, or no more than seven. I have met with many the like examples in the Scriptures, in Josephus, &c. but did not note down the particular places. This observation ought to be borne in mind upon many occasions.

their armour in all parts ; and because the Jews did rather throw their weapons upon them from a great distance, than venture to come hand to hand with them ; and had only light armour on, while the others were completely armed. However, three men of the Jews' side were slain ; and a few were wounded. So Placidus, finding himself unable to assault the city, ran away.

But as Vespasian had a great mind to fall upon Galilee, he marched out of Ptolemais, having put his army into that order wherein the Romans used to march. He ordered those auxiliaries which were lightly armed, and the archers to march first ; that they might prevent any sudden insults from the enemy ; and might search out the woods that looked suspiciously, and were capable of ambuscades. Next to these followed that part of the Romans which was completely armed, both footmen and horsemen. Next to these followed ten out of every hundred, carrying along with them their arms, and what was necessary to measure out a camp : and, after them, such as were to make the road even, and straight ; and if it were any where rough and hard to be passed over, to bed it ; and to cut down the woods that hindered their progress, that the army might not be in distress, or tired with their march. Behind these he set such carriages of the army as belonged both to himself, and to the other commanders, with a considerable number of horsemen for their security. After these he marched himself : having with him a select body of footmen, and horsemen, and pikemen. After these came the peculiar cavalry of his own legion : for there were a hundred and twenty horsemen that peculiarly belonged to every legion. Next to these came the mules, that carried the engines for sieges, and the other warlike machines of that nature. After these came the commanders of the cohorts, and tribunes : having about them soldiers chosen out of the rest. Then came the ensigns, encompassing the eagle, which is at the head of every Roman legion ; the king, and the strongest of all birds : which seems to them a signal of dominion, and an omen that they shall conquer all against whom they march. These sacred ensigns were followed by the trumpeters. Then came the main army in their squadrons, and battalions, with six men in depth : which were followed at last by a centurion ; who, according to custom, observed the rest. As for the servants of every legion,

they all followed the footmen, and led the baggage of the soldiers, which was carried by the mules, and other beasts of burden. But behind all the legions came the whole multitude of mercenaries ; and those that brought up the rear came last of all, for the security of the whole army : being both footmen, and those in their armour also ; with a great number of horsemen.

And thus did Vespasian march with his army, and came to the bounds of Galilee, where he pitched his camp, and restrained his soldiers, who were eager for war. He also showed his army to the enemy, in order to affright them, and to afford them a season for repentance : to see whether they would change their minds before it came to a battle : and at the same time he got things ready for besieging their strong holds. And, indeed, this sight of the general brought many to repent of their revolt ; and put them all into a consternation. For those that were in Josephus's camp, which was at the city called Garis, not far from Sepphoris, when they heard that the war was come near to them, and that the Romans would suddenly fight them hand to hand, dispersed themselves, and fled not only before they came to a battle, but even before the enemy came in sight. While Josephus, and a few others were left behind. And as he saw that he had not an army sufficient to engage the enemy, that the spirits of the Jews were sunk, and that the greater part would willingly come to terms, if they might be credited, he already despaired of the success of the whole war ; and determined to get as far as he possibly could out of danger. So he took those that staid along with him, and fled to Tiberias.

CHAP. VII.

VESPASIAN, WHEN HE HAD TAKEN THE CITY GADARA, MARCHES TO JOTAPATA.—AND AFTER A LONG SIEGE, THE CITY IS BETRAYED BY A DESERTER, AND TAKEN BY VESPASIAN.

SO Vespasian marched to the city Gadara, and took it upon the first onset : because he found it destitute of any considerable number of men grown up, and fit for war. He came then into it, and slew all the youth ; the Romans having no mercy on any age whatsoever. And this was done out of the hatred they bore the

nation ; and because of the iniquity they had been guilty of in the *affair of Cestius. He also set fire not only to the city itself, but to all the villages, and small cities that were round about it. Some of which were quite destitute of inhabitants ; and out of some of them he carried the inhabitants into captivity.

As to Josephus, his retiring to that city which he chose for his security, put it into great fear. For the people of Tiberias did not imagine that he would have run away, unless he had entirely despaired of the success of the war. And, indeed, as to that point, they were not mistaken about his opinion. For he saw whither the affairs of the Jews would tend at last : and was sensible that they had but one way of escaping, and that was by repentance. However, although he expected that the Romans would forgive him, yet did he choose to die many times over rather than to betray his country, and to dishonour that supreme command of the army which had been intrusted with him : or to live happily under those, against whom he was sent to fight. He determined, therefore, to give an exact account of affairs to the principal men at Jerusalem, by a letter, that he might not, by too much aggrandizing the power of the enemy, make them too timorous ; nor by relating their power beneath the truth, encourage them to stand out, when they were perhaps disposed to repentance. He also sent them word that if they thought of coming to terms, they must suddenly write him an answer ; or if they resolved upon war, they must send him an army sufficient to fight the Romans. Accordingly he wrote these things ; and sent messengers immediately to carry his letter to Jerusalem.

Now Vespasian was very desirous of demolishing Jotapata : for he had received intelligence, that the greatest part of the enemy had retired thither ; and that it was on other accounts a place of great security to them. Accordingly he sent both footmen and horsemen to level the road, which was mountainous and rocky : not without difficulty to be travelled over by footmen, but absolutely impracticable for horsemen. Now these workmen accomplished what they were about in four days' time, and opened a broad way for the army. On the fifth day, †which was the

* See Book II. chap. 19.

† A. D. 67.

twenty-first of the month Artemisius, or Jyar, Josephus prevented him, and came from Tiberias, and went into Jotapata, and raised the drooping spirits of the Jews. And a certain deserter told this good news to Vespasian, that Josephus had removed himself thither : which made him hasten to the city : as supposing that with taking that, he should take all Judea, in case he could but get Josephus under his power. So he took this news to be of the greatest advantage to him, and believed it to be brought about by the providence of God, that he who appeared to be the most prudent man of all their enemies, had of his own accord shut himself up in a place of sure custody. Accordingly he sent Placidus, with a thousand horsemen ; and Eburius, a Decurion, a person that was of eminence both in counsel and in action, to encompass the city round ; that Josephus might not escape away privately.

Vespasian also, the very next day, took his whole army, and followed them : and by marching till late in the evening, arrived at Jotapata. And bringing his army to the northern side of the city, he pitched his camp on a certain small hill, which was seven furlongs from the city, and still greatly endeavoured to be well seen by the enemy, to put them into a consternation. Which was, indeed, so terrible to the Jews immediately, that not one of them durst go out beyond the wall. Yet did the Romans put off the attack at that time, because they had marched all the day. Although they placed a double row of battalions round the city, with a third row beyond them round the whole, which consisted of cavalry : in order to stop up every way for an exit. Which thing making the Jews despair of escaping, excited them to act more boldly. For nothing makes men fight so desperately in war, as necessity.

Now when, the next day, an assault was made by the Romans, the Jews at first staid out of the walls, and opposed them, as having formed themselves a camp before the city walls. But when Vespasian had set against them the archers, and slingers, and the whole multitude that could throw to a great distance, he permitted them to go to work. While he himself, with the footmen, got upon an acclivity, whence the city might easily be taken. Josephus was then in fear for the city, and leaped out, and all the Jewish multitude with him. These fell together upon the Romans in

great numbers, and drove them away from the wall, and performed a great many glorious and bold actions. Yet did they suffer as much as they made the enemy suffer. For as despair of deliverance encouraged the Jews, so did a sense of shame equally encourage the Romans. These last had skill, as well as strength; the others had only courage, which armed them, and made them fight furiously. And when the fight had lasted all day, it was put an end to by the coming on of the night. They had wounded a great many of the Romans, and killed thirteen men: while of the Jews' side seventeen were slain and six hundred wounded.

On the next day the Jews made another attack upon the Romans, and went out of the walls, and fought a much more desperate battle with them than before. For they were now become more courageous than formerly, and that on account of the unexpected good opposition they had made the day before: as they found the Romans also to fight more desperately. For a sense of shame inflamed these into a passion, as esteeming their failure of a sudden victory to be a kind of defeat. Thus did the Romans try to make an impression upon the Jews till the fifth day continually: while the people of Jotapata made sallies, and fought at the walls most desperately. Nor were the Jews affrighted at the strength of the enemy; nor were the Romans discouraged at the difficulties they met with in taking the city.

Now Jotapata is almost entirely built on a precipice; having on all the other sides of it every way vallies immensely deep and steep. Insomuch that those who would look down would have their sight fail them before it reaches to the bottom. It is only to be come at on the north side: where the utmost part of the city is built on the mountain, as it ends obliquely at a plain. This mountain Josephus had encompassed with a wall, when he fortified the city; that its top might not be capable of being seized upon by enemies. The city is covered all round with other mountains, and can no way be seen, till a man comes just upon it. And this was the strong situation of Jotapata.

Vespasian, therefore, in order to try how he might overcome the natural strength of the place, as well as the bold defence of the Jews, made a resolution to prosecute the siege with vigour. To that end he called the commanders that were under him to a coun-

cil of war ; and consulted with them which way the assault might be managed to the best advantage. And when the resolution was there taken to raise a bank against that part of the wall which was practicable, he sent his whole army abroad to get the materials together. So when they had cut down all the trees on the mountains that adjoined to the city, and had gotten together a vast heap of stones, besides the wood they had cut down ; some of them brought hurdles, in order to avoid the effects of the darts that were shot from above upon them. These hurdles they spread over their backs ; under cover whereof they formed their bank ; and so were little or nothing hurt by the darts that were thrown upon them from the wall : while others pulled the neighbouring hills to pieces, and perpetually brought earth to them. So that while they were busy three sorts of ways, nobody was idle. However, the Jews cast great stones from the walls upon the hurdles which protected the men, with all sorts of darts also. And the noise of what could not reach them, was yet so terrible, that it was some impediment to the workmen.

Vespasian then set the engines for throwing stones and darts round about the city. The number of the engines were in all a hundred and sixty : and he bade them fall to work, and dislodge those that were upon the wall. At the same time such engines as were intended for that purpose threw at once lances upon them, with a great noise ; and stones of the weight of a talent were thrown by the engines that were prepared for that purpose ; together with fire, and a vast multitude of arrows ; which made the wall so dangerous, that the Jews durst not only not come upon it, but durst not come to those parts within the wall which were reached by the engines. For the multitude of the Arabian archers, as well as all those that threw darts, and slung stones, fell to work at the same time with the engines. Yet did not the others lie still, when they could not throw at the Romans from a higher place. For they then made sallies out of the city, like private robbers, by parties, and pulled away the hurdles that covered the workmen, and killed them, when they were thus naked. And when those workmen gave way, these cast away the earth that composed the bank, and burnt the wooden parts of it, together with the hurdles : till at length Vespasian perceived that the inter-



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SIEGE OF JOTAPATA

vals there were between the works were of disadvantage to him. For those spaces of ground afforded the Jews a place for assaulting the Romans. So he united the hurdles; and at the same time joined one part of the army to the other: which prevented the private excursions of the Jews.

And when the bank was now raised, and brought nearer than ever to the battlements that belonged to the walls, Josephus thought it would be entirely wrong in him if he could make no contrivances in opposition to theirs, and that might be for the preservation of the city. So he got together his workmen, and ordered them to build the wall higher. And when they said that this was impossible to be done while so many darts were thrown at them, he invented this sort of cover for them. He bade them fix piles, and expand them before the raw hides of oxen, newly killed: that these hides by yielding and hollowing themselves when the stones were thrown at them, might receive them. For that the other darts would slide off them; and the fire that was thrown would be quenched by the moisture that was in them. And these he set before the workmen. And under them these workmen went on with their works in safety, and raised the wall higher, and that both by day, and by night, till it was twenty cubits high. He also built a good number of towers upon the wall, and fitted to it strong battlements. This greatly discouraged the Romans, who in their own opinions were already gotten within the walls: while they were now at once astonished at Josephus's contrivance, and at the fortitude of the citizens that were in the city.

And now Vespasian was plainly irritated at the great subtilty of this stratagem, and at the boldness of the citizens of Jotapata. For taking heart again, upon the building of this wall, they made fresh sallies upon the Romans, and had every day conflicts with them by parties: together with all such contrivances as robbers made use of, and with the plundering of all that came to hand, as also with the setting fire to all the other works. And this till Vespasian made his army leave off fighting them; and resolved to lie round the city, and to starve them into a surrender. As supposing that either they would be forced to petition him for mercy, by want of provisions: or if they should have the courage

to hold out to the last, they would perish by famine. And he concluded he should conquer them the more easily in fighting, if he gave them an interval, and then fell upon them when they were weakened by famine. But still he gave orders that they should guard against their coming out of the city.

Now the besieged had plenty of corn within the city, and indeed of all other necessaries. But they wanted water, because there was no fountain in the city : the people being there usually satisfied with rain water. Yet is it a rare thing in that country to have rain in summer.* And at this season, during the siege, they were in great distress for some contrivance to satisfy their thirst. And they were very sad at this time particularly, as if they were already in want of water entirely. For Josephus seeing that the city abounded with other necessaries, and that the men were of good courage ; and being desirous to protract the siege to the Romans longer than they expected, ordered their drink to be given them by measure. But this scanty distribution of water, was deemed by them as a thing more hard than the want of it. And their not being able to drink as much as they would, made them more desirous of drinking than they had otherwise been. Nay, they were as much disheartened hereby, as if they were come to the last degree of thirst. Nor were the Romans unacquainted with the state they were in. For when they stood over against them, beyond the wall, they could see them running together, and taking their water by measure : which made them throw their javelins thither, the place being within their reach, and kill a great many of them.

Hereupon Vespasian hoped that their receptacles of water would in no long time be emptied, and that they would be forced to deliver up the city to him. But Josephus being desirous of frustrating that hope, gave command, that they should wet a great many of their clothes, and hang them round the battlements, till the entire wall was of a sudden all wet with the running down of the water. At this sight the Romans were discouraged, and under consternation, when they saw them able to throw away in

* The Eastern countries are so frequently and copiously replenished with dew, that rain is not essential to their fertility. B.

sport so much water, when they supposed them not to have enough to drink themselves. This made the Roman general despair of taking the city by their want of necessaries; and to betake himself again to arms, and to try to force them to surrender: which was what the Jews greatly desired. For as they despaired of either themselves or their city's being able to escape, they preferred a death in battle, before one by hunger and thirst.

However, Josephus contrived another stratagem besides the foregoing, to get plenty of what they wanted. There was a certain rough and uneven place that could hardly be ascended; and on that account was not guarded by the soldiers. So Josephus sent out certain persons along the western parts of the valley, and by them sent letters to whom he pleased of the Jews that were out of the city, and procured from them abundance of what necessaries they wanted in the city; he enjoined them also to creep generally along by the watch as they came into the city, and to cover their backs with such sheepskins as had their wool upon them; that if any one should spy them out in the night time, they might be believed to be dogs. This was done till the watch perceived the contrivance, and encompassed that rough place about themselves.

And now it was that Josephus perceived that the city could not hold out long; and that his own life would be in doubt, if he continued in it. So he consulted how he, and the most potent men of the city might flee out of it. When the multitude understood this, they came all round about him, and begged of him not to overlook them while they entirely depended on him, and him alone. For that there was still hopes of the city's deliverance, if he would stay with them: because every body would undertake any pains with great cheerfulness on his account; and in that case there would be some comfort, though they should be taken. That it became him neither to flee from his enemies, nor to desert his friends; nor to leap out of that city, as out of a ship that was sinking in a storm, into which he came when it was quiet and in a calm. For that by going away, he would be the cause of drowning the city: because nobody would then venture to oppose the enemy, when he was once gone upon whom they wholly confided.

Hereupon Josephus avoided letting them know that he was to go away to provide for his own safety : but told them, that he would go out of the city for their sakes : for that if he staid with them he should be able to do them little good, while they were in a safe condition : and that if they were once taken, he should only perish with them, to no purpose. But that if he were once gotten free from this siege, he should be able to bring them very great relief. For that he would immediately get the Galileans together, out of the country, in great multitudes, and draw the Romans off their city by another war. That he did not see what advantage he could bring to them now, by staying among them, but only provoke the Romans to besiege them more closely, as esteeming it a most valuable thing to them to take him. But that if they were once informed that he was fled out of the city, they would greatly remit of their eagerness against it. Yet did not this plea move the people ; but inflamed them the more to hang about him. Accordingly both the children and the old men, and the women, with their infants, came mourning to him, and fell down before him, and all of them* caught hold of his feet, and held him fast, and besought him with great lamentations, that he would take his share with them in their fortune. And I think they did this, not that they envied his deliverance, but that they hoped for their own ; for they could not think they should suffer any great misfortune, provided Josephus would but stay with them.

Now Josephus thought, that if he resolved to stay, it would be ascribed to their entreaties ; and if he resolved to go away by force, he should be put into custody. His commiseration also of the people under their lamentations had much broken his eagerness to leave them. So he resolved to stay : and arming himself with the common despair of the citizens, he said to them, " Now is the time to begin to fight in earnest, when there is no hope of deliverance left. It is a brave thing to prefer glory before life, and to set about some such noble undertaking as may be remembered by late posterity." Having said this, he fell to work immediately, and made a sally, and dispersed the enemies' outguards, and ran as far as the Roman camp itself, and pulled the

* See Matt. xxviii. 9.

coverings of their tents to pieces, that were upon their banks, and set fire to to their works. And this was the manner in which he never left off fighting, neither the next day, nor that after it ; but went on with it for a considerable number both of days and nights.

Upon this Vespasian, when he saw the Romans distressed by these sallies, (though they were ashamed to be made to run away by the Jews ; and when at any time they made the Jews run away, their heavy armour would not let them pursue them far : while the Jews, when they had performed any action, and before they could be hurt themselves, still retired into the city ;) ordered his armed men to avoid their onsets, and not fight it out with men under desperation : while nothing is more courageous than despair. But that their violence would be quenched, when they saw they failed of their purposes ; as fire is quenched when it wants fuel. And that it was proper for the Romans to gain their victories as cheap as they could, since they were not forced to fight, but only to enlarge their own dominions. So he repelled the Jews in great measure by the Arabian archers, and the Syrian slingers, and by those that threw stones at them. Nor was there any intermission of the great number of their offensive engines. Now the Jews suffered greatly by those engines, without being able to escape from them. And when these engines threw their stones or javelins a great way, and the Jews were within their reach, they pressed hard upon the Romans, and fought desperately, without sparing either soul or body : one part succouring another by turns, when it was tired down.

When, therefore, Vespasian looked upon himself as in a manner besieged by these sallies of the Jews ; and when his banks were now not far from the walls, he determined to make use of his battering ram. This ram is a vast beam of wood, like the mast of a ship. Its forepart is armed with a thick piece of iron at the head of it, which is so carved as to resemble the head of a ram : whence its name is taken. This ram is slung in the air by ropes, passing over its middle, and is hung like the balance in a pair of scales from another beam, and braced by strong beams that pass on both sides of it, in the nature of a cross. When this instrument is pulled backward by a great number of men, with united force,

and then thrust forward, by the same men, with a mighty noise, it batters the walls with that iron part which is prominent. Nor is there any tower so strong, or walls so broad, that can resist any more than its first batteries; but all are forced to yield to it at last. This was the experiment which the Roman general betook himself to, when he was eagerly bent upon taking the city, but found lying in the field so long to be to his disadvantage: because the Jews would never let him be quiet. So these Romans brought the several engines for galling an enemy nearer to the walls, that they might reach such as were upon the walls; and endeavoured to frustrate their attempts; while these threw stones and javelins at them. In the like manner did the archers and slingers come both together closer to the wall. This brought matters to such a pass, that none of the Jews durst mount the walls. And then it was that the other Romans brought the battering ram, which was cased with hurdles all over, and in the upper part was secured by skins that covered it: and this both for security of themselves, and of the engine. Now at the very first stroke of this engine the wall was shaken: and a terrible clamour was raised by the people within the city, as if they were already taken.

Now when Josephus saw this ram still battering the same place, and that the wall would quickly be thrown down by it, he resolved to elude for a while the force of the engine. With this design he gave orders to fill sacks with chaff, and to hang them down before that place where they saw the ram always battering, that the stroke might be turned aside; or that the place might feel less of the strokes by the yielding nature of the chaff. This contrivance very much delayed the attempts of the Romans: because let them remove their engine to what part they pleased, those that were above it removed their sacks, and placed them over against the strokes it made; insomuch that the wall was no way hurt, and this by the diversion of the strokes; till the Romans made an opposite contrivance of long poles, and by tying hooks at their ends cut off the sacks. Now when the battering ram thus recovered its force, and the wall having been newly built, was giving way, Josephus and those about him had afterward immediate recourse to fire to defend themselves. Accordingly they took whatsoever

they had that was dry, and made a sally three ways, and set fire to the machines and the hurdles, and the banks of the Romans themselves. Nor did the Romans well know how to come to their assistance : being at once under a consternation at the Jews' boldness ; and being prevented by the flames from coming to their assistance. For the materials being dry, with the bitumen, pitch, and brimstone that were among them, the fire caught hold of every thing immediately : and what cost the Romans a great deal of pains, was in one hour consumed.

And here a certain Jew appeared worthy of commendation.— He was the son of Sameas, and was called Eleazar ; and was born at Saab in Galilee. This man took up a stone of a vast bigness, and threw it down from the wall upon the ram ; and this with so great a force, that it brake off the head of the engine. He also leaped down, and took up the head of the ram, from the midst of them ; and, without any concern, carried it to the top of the wall : and this, while he stood as a fit mark to be pelted by all his enemies. Accordingly he received the strokes upon his naked body, and was wounded with five darts. Nor did he mind any of them, while he went up to the top of the wall, where he stood in the sight of them all, as an instance of the greatest boldness. After which he threw himself on a heap with his wounds upon him, and fell down together with the head of the ram. Next to him two brothers showed their courage. Their names were Netir and Philip, both of the village Ruma, and both of them Galileans also. These men leaped upon the soldiers of the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with such a noise and force, as to disorder their ranks, and to put to flight all upon whomsoever they made their assaults.

After these men's performances, Josephus, and the rest of the multitude with him, took a great deal of fire, and burnt both the machines, and their coverings ; with the works belonging to the fifth and to the tenth legion : which they put to flight. When others followed them immediately, and buried those instruments, and all their materials under ground. However, about the evening, the Romans erected the battering ram again, against that part of the wall which had suffered before. Where a certain Jew, that defended the city from the Romans, hit Vespasian with a dart in his

foot, and wounded him a little : the distance being so great, that no considerable impression could be made by the dart, thrown so far off. However, this caused the greatest disorder among the Romans. For when those that stood near him saw his blood, they were disturbed at it : and a report went abroad through the whole army, that the general was wounded. While the greatest part left the siege, and came running together, with surprise and fear, to the general. And before them all came Titus, out of the concern he had for his father. Insomuch that the multitude were in great confusion ; and this out of the regard they had for their general, and by reason of the agony that the son was in. Yet did the father soon put an end to the son's fear, and to the disorder the army was under. For being superior to his pains, and endeavouring soon to be seen by all that had been in a fright about him ; he excited them to fight the Jews more briskly. For now every body was willing to expose himself to danger immediately, in order to avenge their general : and then they encouraged one another with loud voices, and ran hastily to the walls.

But still the friends of Josephus, although they fell down dead one upon another by the darts and stones which the engines threw upon them ; yet did they not desert the wall : but fell upon those that managed the ram, under the protection of the hurdles, with fire and iron weapons, and stones. And these could do little or nothing, but fell themselves perpetually : while they were seen by those whom they could not see. For the light of their own flame shone about them, and made them a most visible mark to the enemy ; as they were in the day time. While the engines could not be seen at a great distance ; and so what was thrown at them was hard to be avoided. For the force with which these engines threw stones and darts, made them hurt several at a time ; and the violent noise of the stones that were cast by the engines was so great, that they carried away the pinnacles of the wall, and broke off the corners of the towers. For no body of men could be so strong as not to be overthrown to the last rank by the largeness of the stones. And any one may learn the force of the engines by what happened this very night : for as one of those that stood round about Josephus was near the wall, his head was carried away by such a stone ; and his skull was flung as far as three furlongs. In the

day time also, a pregnant woman was so violently stricken as she was just come out of her house, that the infant was carried to the distance of half a furlong : so great was the force of that engine. The noise of the instruments themselves was very terrible : the sound of the darts and stones that were thrown by them was so also : of the same sort was that noise the dead bodies made, when they were dashed against the wall. And, indeed, dreadful was the clamour which these things raised in the women within the city : which was echoed back at the same time by the cries of such as were slain. While the whole space of ground whereon they fought ran with blood ; and the wall might have been ascended over by the bodies of the dead carcasses. The mountains also contributed to increase the noise by their echoes. Nor was there on that night any thing of terror wanting, that could either affect the hearing, or the sight. Yet did a great part of those that fought so hard for Jotapata fall manfully ; as were a great part of them wounded. However, the morning watch was come ere the wall yielded to the machines employed against it, though it had been battered without intermission. However, those within covered their bodies with their armour, and raised works over against that part which was thrown down, before those machines were laid, by which the Romans were to ascend into the city.

In the morning Vespasian got his army together, in order to take the city by storm, after a little recreation, upon the hard pains they had been at the night before. And as he was desirous to draw off those that opposed him from the places where the wall had been thrown down, he made the most courageous of the horsemen get off their horses, and placed them in three ranks, over against those ruins of the wall ; but covered with their armour on every side ; and with poles in their hands. That so these might begin their ascent as soon as the instruments for such ascent were laid. Behind them he placed the flower of the footmen. But for the rest of the horse, he ordered them to extend themselves over against the wall, upon the whole hilly country ; in order to prevent any from escaping out of the city, when it should be taken. And behind these he placed the archers round about : and commanded them to have their darts ready to shoot. The same commands he gave to the slingers, and to those that

managed the engines ; and bade them take up other ladders ; and have them ready to lay upon those parts of the wall which were yet untouched ; that the besieged might be engaged in trying to hinder their ascent by them, and leave the guard of the parts that were thrown down ; while the rest of them should be overborne by the darts cast at them ; and might afford his men an entrance into the city.

But Josephus, understanding the meaning of Vespasian's contrivance, set the old men, together with those that were tired out, at the sound parts of the wall, as expecting no harm from those quarters ; but stationed the strongest of his men at the place where the wall was broken down : and before them all six men by themselves ; among whom he took his share of the first and greatest danger. He also gave orders, that when the legions made a shout they should stop their ears, that they might not be affrighted at it ; and that to avoid the multitude of the enemies' darts, they should bend down on their knees, and cover themselves with their shields ; and that they should retreat a little backward for a while, till the archers should have emptied their quivers. But that when the Romans should lay their instruments for ascending the walls, they should suddenly leap out, and with their own instruments should meet the enemy ; and that every one should then strive to do his best ; in order, not to defend his own city, as if it were possible to be preserved, but in order to revenge it, when it was already destroyed : and that they should set before their eyes how their old men were to be slain, and their children and wives were to be killed immediately by the enemy, and that they would beforehand spend all their fury on account of the calamities just coming upon them, and pour it out on the actors.

Thus did Josephus dispose of both his bodies of men. But the useless part of the citizens, the women and children, when they saw their city encompassed by a threefold army ; (for none of the usual guards that had been fighting before were removed :) when they also saw not only the walls thrown down, but their enemies, with swords in their hands ; as also the hilly country above them shining with their weapons ; and the darts in the hands of the Arabian archers ; they made a lamentable outcry of destruction, as if the misery were not only threatened, but actually come

upon them already. But Josephus ordered the women to be shut up in their houses, lest they should render the actions of the men too effeminate, by making them commiserate their condition : and commanded them on pain of punishment to hold their peace : while he came himself before the breach, where his allotment was. For as for those who brought ladders to the other places, he took no notice of them, but earnestly waited for the shower of arrows that was coming.

Now the trumpeters of the several Roman legions sounded together ; and the army made a terrible shout : and the darts, as by order, flew so fast, that they intercepted the light. However, Josephus's men remembered the charge he had given them, they stopped their ears at the sounds, and covered their bodies against the darts. And as to the engines that were ready to go to work, the Jews ran out upon them, before those that should have used them were gotten upon them. And on the ascending of the soldiers, there was a great conflict, and many actions of the hands, and of the soul, were exhibited ; while the Jews did earnestly endeavour, in the extreme danger they were in, not to show less courage than those who, without being in danger, fought so stoutly against them. Nor did they leave struggling with the Romans till they either fell down dead themselves, or killed their antagonists. But the Jews grew weary with defending themselves continually, and had not sufficient men to come in their places, and succour them ; while on the side of the Romans fresh soldiers still succeeded those that were tired, and still new men got upon the machines for ascent, in the room of those that were thrust down ; these encouraging one another, and joining side to side with their shields, which were a protection to them, they became a body not to be broken ; and as this band thrust away the Jews, as though they were themselves but one body, they began already to get upon the wall.

In this distress Josephus took necessity *for his counsellor, (which necessity is very sagacious in invention, when it is irrita-

* Necessity is an imperious commander. Its dictates should certainly be regulated and governed by equity ; otherwise it may lead to evil and desperate actions. Goodness commonly by wise forecast supersedes its operations. B.

ted by despair,) and gave order to pour scalding oil upon those whose shields protected them. Whereupon they soon got it ready ; being many that brought it, and what they brought being a great quantity also ; and poured it on all sides upon the Romans, and threw down upon them their vessels, as they were still hissing from the heat of the fire. This so burnt the Romans, that it dispersed that united band : who now tumbled down from the wall with horrid pains. For the oil easily ran down the whole body, from head to foot, under their entire armour, and fed upon their flesh like flame itself : its fat and unctuous nature rendering it soon heated, and slowly cooled. And as the men were cooped up in their head-pieces, and breast-plates, they could no way get free from this burning oil. They could only leap and roll about in their pains, as they fell down from the bridges they had laid. And as they thus were beaten back, and retired to their own party, who still pressed them forward, they were easily wounded by those that were behind them.

However, in this ill success of the Romans, their courage did not fail them : nor did the Jews want prudence to oppose them. For the Romans, although they saw their own men thrown down, and in a miserable condition ; yet were they vehemently bent against those that poured the oil upon them. While every one reproached the man before him as a coward, and one that hindered him from exerting himself : and while the Jews made use of another stratagem to prevent their ascent, and poured boiling sene-greek upon the boards, in order to make them slip and fall down. By which means neither could those that were coming up, nor those that were going down, stand on their feet. But some of them fell backward upon the machines on which they ascended, and were trodden upon. Many of them fell down upon the bank they had raised ; and when they had fallen upon it were slain by the Jews. For when the Romans could not keep their feet, the Jews being freed from fighting hand to hand, had leisure to throw their darts at them. So the general called off those soldiers in the evening that had suffered so sorely. Of whom the number of the slain was not a few : while that of the wounded was still greater. But of the people of Jotapata no more than six men were killed ; although more than three hundred were car-

ried off wounded. This fight happened upon the twentieth day of the month Desius, or Sivan.*

Hereupon Vespasian comforted his army upon occasion of what happened. And as he found them angry indeed, but rather wanting somewhat to do, than any further exhortations, he gave orders to raise the bank still higher; and to erect three towers each fifty feet high: and that they should cover them with plates of iron, on every side; that they might be both firm by their weight, and not easily liable to be set on fire. These towers he set upon the banks; and placed upon them such as could shoot darts and arrows; with the lighter engines for throwing stones and darts also: and besides these he set upon them the stoutest men among the slingers, who not being to be seen by reason of the height they stood upon, and the battlement that protected them, might throw their weapons at those that were upon the wall, and were easily seen by them. Hereupon the Jews, not being easily able to escape those darts that were thrown down upon their heads; nor to avenge themselves on those whom they could not see; and perceiving that the height of the towers was so great, that a dart which they threw with their hand could hardly reach it; and that the iron plates about them made it very hard to come at them by fire; they ran away from the walls, and fled hastily out of the city, and fell upon those that shot at them. And thus did the people of Jotapata resist the Romans; while a great number of them were every day killed, without their being able to retort the evil upon their enemies. Nor could they keep them out of the city without danger to themselves.

About this time Vespasian sent out Trajan against a city called Japha, that lay near to Jotapata, and that desired innovations, and was puffed up with the unexpected length of the opposition of Jotapata. This Trajan was the commander of the tenth legion. And to him Vespasian committed a thousand horsemen, and two thousand footmen. When Trajan came to the city, he found it hard to be taken: for besides the natural strength of its situation, it was also secured by a double wall. But when he saw the people of this city coming out of it, and ready to fight him, he joined

* A. D. 67.

battle with them; and after a short resistance which they made, he pursued after them. And as they fled to their first wall, the Romans followed them so closely, that they fell in together with them. But when the Jews were endeavouring to get again within their second wall, their own fellow-citizens shut them out: as being afraid that the Romans would force themselves in with them. It was certainly God, therefore, who brought the Romans to punish the Galileans; and then expose the people of the city every one of them manifestly to be destroyed by their cruel enemies. For they fell upon the gates in great crowds, earnestly calling to those that kept them, and that by their names also; yet had their throats cut in the very midst of their supplications. For the enemy shut the gates of the first wall; and their own citizens shut the gates of the second. So they were enclosed between two walls, and were slain in great numbers together: many of them were run through by swords of their own men; and many by their own swords: besides an immense number that were slain by the Romans. Nor had they courage to revenge themselves. For there was added to the consternation they were in from the enemy, their being betrayed by their own friends, which quite broke their spirits. And at last they died, execrating not the Romans, but their own citizens, till they were all destroyed; being in number twelve thousand. So Trajan gathered that the city was empty of people that could fight; and although there should a few of them be therein, he supposed that they would be too timorous to venture on any opposition. So he reserved the taking of the city to the general. Accordingly he sent messengers to Vespasian, and desired him to send his son Titus, to finish the victory he had gained. Vespasian hereupon imagining there might be some pains still necessary, sent his son with an army of five hundred horsemen, and a thousand footmen. So he came quickly to the city, and put his army in order, and set Trajan over the left wing, while he had the right himself, and led them to the siege. And when the soldiers brought the ladders to be laid against the wall on every side, the Galileans opposed them from above for a while; but soon afterward they left the walls. Then did Titus's men leap into the city, and seized upon it presently. But when those that were in it were gotten together, a fierce battle ensued between them. For the men of

power fell upon the Romans in the narrow streets; and the women threw whatsoever came next to hand at them, and sustained a fight with them for six hours. But when the fighting men were exhausted, the rest of the multitude had their throats cut, partly in the open air, and partly in their own houses, both young and old together. So there were no males now remaining, besides infants; which, with the women, were carried as slaves into captivity. So that the number of the slain both now in the city, and at the former fight, was fifteen thousand: and the captives were two thousand one hundred and thirty. This calamity befell the Galileans on the twenty-fifth of the month Desius, or Sivan.

Nor did the Samaritans escape their share of misfortunes at this time. For they assembled themselves together upon the mountain called Gerizzim, which is with them a holy mountain, and there they remained. This collection of theirs, as well as the courageous minds they showed, could not but threaten somewhat of war. Nor were they rendered wiser by the miseries that had come upon their neighbouring cities. They also, notwithstanding the great success the Romans had, marched on in an unreasonable manner; depending on their own weakness; and were disposed for any tumult upon its first appearance. Vespasian, therefore, thought it best to prevent their motions, and to cut off the foundation of their attempts. For although all Samaria had ever garrisons settled among them, yet did the number of those that were come to mount Gerizzim, and their conspiracy together, give ground for suspicion of a revolt. He therefore sent thither Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, with six hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen: who did not think it safe to go up the mountain, and give them battle: because many of the enemy were on the higher part of the ground. So he encompassed all the lower part of the mountain with his army, and watched them all that day. Now it happened that the Samaritans, who were now destitute of water, were inflamed with a violent heat, (for it was summer time, and the multitude had not provided themselves with necessaries,) insomuch that some of them died that very day with heat: while others of them preferred slavery before such a death, and fled to the Romans. By whom Cerealis understood, that those who still staid there were very

much dispirited by their misfortunes. So he went up the mountain; and having placed his forces round about the enemy, he, in the first place exhorted them to take the security of his right hand, and come to terms with him, and thereby save themselves: and assured them that, if they would lay down their arms, he would secure them from any injury. But when he could not prevail with them, he attacked and slew them all; being eleven thousand and six hundred. This was done on the twenty-seventh day of the month Desius, or Sivan.* And these were the calamities that befell the Samaritans at this time.

But as the people of Jotapata still held out manfully, and bore up under their miseries beyond all that could be hoped for; on the †forty-seventh day of the siege, the banks cast up by the Romans were become higher than the wall. On which day a certain deserter went to Vespasian, and told him, how few were left in the city, and how weak they were: and that they had been so worn out with perpetual watching, and as perpetual fighting, that they could not now oppose any force that came against them: and that they might be taken by stratagem, if any one would attack them. For that about the last watch of the night, when they thought they might have some rest from the hardships they were under; and when a morning sleep used to come upon them, as they were thoroughly weary, he said, the watch used to fall asleep. Accordingly his advice was, that they should make their attack at that hour. But Vespasian had a suspicion about this deserter; as knowing how faithful the Jews were to one another, and how

* A. D. 67.

† Monsieur Toinard's conjecture, here mentioned by Dr. Hudson, is too strong to be opposed; that these odd seven days should be blotted out, both here and chap. 8, and the true number be esteemed only forty days. There being no more from the 21st of Artemisius, when Josephus entered the city before the siege began, till the first of Panemus, when the city was taken. This is said only upon supposition that the 21st of Artemisius, and the 1st of Panemus were the true days of the beginning and ending of this siege. Of the former of which numbers yet, at least, a doubt may sooner be made, than of this number 47. My reason is, that such number 21, is but once set down, whereas the other 47, is repeated again, chap. 8, without any variation. I therefore rather choose to suppose that Josephus entered Jotapata on the 14th of Artemisius, which will afford us 47 days for the duration of this siege; than to say he entered on the 21st, that the siege might be supposed to have lasted 40 days only.

much they despised any punishments that could be inflicted on them. He also knew that one of the people of Jotapata had undergone all sorts of torments; and though they made him pass through a fiery trial of his enemies in his examination, yet would he inform them nothing of the affairs within the city: and as he was crucified smiled at them. However, the probability there was in the relation itself, did partly confirm the truth of what the deserter told them: and they thought he might probably speak truth. However, Vespasian thought they should be no great sufferers if the report were false. So he commanded them to keep the man in custody: and prepared the army for taking the city.

According to this resolution they marched without noise, at the hour that had been told them, to the wall. And it was Titus himself that first got upon it, with one of his tribunes, Domitius Sabinus, and a few of the fifteenth legion along with him. So they cut the throats of the watch, and entered the city very quietly. After these came Cerealis the tribune, and Placidus, and led on those that were under them. Now when the citadel was taken, and the enemy were in the very midst of the city; and when it was already day, yet was not the taking of the city known by those that held it. For a great many of them were fast asleep: and a great mist which then by chance fell upon the city, hindered those that got up from distinctly seeing the case they were in, till the whole Roman army was gotten in, and they were raised up only to find the miseries they were under: and as they were slaying they perceived the city was taken. And for the Romans, they so well remembered what they had suffered during the siege, that they neither spared nor pitied any; but drove the people down the precipice from the citadel, and slew them as they drove them down. At which time the difficulties of the place hindered those that were still able to fight from defending themselves. For as they were distressed in the narrow streets, and could not keep their feet sure along the precipice, they were overpowered with the crowd of those that came fighting them down from the citadel. This provoked a great many, even of those chosen men that were about Josephus, to kill themselves with their own hands. For when they saw that they could kill none of the Romans, they resolved to prevent being killed by the Romans; and got together

in great numbers in the utmost parts of the city, and killed themselves.

However, such of the watch as at the first perceived they were taken, and ran away as fast as they could, went up into one of the towers on the north side of the city, and for a while defended themselves there. But as they were encompassed with a multitude of enemies, they tried to use their right hands when it was too late ; and at length they cheerfully offered their necks to be cut off by those that stood over them. And the Romans might have boasted, that the conclusion of that siege was without blood, on their side, if there had not been a centurion, Antonius, who was slain at the taking of the city. His death was occasioned by the following treachery. For there was one of those that were fled into the caverns, which were a great number, who desired that this Antonius would give him his hand for his security, and would assure him that he would preserve him, and give him his assistance in getting up out of the cavern. Accordingly, he incautiously reached him his right hand ; when the other man prevented him, and stabbed him under his loins, with a spear, and killed him immediately.

On this day it was that the Romans slew all the multitude that appeared openly. But on the following days they searched the hiding places, and fell upon those that were under ground, and in the caverns. And went thus through every age, excepting the infants, and the women ; and of these there were gathered together as captives twelve hundred. And as for those that were slain at the taking of the city, and in the former fights, they were numbered to be forty thousand. So Vespasian gave order that the city should be entirely demolished, and all the fortifications burnt down. And thus was Jotapata taken, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, on the first day of the month Panemus, or Tamuz.*

* A. D. 67.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE DISCOVERY OF JOSEPHUS BY A WOMAN; HIS SURRENDER OF HIMSELF TO THE ROMANS, AND HIS SUBSEQUENT TREATMENT BY VESPASIAN.

NOW the Romans searched for Josephus, both out of the hatred they bore him, and because their general was very desirous to have him taken: for he reckoned that if he were once taken, the greatest part of the war would be over. They then searched among the dead, and looked into the most concealed recesses of the city. But as the city was first taken, he was assisted by a certain supernatural Providence; for he withdrew himself from the enemy, when he was in the midst of them: and leaped into a certain deep pit, whereto adjoined a large den, which could not be seen by those that were above ground. And here he met with forty persons of eminence, that had concealed themselves; and with provisions sufficient to satisfy them for several days. So in the day time he hid himself from the enemy, who had seized upon all places: and in the night he got up out of the den, and looked about for some way of escaping; and took exact notice of the watch. But as all places were so strictly guarded on his account, that there was no way of getting off unseen, he went down again into the den. Thus he concealed himself two days. But on the third day, when they had taken a woman who had been with them, he was discovered. Whereupon Vespasian sent two tribunes, Paulinus, and Gallicanus; and ordered them to give Josephus their right hands, as a security for his life, and to exhort him to come up.

So they came and invited the man to come up, and gave him assurances that his life should be preserved. But they did not prevail with him. For he gathered suspicions from the probability there was that one who had done so many things against the Romans must suffer for it; though not from the mild temper of those that invited him. However, he was afraid that he was invited to come up in order to be punished; until Vespasian sent, besides these, a third tribune, named Nicanor, to him: he was one that was well

known to Josephus, and had been his familiar acquaintance in old time. When he was come, he enlarged upon the natural mildness of the Romans towards those they had once conquered ; and told him, that he had behaved himself so valiantly, that the commanders rather admired than hated him : that the general was very desirous to have him brought to him, not in order to punish him, for that he could do, though he should not come voluntarily : but that he was determined to preserve a man of his courage. He moreover added, that Vespasian, had he been resolved to impose upon him, would not have sent to him a friend of his own, nor put the fairest colour upon the vilest action, by pretending friendship, and meaning perfidiousness. Nor would he himself have acquiesced, or come to him, had it been to deceive him.

Now as Josephus began to hesitate with himself about Nicanor's proposal, the soldiery were so angry, that they ran hastily to set fire to the den. But the tribune would not permit them so to do : as being very desirous to take the man alive. And now, as Nicanor urged Josephus to comply, and he understood how the multitude of the enemies threatened him, he called to mind the *dreams which he had dreamed in the night time : whereby God signified to him beforehand, both the future calamities of the Jews, and the events that concerned the Roman emperors. Now Josephus was able to give shrewd conjectures about the interpretation of such dreams as have been ambiguously delivered by God. Moreover, he was not unacquainted with the prophecies contained in the sacred books ; as being a priest himself, and of the posterity of priests. And just then was he in an ecstasy ; and setting before him the tremendous images of the dreams he had lately had, he put up a secret prayer to God, and said, " Since it pleaseth thee, who hast created the Jewish nation, to depress the same ; and since all their good fortune is gone over to the Romans ; and since thou hast made choice of this soul of mine to foretell what is

* Of these divine afflatus's, or prophetic dreams, by which Josephus foretold, among other things, the coming of Vespasian and Titus to the Roman empire in the days of Nero, and before either Galba, Otho, or Vitellius, were thought of as successors to Nero ; and all this attested to by Suetonius and Dio, the Roman historians. See Tacitus, *Histor.* I. 10. II. 1. IV. 81. and Sueton. in *Vesp.* § 4, 5, 7. and Dio *LIX.* page 745. See the like prophetic dream in Josephus's account of his own Life, and here presently.

to come to pass hereafter ; I willingly give them my hand, and am content to live. And I protest openly, that I do not go over to the Romans, as a deserter from the Jews, but as a minister from thee."

When he had said this, he complied with Nicanor's invitation. But when those Jews who had fled with him understood that he yielded to those that invited him to come up, they came about him in a body, and cried out, "Nay, indeed, now may the laws of our forefathers, which God ordained himself, well groan to purpose: that God, we mean, who hath created the souls of the Jews of such a temper, that they despise death. O Josephus! art thou still fond of life? and canst thou bear to see the light in a state of slavery? How soon hast thou forgotten thyself! How many hast thou persuaded to lose their lives for liberty! Thou hast therefore had a false reputation for manhood; and a like false reputation for wisdom, if thou canst hope for preservation from those against whom thou hast fought so zealously; and art however willing to be preserved by them, if they be in earnest. But although the good fortune of the Romans hath made thee forget thyself, we ought to take care that the glory of our forefathers may not be tarnished. We will lend thee our right hand, and a sword. And if thou wilt die willingly, thou wilt die as general of the Jews; but if unwillingly, thou wilt die as a traitor to them." As soon as they said this, they began to thrust their swords at him, and threatened they would kill him, if he thought of yielding himself to the Romans.

Upon this Josephus was afraid of their attacking him; and yet thought he should be a betrayer of the commands of God, if he died before they were delivered. So he began to talk like a philosopher to them, in their distress; and said to them: "O my friends, why are we so earnest to kill ourselves? And why do we set our soul and body, which are such dear companions, at such variance? Can any one pretend that I am not the man I was formerly? Nay the Romans are sensible how that matter stands well enough. It is a brave thing to die in war: but so that it be according to the law of war, by the hand of conquerors. If, therefore, I avoid death from the sword of the Romans, I am truly worthy to be killed by my own sword, and my own hand."

But if they admit of mercy, and would spare their enemy, how much more ought we to have mercy upon ourselves, and to spare ourselves? For it is certainly a foolish thing to do that to ourselves, which we quarrel with them for doing to us. I confess freely, that it is a brave thing to die for liberty. But still so that it be in war, and done by those who take that liberty from us. But in the present case, our enemies neither meet us in battle, nor do they kill us. Now he is equally a coward who will not die, when he is obliged to die: and he who will die, when he is not obliged so to do. What are we afraid of when we will not go up to the Romans? Is it death? If so, what we are afraid of when we but suspect our enemies will inflict it on us, shall we inflict it on ourselves for certain? But it may be said, we must be slaves. And are we then in a clear state of liberty at present? It may also be said, that it is a manly act for one to kill himself. No, certainly; but a most unmanly one. As I should esteem that pilot to be an arrant coward, who, out of fear of a storm, should sink his ship of his own accord. Now self-murder is a crime most remote from the common nature of all animals; and an instance of impiety against God our creator. Nor indeed is there any animal that dies by its own contrivance, or by its own means. For the desire of life is a law engaven in them all. On which account we deem those that openly take it away from us to be our enemies: and those that do it by treachery are punished for so doing. And do not you think that God is very angry, when a man does injury to what he hath bestowed on him? For from him it is that we have received our being: and we ought to leave it to his disposal to take that being away from us. The bodies of all men are indeed mortal, and are created out of corruptible matter. But the soul is ever immortal, and is a portion of the divinity that inhabits in our bodies. Besides, if any one destroy or abuse a depositum he hath received from a mere man, he is esteemed a wicked and perfidious person. But then if any one cast out of his body this divine depositum, can we imagine that he who is thereby affronted does not know of it? Moreover, our law justly ordains that slaves that run away from their masters shall be punished, though the masters they run away from may have been wicked masters to them. And shall we en-

deavour to run away from God, who is the best of all masters, and not think ourselves guilty of impiety? Do not you know that those who depart out of this life according to the law of nature, and pay that debt which was received from God, when he that lent it us is pleased to require it back again, enjoy eternal fame; that their houses and their property are sure? that these souls are pure, and obedient, and obtain a most holy place in heaven? From whence, in the revolutions of ages, they are again sent into pure bodies. While the souls of those whose hands have acted madly against themselves, are received by the darkest place in Hades; and while God, who is our father, punishes those that offend against either of them in their posterity. For which reason God hates such doings: and the crime is punished by our most wise legislator. Accordingly our *laws determine, that the bodies of such as kill themselves should be exposed till the sun be set, without burial: although at the same time it be allowed lawful to bury our enemies sooner. The laws of other nations also enjoin such men's hands to be cut off, when they are dead, which had been made use of in destroying themselves when alive: while they reckoned, that as the body is alien from the soul, so is the hand alien from the body. It is therefore, my friends, a right thing to reason justly, and not add to the calamities which men bring upon us, impiety towards our Creator. If we have a mind to preserve ourselves, let us do it. For to be preserved by those our enemies, to whom we have given so many demonstrations of our courage, is no way inglorious. But if we have a mind to die, it is good to die by the hand of those that have conquered us.—For my part I will not run over to our enemies' quarters, in order to be a traitor to myself. For certainly I should then be much more foolish than those that deserted to the enemy; since they did it in order to save themselves: and I should do it for my own destruction. However, I heartily wish the Romans may prove treacherous in this matter. For if, after their offer of their right hand for security, I be slain by them, I shall die cheerfully, and carry away with me the sense of their perfidiousness, as a consolation greater than victory itself."

* Where this law of Moses is to be found I do not know.

These and many similar motives did Josephus use to these men, to prevent them murdering themselves. But desperation had shut their ears, as having long ago devoted themselves to die; and they were irritated at Josephus. They accordingly ran upon him with their swords in their hands; one from one quarter, and another from another, and called him a coward: and every one of them appeared openly, as if he were ready to smite him. But he calling to one of them by name; and looking like a general to another; and taking a third by the hand; and making a fourth ashamed of himself by praying him to forbear; and being in this condition distracted with various passions, (as he well might, in the great distress he was then in,) he kept off every one of their swords: and was forced to do like such wild beasts as are encompassed about on every side, who always turn themselves against those that last touched them. Nay, some of their right hands were debilitated by the reverence they bare to their general, in these his fatal calamities, and their swords dropped out of their hands; and not a few of them there were who, when they aimed to smite him with their swords, they were not thoroughly either willing, or able, to do it.

However, in this extreme distress, he was not destitute of his usual sagacity: but trusting himself to the providence of God, he put his life into hazard, in the following manner: "Since," said he, "it is resolved among you that you will die, come on, let us commit our mutual deaths to determination by lot. He whom the lot falls on first, let him be killed by him that hath the second lot: and thus fortune shall make its progress through us all.—Nor shall any of us perish by his own right hand. For it would be unfair if, when the rest are gone, somebody should repent, and save himself." This proposal appeared to them to be very just: and when he had prevailed with them to determine this matter by lots, he drew one of the lots for himself also. He who had the first lot laid his neck bare to him that had the next; as supposing that the general would die among them immediately. For they thought death, if Josephus might but die with them, was sweeter than life. Yet was he with another left to the last: whether we must say it happened so by chance, or whether by the providence of God. And as he was very desirous neither to be condemned



ALB. J.

JOSEPHUS IN THE CAVE.

by the lot, nor, if he had been left to the last, to imbrue his right hand in the blood of his countryman, he persuaded him to trust his fidelity to him, and to live as well as himself.

Thus Josephus escaped in the war with the Romans, and in this his own war with his friends, and was led by Nicanor to Vespasian. But now all the Romans ran together to see him; and as the multitude pressed one upon another about their general, there was a tumult of a various kind. While some rejoiced that Josephus was taken: some threatened him; and some crowded to see him very near: but those that were more remote cried out to have this their enemy put to death: while those that were near called to mind the actions he had done, and a deep concern appeared at the change of his fortune. Nor were there any of the Roman commanders, how much soever they had been enraged at him before, but relented when they came to the sight of him.—Above all the rest Titus's valour, and Josephus's patience under his afflictions, made him pity him: as did also the commiseration of his age, when he recalled to mind, that but a little while ago he was fighting, but lay now in the hands of his enemies: which made him consider the power of fortune; and how quick is the turn of affairs in war; and how no state of men is sure. For which reason he then made a great many more to be of the same pitiful temper with himself, and induced them to commiserate Josephus. He was also of great weight in persuading his father to preserve him. However, Vespasian gave strict orders that he should be kept with great caution, as though he would, in a little time, send him to Nero.

When Josephus heard him give those orders, he said, that he had somewhat in his mind that he would willingly say to him alone. When, therefore, they were all ordered to withdraw, excepting Titus, and two of their friends, he said, "Thou, O Vespasian, thinkest no more than that thou hast taken Josephus himself captive. But I come to thee as a messenger of great tidings. For had not I been sent by God to thee, I knew what was the *law of

* I do not know where to find the law of Moses here mentioned by Josephus, and afterward by Eleazar, VII. 8. and almost implied in I. 13. by Josephus's commendation of Phasaelus for doing so. I mean whereby Jewish generals and people were obliged to kill themselves, rather than go into slavery under heathens. I doubt

the Jews in this case ; and how it becomes generals to die. Dost thou send me to Nero ? For what purpose ? Are Nero's successors till they come to thee still alive ? Thou, O Vespasian, art Cæsar and emperor ; thou, and this thy son. Bind me now still faster, and keep me for thyself. For thou, O Cæsar, art not only lord over me, but over the land, and the sea, and all mankind.—And certainly I deserve to be kept in closer custody than I now am in, in order to be punished, if I rashly affirm any thing of God." When he had said this, Vespasian did not immediately believe him ; but supposed that Josephus said this, as a cunning trick, in order to his own preservation. But in a little time he was convinced, and believed what he said himself to be true.—God himself erecting his expectations, so as to think of obtaining the empire ; and by other signs foreshowing his advancement. He also found Josephus to have spoken truth on other occasions. For one of those friends that were present at that secret conference, said to Josephus, " I cannot but wonder how thou couldest not foretell to the people of Jotapata, that they should be taken : nor couldest foretell this captivity which hath happened to thyself ; unless what thou now sayest be a vain thing, in order to avoid the rage that is arisen against thyself." Josephus replied, " I did foretell to the people of Jotapata that they would be taken on the forty-seventh day ; and that I should be caught alive by the Romans." Now when Vespasian had inquired of the captives privately about these predictions, he found them to be true ; and then he began to believe those that concerned himself. Yet did he not set Josephus at liberty from his bands, but bestowed on him suits of clothes, and other precious gifts. He treated him also in a very obliging manner, and continued so to do ; Titus still joining his interest in the honours that were done him.

CHAP. IX.

OF THE REDUCTION OF JOPPA AND TIBERIAS.

NOW Vespasian returned to Ptolemais on the fourth day of

that would have been no better than self-murder. And I believe it was rather some vain doctrine, or interpretation of the rigid Pharisees, or Essenes, or Herodians, than a just consequence from any law of God delivered by Moses.

the month Panemus, or Tamuz;* and from thence he came to Cæsarea, which lay by the sea-side. This was a very great city of Judea, and for the most part inhabited by the Greeks. The citizens here received both the Roman army, and its general, with all sorts of acclamations and rejoicings; and this partly out of the good will they bore to the Romans, but principally out of the hatred they bore to those that were conquered by them. On which account they came clamouring against Josephus in crowds; and desired he might be put to death. But Vespasian passed over this petition concerning him, as offered by the injudicious multitude, with a bare silence. Two of the legions also he placed at Cæsarea, that they might there take their winter quarters; as perceiving the city very fit for such a purpose. But he placed the tenth and the fifth at Scythopolis, that he might not distress Cæsarea with the entire army. This place was warm, even in winter; as it was suffocating hot in the summer time, by reason of its situation in a plain, and near to the sea of Galilee.

In the mean time there were gathered together as well such as had seditiously got out from among their enemies, as those that had escaped out of the demolished cities, which were in all a great number; and repaired Joppa, which had been left desolate by Cestius, that it might serve them for a place of refuge. And because the adjoining region had been laid waste in the war, and was not capable of supporting them, they determined to go off to sea. They also built a great many piratical ships, and turned pirates upon the seas near to Syria, Phœnicia, and Egypt; and made those seas navigable to all men. Now as soon as Vespasian knew of their conspiracy, he sent both footmen and horsemen to Joppa; who entered the city, which was unguarded, in the night time. However, those that were in it perceived that they should be attacked, and were afraid of it. Yet did they not endeavour to keep the Romans out, but fled to their ships, and lay at sea all night, out of the reach of their darts.

Now Joppa is not naturally a haven, for it ends in a rough shore; where all the rest of it is straight, but the two ends bend toward each other; where there are deep precipices, and great

* A. D. 67.

stones that jet out into the sea ; and where the chains wherewith Andromeda was bound have left their vestiges, which attest to the antiquity of that fable. But the north wind opposes and beats upon the shore, and dashes mighty waves against the rocks, which receive them, and renders the haven more dangerous than the country they had deserted. Now as these people of Joppa were floating about in this sea, in the morning, there fell a violent wind upon them. It is called by those that sail there the black north wind : and there dashed their ships one against another, and dashed some of them against the rocks, and carried many of them by force, whilst they strove against the opposite waves, into the main sea : for the shore was so rocky, and had so many of the enemy upon it, that they were afraid to come to land. Nay the waves rose so very high that they drowned them. Nor was there any place whither they could fly, nor any way to save themselves : while they were thrust out of the sea, by the violence of the wind, if they staid where they were ; and out of the city, by the violence of the Romans. And much lamentation there was when the ships were dashed against one another, and a terrible noise when they were broken to pieces. And some of the multitude that were in them were covered with the waves, and so perished : and a great many were embarrassed with shipwrecks. But some of them thought that to die by their own swords was a lighter death than by the sea ; and so they killed themselves before they were drowned. Although the greatest part of them were carried by the waves, and dashed to pieces against the abrupt parts of the rocks. Insomuch that the sea was bloody a long way ; and the maritime parts were full of dead bodies. For the Romans came upon those that were carried to the shore, and destroyed them. And the number of the bodies that were thus thrown out of the sea was four thousand and two hundred. The Romans also took the city, without opposition, and utterly demolished it.

Thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a little time. But Vespasian, in order to prevent these pirates from coming thither any more, erected a camp there, where the citadel of Joppa had been : and left a body of horse in it, with a few footmen : that these last might stay there, and guard the camp : and the horsemen might spoil the country that lay round it, and might de-

stroy the neighbouring villages, and smaller cities. So these troops overran the country, as they were ordered to do; and every day cut to pieces, and laid desolate the whole region.

Now, when the fate of Jotapata was related at Jerusalem, a great many at the first disbelieved it; on account of the vastness of the calamity; and because they had no eye-witness to attest the truth of what was related about it. For not one person was saved to be a messenger of that news; but a report was spread abroad at random, that the city was taken: as such fame usually spreads bad news about. However, the truth was known by degrees, from the places near Jotapata, and appeared to all to be too true. Yet there were fictitious stories added to what was really done. For it was reported that Josephus was slain at the taking of the city: which piece of news filled Jerusalem full of sorrow. In every house also, and among all to whom any of the slain were allied, there was a lamentation for them. But the mourning for the commander was a public one. And some mourned for those that had lived with them: others for their kindred; others for their friends; and others for their brethren: but all mourned for Josephus. Insomuch, that the lamentation did not cease in the city before the *thirtieth day. And a great many hired †mourners, with their pipes, who should begin the melancholy ditties for them.

But as the truth came out in time, it appeared how the affairs of Jotapata really stood. Yet was it found that the death of Josephus was a fiction. And when they understood that he was alive, and was among the Romans, and that the commanders treated him at another rate than they treated captives, they were as vehemently angry at him now, as they had showed their good will before, when he appeared to have been dead. He was also abused by some as having been a coward; and by others as a deserter. And the city was full of indignation at him, and of reproaches cast upon him. Their rage was also aggravated by their afflictions, and more inflamed by their ill success. And

* See Deut. xxxiv. 8.

† These public mourners, hired upon the supposed death of Josephus, and the real death of many more, illustrate some passages in the Bible, which suppose the same custom: as Matt. xi. 17. where the reader may consult the notes of Grotius,

what usually becomes an occasion of caution to wise men, I mean affliction, became a spur to them to venture on farther calamities: and the end of one misery became still the beginning of another. They, therefore, resolved to fall on the Romans the more vehemently; as resolving to be revenged on him in revenging themselves on the Romans. And this was the state of Jerusalem as to the troubles which now came upon it.

But Vespasian, in order to see the kingdom of Agrippa, while the king himself persuaded him so to do: (partly in order to his treating the general and his army in the best and most splendid manner his private affairs would enable him to do; and partly that he might, by their means, correct such things as were amiss in his government :) he removed from that Cæsarea which was by the sea-side, and went to that which is called *Cæsarea Philippi. And there he refreshed his army for twenty days; and was himself feasted by king Agrippa. Where he also returned public thanks to God for the good success he had had in his undertakings.† But as soon as he was informed that Tiberias was fond of innovations, and that Taricheæ had revolted; both which cities were parts of the kingdom of Agrippa: and was satisfied within himself that the Jews were every where perverted from their obedience to their governors; he thought it seasonable to make an expedition against these cities; and that for the sake of Agrippa; and in order to bring his cities to reason. So he sent away his son Titus to the other Cæsarea, that he might bring the army that lay there to Scythopolis, which is the largest of ‡Decapolis, and in the neighbourhood of Tiberias: whither he came, and where he waited for his son. He then came with three legions, and pitched his camp thirty furlongs off Tiberias, at a certain station easily seen by the innovators. It is named Sennabris. He also sent Valerian, a decurion, with fifty horsemen, to speak peaceably to those that were in the city, and to exhort them to

* Of this Cæsarea Philippi, (twice mentioned in our New Testament, Matt. xvi. 13. Mark viii. 27.) there are coins still extant: as Spanheim here informs us.

† As all success results from the favour and blessing of God, thanksgiving for his mercies is a proper expression of gratitude; and this should be public, in proportion as the Divine goodness towards us is seasonable and liberal. B.

‡ See Matt. iv. 23. and Mark v. 25.

give him assurances of their fidelity. For he had heard that the people were desirous of peace; but were obliged by some of the seditious part to join with them, and so were forced to fight for them. When Valerian had marched up to the place, and was near the wall, he alighted off his horse, and made those that were with him do the same, that they might not be thought to come to skirmish with them. But before they could come to discourse one with another, the most potent men among the seditious made a sally upon them, armed. Their leader was one whose name was Jesus, the son of Saphat; the principal head of a band of robbers. Now Valerian, neither thinking it safe to fight contrary to the commands of the general, though he were secure of a victory; and knowing that it was a very hazardous undertaking for a few to fight with many; for those that were unprovided, to fight those that were ready; and being on other accounts surprised at this unexpected onset of the Jews, he ran away on foot: as did five of the rest in like manner, and left their horses behind them. Which horses Jesus led away into the city; and rejoiced, as if they had taken them in battle, and not by treachery.

Now the seniors of the people, and such as were of principal authority among them, fearing what would be the issue of this matter, fled to the camp of the Romans. They then took their king along with them, and fell down before Vespasian, to supplicate his favour; and besought him not to overlook them, nor to impute the madness of a few to the whole city; to spare a people that had been ever civil and obliging to the Romans: but to bring the authors of this revolt to due punishment; who had hitherto so watched them, that though they were zealous to give them the security of their right hands of a long time, yet could they not accomplish the same. With these supplications the general complied: although he were very angry at the whole city about the carrying off his horses: and this because he saw that Agrippa was under a great concern for them. So when Vespasian and Agrippa had accepted of their right hands, by way of security, Jesus and his party thought it not safe for them to continue at Tiberias; so they ran away to Tarichææ. The next day Vespasian sent Trajan before, with some horsemen to the citadel, to make trial of the multitude, whether they were all disposed for peace. And as

soon as he knew that the people were of the same mind with the petitioners, he took his army, and went to the city. Upon which the citizens opened to him their gates, and met him with acclamations of joy; and called him their saviour and benefactor. But as the army was a great while in getting in at the gates, they were so narrow, Vespasian commanded the south wall to be broken down, and so made a broad passage for their entrance. However he charged them to abstain from rapine and injustice in order to gratify the king. And on his account spared the rest of the wall; while the king undertook for them that they should continue faithful to the Romans for the time to come. And thus did he restore this city to a quiet state, after it had been grievously afflicted by the sedition.

CHAP. X.

THE REDUCTION OF TARICHEÆ.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE RIVER JORDAN, AND OF THE COUNTRY OF GENNESARETH.

NOW Vespasian pitched his camp between this city and Taricheæ: but fortified his camp more strongly, as suspecting that he should be forced to stay there, and have a long war. For all the innovators had assembled together at Taricheæ: as relying upon the strength of the city, and on the lake that lay by it; which is called by the people of the country the lake of Gennesareth. The city itself is situate like Tiberias, at the bottom of a mountain: and on those sides which are not washed by the sea had been strongly fortified by Josephus, though not so strongly as Tiberias. For the wall of Tiberias had been built at the beginning of the Jews' revolt, when he had great plenty of money, and great power. But Taricheæ partook only of the remains of that liberality. Yet had they a great number of ships gotten ready upon the lake; that in case they were beaten at land, they might retire to them; and they were so fitted up that they might undertake a sea fight also. But as the Romans were building a wall about their camp, Jesus and his party were neither affrighted at their number, nor at the good order they were in, but made a sally upon them; and at the very first onset the builders of the wall were dispersed, and these pulled what little they had built to pieces. But as soon as they

saw the armed men getting together, and before they had suffered any thing themselves, they retired to their own men. But then the Romans pursued them, and drove them into their ships, where they launched out as far as might give them the opportunity of reaching the Romans, with what they threw at them, and then cast anchor, and brought their ships close, as in a line of battle, and thence fought the enemy from the sea, who were themselves at land. But Vespasian hearing that a great multitude of them were gotten together in the plain that was before the city, he thereupon sent his son, with six hundred chosen horsemen, to disperse them.

But when Titus perceived that the enemy was very numerous, he sent to his father, and informed him, that he should want more forces. But as he saw a great many of the horsemen eager to fight before any succours could come to them; and that yet some of them were privately under a sort of consternation at the multitude of the Jews; he stood in a place whence he might be heard, and said to them, "My brave Romans! it is right for me to put you in mind of what nation you are, in the beginning of my speech; that so you may not be ignorant who you are, and who they are against whom we are going to fight. For as to us Romans, no part of the habitable earth hath been able to escape our hands hitherto. But as for the Jews, that I may speak of them too, though they have been already beaten, yet do they not give up the cause. And a sad thing it would be for us to grow weary under our good success, when they bear up under their misfortunes. As to the alacrity which you show publicly, I see it, and rejoice at it. Yet am I afraid lest the multitude of the enemy should bring a concealed terror upon some of you. Let such a one consider again, who we are that are to fight.—And who those are against whom we are to fight. Now these Jews, though they be very bold, and great despisers of death, are but a disorderly body, and unskillful in war, and may rather be called a rabble than an army: while I need say nothing of our skill, and our good order. For this is the reason why we Romans alone are exercised for war in time of peace, that we may not think of number for number, when we come to fight with our enemies. For what advantage should we reap by our continual sort of warfare, if we must still be equal in number to such as have not been used

to war? Consider farther, that you are to have a conflict with men in effect unarmed, while you are well armed; with footmen, while you are horsemen; with those that have no good general, while you have one. And as these advantages make you in effect manifold more than you are, so do their disadvantages mightily diminish their number. Now it is not the multitude of men, though they be soldiers, that manage wars with success: but it is their bravery that does it, though they be but a few. For a few are easily set in battle array, and can easily assist one another; while over numerous armies are more hurt by themselves, than by their enemies. Boldness and rashness, the effects of madness, conduct the Jews. Those passions indeed make a great figure when they succeed; but are quite extinguished upon the least ill success. But we are led on by courage, obedience, and fortitude: which show themselves indeed in our good fortune, but still do not for ever desert us in our ill fortune. Nay, indeed, your fighting is to be on greater motives than those of the Jews. For although they run the hazard of war for liberty, and for their country; yet what can be a greater motive to us than glory? and that it may never be said, that after we have got dominion of the habitable earth, the Jews are able to confront us. We must also reflect upon this, that there is no fear of our suffering any incurable disaster in the present case: for those that are ready to assist us are many, and at hand also. Yet is it in our power to seize upon this victory ourselves: and I think we ought to prevent the coming of those my father is sending to us for our assistance; that our success may be peculiar to ourselves, and of greater reputation to us. And I cannot but think this an opportunity wherein my father, myself, and each of you, shall be all put to the trial: whether he be worthy of his former glorious performances: whether I be his son in reality: and whether you be really my soldiers: for it is usual for my father to conquer. And for myself I should not bear the thoughts of returning to him if I were once taken by the enemy. And how will you be able to avoid being ashamed, if you do not show equal courage with your commander, when he goes before you into danger? For you know very well, that I shall go into the danger first, and make the first attack upon the enemy. Do not you therefore desert me; but persuade your-

selves that God will be assisting to my onset. Know this also before we begin, that we shall now have better success, than we should have, if we were to fight at a distance."

As Titus was saying this, an extraordinary fury fell upon the men. And as Trajan was already come before the fight began, with four hundred horsemen, they were uneasy at it; because the reputation of the victory would be diminished by being common to so many. Vespasian had also sent both Antonius and Silo, with two thousand archers; and had given it them in charge, to seize upon the mountain that was over against the city, and repel those that were upon the wall. Which archers did as they were commanded, and prevented those that attempted to assist them that way. And now Titus made his own horse march first against the enemy; as did the others march with a great noise after him; and extended themselves upon the plain as wide as the enemy which confronted them: by which means they appeared much more numerous than they really were. Now the Jews, although they were surprised at their onset and good order, made resistance against their attacks for a little while; but when they were pricked with their long poles, and overborne by the violent noise of the horsemen, they came to be trampled under their feet. Many also of them were slain on every side; which made them disperse themselves, and run to the city, as fast as every one of them were able. So Titus pressed upon the hindmost, and slew them: and of the rest some he fell upon as they stood on heaps; and some he prevented, and met them in the mouth, and run them through.—Many also he leaped upon as they fell upon one another, and trod them down, and cut off all the retreat they had to the wall, and turned them back into the plain, till at last they forced a passage by their multitude, and got away, and ran into the city.

But now there fell out a terrible sedition among them within the city. For the inhabitants themselves, who had possessions there, and to whom the city belonged, were not disposed to fight from the very beginning. And now the less so because they had been beaten. But the foreigners, who were very numerous, would force them to fight so much the more. Insomuch that there was a clamour and a tumult among them: as all mutually angry one at another. And when Titus heard this tumult, for he was not far

hundred and twenty furlongs, it first passes by the city Julias, and then passes through the middle of the lake Gennesareth. After which it runs a long way over a desert, and then makes its exit into the lake Asphaltites.

The country also that lies over against this lake hath the same name of Gennesareth. Its nature is wonderful, as well as its beauty. Its soil is so fruitful, that all sorts of trees can grow upon it; and the inhabitants accordingly plant all sorts of trees there. For the temper of the air is so well mixed, that it agrees very well with those several sorts: particularly the walnuts, which require the coldest air, flourish there in vast plenty. There are palm-trees also, which grow best in hot air. Fig-trees also, and olives grow near them, which yet require an air that is more temperate. One may call this place the ambition of nature; for it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another to agree together. It is a happy contention of the seasons: as if every one of them laid claim to this country. For it not only nourishes different sorts of autumnal fruit, beyond men's expectation; but preserves them also a great while. It supplies men with the principal fruits, with grapes* and figs, continually, during ten months of the year: and the rest of the fruits as they become ripe together through the whole year. For besides the good temperature of the air, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain. The people of the country call it Capharnaum. Some have thought it to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces the coracin fish as well as that lake does which is near to Alexandria. The length of this country extends along the banks of this lake, that bears the same name, for thirty furlongs; and its breadth twenty. And this is the nature of that place.

* It may be worth our while to observe here, that near this lake of Gennesareth grapes and figs hang on the trees ten months of the year. We may observe also, that in Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechis. xviii. § 8, which was delivered not long before Easter, there were no fresh leaves of fig-trees, nor bunches of grapes, in Judea. So that when St. Mark says, xi. 13, that our Saviour, soon after the same time of the year, came and found leaves on a fig-tree near Jerusalem, but no figs, because the time of new figs ripening was not yet; he says very true. Nor were they, therefore, other than old leaves which our Saviour saw, and old figs, which he expected; and which, even with us, commonly hang on the trees all the winter long.

But now, when the vessels were gotten ready, Vespasian put on shipboard as many of his forces as he thought sufficient to conquer those that were upon the lake, and set sail after them. Now these which were driven into the lake could neither fly to the land, where all was in the enemies' hand, and in war against them; nor could they fight upon the level by sea. For their ships were small, and fitted only for piracy; they were too weak to fight with Vespasian's vessels: and the mariners that were in them were so few, that they were afraid to come near the Romans; who attacked them in great numbers. However, as they sailed round about the vessels, and sometimes as they came near them, they threw stones at the Romans, when they were a good way off, or came closer and fought them. Yet did they receive the greatest harm themselves in both cases. As for the stones they threw at the Romans, they only made a sound one after another: for they threw them against such as were in their armour. While the Roman darts could reach the Jews themselves. And when they ventured to come near the Romans, they became sufferers, before they could do any harm to the other, and were drowned, they and their ships together. As for those that endeavoured to come to an actual fight, the Romans ran many of them through with their long poles. Sometimes the Romans leaped into their ships with swords in their hands, and slew them. But when some of them met the vessels, the Romans caught them by the middle, and destroyed at once their ships, and themselves who were taken in them. And for such as were drowning in the sea, if they raised their heads up above the water, they were either killed by darts, or caught by the vessels. But if, in the desperate case they were in, they attempted to swim to their enemies, the Romans cut off their heads or their hands. And indeed they were destroyed after various manners, every where; till the rest, being put to flight, were forced to get upon the land, while the vessels encompassed them about on the sea. But as many of these were repulsed when they were getting ashore, they were killed by the darts upon the lake: and the Romans leaped out of their vessels, and destroyed a great many more upon the land. One might then see the lake all bloody, and full of dead bodies: for not one of them escaped. And a terrible smell, and a very sad sight,

there was on the following days over that country. For as for the shores, they were full of shipwrecks, and of dead bodies all swelled; and as the corpses were inflamed by the sun, and putrefied, they corrupted the air. Insomuch that the misery was not only the object of commiseration to the Jews, but to those that hated them, and had been the authors of that misery. This was the result of the sea fight. The number of the slain, including those that were killed in the city before, was six thousand five hundred.

After this fight was over, Vespasian sat upon his tribunal at Taricheæ, in order to distinguish the foreigners from the old inhabitants. For those foreigners appeared to have begun the war. So he deliberated with the other commanders, whether he ought to save those old inhabitants or not? And when those commanders alleged, that the dismission of them would be to his own disadvantage, because when they were once set at liberty, they would not be at rest, since they would be people destitute of proper habitations, and would be able to compel such as they fled to, to fight against the Romans; Vespasian acknowledged, that they did not deserve to be saved; and that if they had leave given them to retire, they would make use of it against those that gave them that leave. But still he considered with himself,* after what manner they should be slain. For if he had them slain there, he suspected the people of the country would thereby become his enemies. For it was not probable they would bear that so many that had been supplicants to him should be killed; and to offer violence to them, after he had given them assurances of their lives, was repugnant to his own feelings. However, his friends were

* This is the most cruel and barbarous action that Vespasian ever did in this whole war: as he did it with great reluctance also. It was done both after public assurance given of sparing the prisoners' lives; and when all knew and confessed that these prisoners were no way guilty of any sedition against the Romans. Nor indeed did Titus now give his consent, so far as appears: nor ever act of himself so barbarously. Nay, soon after this, Titus grew quite weary of shedding blood, and of punishing the innocent with the guilty; and gave the people of Gischala leave to keep the Jewish Sabbath, IV. 2. in the midst of their siege. Nor was Vespasian disposed to do what he did, till his officers persuaded him; and that from two principal topics: viz. that nothing could be unjust that was done against Jews: and that when both cannot be consistent, advantage must prevail over justice.

too hard for him ; and pretended that nothing against Jews could be any impiety ; and that he ought to prefer what was profitable before what was fit to be done, where both could not be made consistent. So he gave them an ambiguous liberty, to do as they advised ; and permitted the prisoners to go along no other road than that which led to Tiberias. So they readily believed what they desired to be true, and went along securely, with their effects, the way which was allowed them ; while the Romans seized upon all the road that led to Tiberias, that none of them might go out of it ; and shut them up in the city. Then came Vespasian, and ordered them all to stand in the stadium ; and commanded them to kill the old men, together with the others that were useless, which were in number a thousand and two hundred. Out of the young men he chose six thousand of the strongest, and sent them to Nero, to dig through the isthmus ; and sold the remainder for slaves, being thirty thousand and four hundred : besides such as he made a present of to Agrippa. For as to those who belonged to his kingdom, he gave him leave to do what he pleased with them. However the king sold these also for slaves. But for the rest of the multitude, who were Trachonites, and Gaulanites, and of Hippos, and some of Gadara, the greatest part of them were seditious persons, and fugitives : who were of such shameful characters, that they preferred war before peace. These prisoners were taken on the eighth day of the month Gorpicus, or Elul.*

* A. D. 67.

THE
JEWISH WAR.

BOOK IV.

Containing an Interval of about One Year.

FROM THE SIEGE OF GAMALA, TO THE COMING OF TITUS TO BE-
SIEGE JERUSALEM.

CHAP. I.

THE SIEGE AND TAKING OF GAMALA.

Now all those Galileans who, after the taking of Jotapata, had revolted from the Romans, did, upon the conquest of Taricheæ, deliver themselves up to them again. And the Romans received all the fortresses, and the cities; excepting Gischala, and those that had seized upon mount Tabor. Gamala also, which is a city over against Taricheæ, but on the other side of the lake, conspired with them. This city lay upon the borders of Agrippa's kingdom, as also did Sogana, and Seleucia. And these were both parts of Gaulanitis. For Sogana was a part of that called the upper Gaulanitis; as was Gamala of the lower. While Seleucia was situate at the lake Semechonitis, which lake is thirty furlongs in breadth, and sixty in length. Its marshes reach as far as the place Daphne: which in other respects is a delicious place: and hath such fountains as supply water to what is called little Jordan, under the temple of the *golden calf, where it is sent into

* Here we have the exact situation of one of Jeroboam's golden calves, at the exit of little Jordan, into great Jordan, near a place called Daphne, but of old Dan. See the note on Antiq. VIII. 8. 2. But Reland suspects, that even here we should read Dan, instead of Daphne. There being nowhere else any mention of a place called Daphne in the Bible.

great Jordan. Now Agrippa had united Sogana and Seleucia by leagues to himself, at the very beginning of the revolt from the Romans. Yet did not Gamala accede to them; but relied upon the difficulty of the place, which was greater than that of Jotapata. For it was situate upon a rough ridge of a high mountain, with a kind of neck in the middle. Where it begins to ascend, it lengthens itself, and declines as much downward before, as behind. Insomuch that it is like a *camel in figure: from whence it is so named, although the people of the country do not pronounce it accurately. Both on the side and the face of these are abrupt parts, divided from the rest, and ending in deep vallies. Yet are the parts behind, where they are joined to the mountain, somewhat easier of ascent than the other. But then the people belonging to the place have cut an oblique ditch there, and made that hard to be ascended also. On its acclivity, which is straight, houses are built, and those very thick and close to one another. The city also hangs so strangely, that it looks as if it would fall down upon itself; so sharp is it at the top. It is exposed to the south: and its southern mount, which reaches to an immense height, was in the nature of a citadel to the city: and above that was a precipice, not walled about, but extending itself to an immense depth. There was also a spring of water within the wall, at the utmost limits of the city.

As this city was naturally hard to be taken, so had Josephus, by building a wall about it, made it still stronger; as also by ditches and mines under ground. The people that were in it were made more bold by the nature of the place, than the people of Jotapata had been: but it had much fewer fighting men in it. And they had such a confidence in the situation of the place, that they thought the enemy could not be too many for them. For the city had been filled with those that had fled to it for safety, on account of its strength. On which account they had been able to resist those whom Agrippa sent to besiege it, for seven months together.

But Vespasian removed from Emmaus, where he had last pitched his camp, before the city Tiberias: (now Emmaus, if it be in-

* Gamal is Hebrew for a camel.

terpreted, may be rendered a warm bath ; for therein is a spring of warm water, useful for healing :) and came to Gamala. Yet was its situation such that he was not able to encompass it all round with soldiers to watch it. But where the places were practicable, he set men to watch it, and seized upon that mountain which was over it. And as the legions, according to their usual custom, were fortifying their camp upon that mountain, he began to cast up banks at the bottom, at the part towards the east, where the highest tower of the whole city was, and where the fifteenth legion pitched their camp ; while the fifth legion did duty over against the midst of the city, and whilst the tenth legion filled up the ditches and the vallies. Now at this time it was, that as king Agrippa was come nigh the walls, and was endeavouring to speak to those that were on the walls, about a surrender, he was hit with a stone on his right elbow, by one of the slingers. He was then immediately surrounded by his own men. But the Romans were excited to set about the siege, by their indignation on the king's account, and by their fear on their own account ; as concluding that those men would omit no kinds of barbarity against foreigners and enemies : who were so enraged against one of their own nation, and one that advised them to nothing but what was for their own advantage.

Now when the banks were finished, which was done on the sudden, both by the multitude of hands, and by their being accustomed to such work, they brought the machines. But Chares and Joseph, who were the most potent men of the city, set their armed men in order, though already in a fright, because they did not suppose that the city could hold out long, since they had not a sufficient quantity either of water, or of other necessaries. However, their leaders encouraged them, and brought them out upon the wall. And for a while, indeed, they drove away those that were bringing the machines. But when those machines threw darts and stones at them, they retired into the city. Then did the Romans bring battering rams to three several places, and made the wall shake and fall. They then poured in over the parts of the wall that were thrown down, with a mighty sound of trumpets, and noise of armour, and with a shout of the soldiers, and brake in by force upon those that were in the city. But these

men fell upon the Romans for some time, at their first entrance, and prevented their going any farther; and with great courage beat them back. And the Romans were so overpowered by the greater multitude of the people, who beat them on every side, that they were obliged to run into the upper parts of the city. Whereupon the people turned about, and fell upon their enemies, who had attacked them, and thrust them down to the lower parts: and, as they were distressed by the narrowness and difficulty of the place, slew them. And as these Romans could neither beat those back that were above them, nor escape the force of their own men that were forcing their way forward, they were compelled to flee into their enemies' houses, which were low. But these houses, being thus full of soldiers, whose weight they could not bear, fell down suddenly. And when one house fell, it shook down a great many of those that were under it: as did those do to such as were under them. By this means a vast number of the Romans perished. For they were so terribly distressed, that although they saw the houses subsiding, they were compelled to leap upon the tops of them. So that a great many were crushed to powder by these ruins, and a great many of those that got from them lost some of their limbs. But still a greater number were suffocated by the dust that arose from these ruins. The people of Gamala supposed this to be an assistance afforded them by God: and without regarding what damage they suffered themselves, they pressed forward, and thrust the enemy upon the tops of their houses; and when they stumbled in the sharp and narrow streets, and were perpetually falling down, they threw their stones or darts at them, and slew them. Now the very ruins afforded them stones enough. And for iron weapons, the dead men of the enemy's side afforded them what they wanted. For, drawing the swords of those that were dead, they made use of them, to despatch such as were only half dead. Nay, there were a great number who, upon their falling down from the tops of the houses, stabbed themselves, and died after that manner. Nor, indeed, was it easy for those that were beaten back to flee away. For they were so unacquainted with the ways, and the dust was so thick, that they wandered about without knowing one another, and fell down dead among the crowd.

Those, therefore, that were able to find the ways out of the city, retired. But now Vespasian always stayed among those that were hard set, for he was deeply affected with seeing the ruins of the city falling upon his army, and forgot to take care of his own preservation. He went up gradually towards the highest parts of the city before he was aware, and was left in the midst of dangers: having only a very few with him. For even his son Titus was not with him at that time, having been sent into Syria, to *Mucianus. However, he thought it not safe to flee: nor did he esteem it a fit thing for him to do. But calling to mind the actions he had done from his youth, and recollecting his courage; as if he had been excited by a divine fury, he covered himself and those that were with him with their shields, and formed a testudo over both their bodies, and their armour; and bore up against the attacks of the enemy, who came running down from the top of the city: and without showing any dread at the multitude of the men, or of their darts, he endured all, until the enemy took notice of that divine courage that was in him, and remitted of their attacks. And when they pressed less zealously upon him, he retired; though without turning his back to them, till he was gotten out of the walls of the city. Now a great number of the Romans fell in this battle: among whom was Ebutius, the decurion; a man who appeared not only in this engagement, wherein he fell, but every where, and in former engagements, to be of the truest courage: and one that had done very great mischief to the Jews. But there was a centurion, whose name was Gallus, who, during this disorder, being encompassed about, he and ten other soldiers privately crept into the house of a certain person; where he heard them talking at supper, what the people intended to do against the Romans, or about themselves. (For both the man himself, and those with him, were Syrians.) So he got up in the night time, and cut all their throats, and escaped, together with his soldiers, to the Romans.

* Tacitus very often mentions this Mucianus, as president of Syria, and a great friend of Vespasian's, Hist. l. pages 355, 397, 428, &c. 445, 466, 472, &c. 487, 505, 522, 627. And Spanheim assures us, that there are coins of his extant at this day. He is elsewhere spoken of by Josephus several times, under the same capacities, IV. 9, 10, and 11. Antiq. XII. 3.

Now Vespasian comforted his army, which was much dejected by reflecting on their ill success; and because they had never before fallen into such a calamity: and besides this, because they were greatly ashamed that they had left their general alone in great dangers. As to what concerned himself, he avoided to say any thing, that he might by no means seem to complain of it. But he said, "We ought to bear manfully what usually falls out in war; and this by considering what the nature of war is; and how it can never be that we must conquer without bloodshed on our own side. For there stands about us that fortune, which is of its own nature mutable. You have killed many ten thousands of the Jews; and, on the other hand, you have now paid your small share of reckoning to fate. And as it is the part of weak people to be too much puffed up with good success; so it is the part of cowards to be too much affrighted at that which is ill. For the change from one to the other is sudden on both sides. And he is the best warrior, who is of a sober mind under misfortunes; that he may continue in that temper, and cheerfully recover what had been lost formerly. And as for what has now happened, it was neither owing to our effeminacy, nor to the valour of the Jews; but the difficulty of the place was the occasion of their advantage, and of our disappointment. Upon reflecting on which matter one might blame your zeal as quite ungovernable. For when the enemy had retired to their highest fastnesses, you ought to have restrained yourselves; and not, by presenting yourselves at the top of the city, to be exposed to dangers. But upon your having obtained the lower parts of the city, you ought to have provoked those that had retired thither to a safe and settled battle: whereas in rushing so hastily upon victory, you took no care of your safety. But this incautiousness in war, and this madness of zeal, is not a Roman maxim: while we perform all that we attempt by skill and good order. That procedure is the part of barbarians, and is what the Jews chiefly support themselves by. We ought, therefore, to return to our own virtue; and to be rather angry, than any longer dejected, at this unlucky misfortune. And let every one seek for his own consolation from his own hand. For by this means he will avenge those that have been destroyed, and punish those that have killed them. For myself, I will endeavour,

as I have now done, to go first before you against your enemies, in every engagement, and to be the last that retires from it."

So Vespasian encouraged his army by this speech. But for the people of Gamala, it happened that they took courage for a little while, upon such great and unaccountable success as they had had. But when they considered with themselves, that they had now no hopes of any terms of accommodation : and reflecting that they could not get away ; and that their provisions began already to be short, they were exceedingly cast down, and their courage failed them. Yet did they not neglect what might be for their preservation, so far as they were able : but the most courageous among them guarded those parts of the wall that were beaten down : while the more infirm did the same to the rest of the wall that still remained round their city. And as the Romans raised their banks, and attempted to get into the city a second time, a great many of them fled out of the city through impracticable vallies, where no guards were placed : as also through subterraneous caverns. While those that were afraid of being caught, and for that reason staid in the city, perished for want of food. For what food they had was brought together from all quarters, and reserved for the fighting men.

And these were the hard circumstances the people of Gamala were in. But now Vespasian went about another work during this siege ; and that was to subdue those that had seized upon mount Tabor : a place that lies in the middle between the great plain and Scythopolis ; whose top is elevated as high as *thirty furlongs, and is hardly to be ascended on its north side. Its top is a plain of twenty-six furlongs, and all encompassed with a wall. Now Josephus erected this wall in forty-days' time ; and furnish-

* These numbers in Josephus of 30 furlongs' ascent to the top of mount Tabor, whether we estimate it by winding and gradual, or by the perpendicular altitude ; and of 26 furlongs' circumference upon the top : as also the 15 furlongs for this ascent in Polybius : with Geminus's perpendicular altitude of almost 14 furlongs, here noted by Dr. Hudson, do none of them agree with the authentic testimony of Mr. Maundrell, an eyewitness, page 112, who says, he was not an hour in getting up to the top of this mount Tabor : and that the area of the top is an oval of about two furlongs in length, and one in breadth. So I rather suppose Josephus wrote three furlongs for the ascent or altitude, instead of thirty ; and six furlongs for the circumference at the top, instead of 26. Since a mountain of only three

ed it with other materials, and with water from below. For the inhabitants only made use of rain water. As, therefore, there was a great multitude of people gotten together upon this mountain, Vespasian sent Placidus, with six hundred horsemen, thither. Now as it was impossible for him to ascend the mountain, he invited many of them to peace, by the offer of his right hand for their security; and of his intercession for them. Accordingly they came down, but with a treacherous design: as well as he had the like treacherous design upon them on the other side. For Placidus spoke mildly to them; as aiming to take them, when he got them into the plain. They also came down, as complying with his proposals: but it was in order to fall upon him when he was not aware of it. However, Placidus's stratagem was too hard for theirs. For when the Jews began to fight, he pretended to run away: and when they were in pursuit of the Romans, he enticed them a great way along the plain, and then made his horsemen turn back. Whereupon he slew a great number of them, and cut off the retreat of the rest of the multitude, and hindered their return. So they left Tabor and fled to Jerusalem. While the people of the country came to terms with him. For their water failed them, and so they delivered up the mountain and themselves to Placidus.

But of the people of Gamala, those that were of the bolder sort fled away, and hid themselves: while the more infirm perished by famine. But the men of war sustained the siege till the two and twentieth day of the month Hyperbereteus, or Tisri. When three soldiers of the fifteenth legion, about the morning watch, got under a high tower that was near them, and undermined it, without making any noise. Now when they either came to it, which was in the night time, nor when they were under it, did those that guarded it perceive them. These soldiers then upon their coming avoided making a noise. And when they had rolled away

furlongs perpendicular altitude may easily require an hour's ascent: and the circumference of an oval of the foregoing quantity is near six furlongs. Nor certainly could such a vast circumference as 26 furlongs, or 3 1-4 miles, at that height, be encompassed with a wall, including a trench and other fortifications, perhaps those still remaining, *ibid.* in the small interval of 40 days, as Josephus here says they were by himself.

five of its strongest stones, they went away hastily : whereupon the tower fell down of a sudden, with a very great noise, and its guard fell headlong with it. So that those that kept guard at other places were under such disturbance that they ran away. The Romans also slew many of those that ventured to oppose them : among whom was Joseph, who was slain by a dart, as he was running away over that part of the wall that was broken down. But as those that were in the city were greatly affrighted at the noise, they ran hither and thither ; and a great consternation fell upon them, as though all the enemy had fallen in at once upon them. Then it was that Chares, who was ill, and under the physician's hands, gave up the ghost. The fear he was in greatly contributing to make his distemper fatal to him. But the Romans so well remembered their former ill success, that they did not enter the city till the three and twentieth day of the aforementioned month.

At that time Titus, who was now returned, out of the indignation he had at the destructions the Romans had undergone while he was absent, took two hundred chosen horsemen, and some footmen with them, and entered, without noise, into the city. Now as the watch perceived that he was coming, they made a noise, and betook themselves to their arms. And as his entrance was presently known to those that were in the city, some of them caught hold of their children, and their wives, and drew them after them, and fled away to the citadel, with lamentations and cries : while others went to meet Titus, and were killed perpetually. But so many of them as were hindered from running up to the citadel, not knowing what in the world to do, fell among the Roman guards : while the groans of those that were killed were prodigious every where ; and blood ran down over all the lower parts of the city, from the upper. But then Vespasian himself came to his assistance against those that had fled to the citadel ; and brought his whole army with him. Now this upper part of the city was every way rocky, and difficult of ascent, and elevated to a vast altitude, and very full of people on all sides, and encompassed with precipices. Whereby the Jews cut off those that came up to them, and did much mischief to others, by their darts, and

the large stones which they rolled down upon them.* While they were themselves so high, that the enemies' darts could hardly reach them. However, there arose such a divine storm against them, as was instrumental to their destruction. This carried the Roman darts upon them; and made those which they threw return back, and drove them obliquely away from them. Nor could the Jews indeed stand upon their precipices, by reason of the violence of the wind, having nothing that was stable to stand upon. Nor could they see those that were ascending up to them. So the Romans got up, and surrounded them: and some they slew, before they could defend themselves; and others as they were delivering up themselves. And the remembrance of those that were slain at their former entrance into the city increased their rage against them now. A great number also of those that were surrounded on every side, and despaired of escaping, threw their children, their wives, and themselves also, down the precipices, into the valley beneath: which, near the citadel, had been dug hollow to a vast depth. But it happened that the anger of the Romans appeared not to be so extravagant, as was the madness of those that were now taken: for the Romans slew but four thousand; whereas the number of those that had thrown themselves down was found to be five thousand. Nor did any one escape; except two women, who were the daughters of Philip; and Philip himself was the son of a certain eminent man called Jacimus; who had been general of king Agrippa's army. And these did, therefore, escape, because they lay concealed from the rage of the Romans, when the city was taken. For otherwise they spared not so much as the infants; many of whom were flung down by them from the citadel.

And thus was Gamala taken, on the three and twentieth day of the month Hyperbereteus, or Tisri: whereas the city had first re-

* This very destructive mode of repelling an attacking foe was practised when circumstances were favourable to it. Hence it was usual for soldiers to protect themselves under large and broad shields, so closely brought into contact with each other as to screen them from danger, and enable them to prosecute the assault. A representation of this military stratagem may be seen in Potter's *Archæologia Græca*, Vol. I. B.

volted on the four and twentieth day of the month Gorpicus, or Elul.

CHAP. II.

THE SURRENDER OF GISCHALA ; WHILE JOHN FLEES AWAY FROM IT TO JERUSALEM.

NOW no place of Galilee remained to be taken, but the small city of Gischala : whose multitude yet were desirous of peace. For they were generally husbandmen ; and always applied themselves to cultivate the fruits of the earth. However, there were a great number that belonged to a band of robbers, that were already corrupted, and had crept in among them : and some of the governing part of the citizens were sick of the same distemper. It was John, the son of a certain man whose name was Levi, who drew them into this rebellion, and encouraged them in it. He was a cunning knave, and of a temper that could put on various shapes : very rash in expecting great things ; and very sagacious in bringing about what he hoped for. It was known to every body that he was fond of war, in order to thrust himself into authority. And the seditious part of the people of Gischala were under his management. By whose means the populace, who seemed ready to send ambassadors, in order to a surrender, waited for the coming of the Romans in battle array. Vespasian sent against them Titus, with a thousand horsemen ; but withdrew the tenth legion to Scythopolis ; while he returned to Cæsarea, with the two other legions ; that he might allow them to refresh themselves after their long and hard campaign : thinking withal that the plenty which was in those cities would improve their bodies and their spirits, against the difficulties they were to go through afterward. For he saw there would be occasion for great pains about Jerusalem, which was not yet taken, because it was the royal city, and the principal city of the whole nation ; and because those that had run away from the war in other places, got all together thither. It was also naturally strong ; and the walls that were built around it made him not a little concerned about it. Moreover, he esteemed the men that were in it to be so courageous, that even without

the consideration of the walls, it would be hard to subdue them. For which reason he took care of, and exercised his soldiers beforehand, for the work, as they do wrestlers, before they begin their undertaking.

Now Titus, as he rode up to Gischala, found it would be easy for him to take the city upon the first onset. But knew withal, that if he took it by force, the multitude would be destroyed by the soldiers without mercy. (Now he was already satiated with the shedding of blood; and pitied the major part, who would then perish, without distinction, together with the guilty.) So he was rather desirous the city might be surrendered up to him upon terms. Accordingly, when he saw the wall full of those men that were of the corrupted party, he said to them, that he could not but wonder what it was they depended on; when they alone staid to fight the Romans, after every other city was taken by them. Especially when they had seen cities, much better fortified than theirs, overthrown by a single attack upon them: While as many as had entrusted themselves to the security of the Romans' right hands, which he now offered to them, without regarding their former insolence, enjoyed their own possessions in safety. For that while they had hopes of recovering their liberty, they might be pardoned. But that their continuance still in their opposition, when they saw that to be impossible, was inexcusable. For that, if they would not comply with such humane offers, and right hands for security, they should have experience of such a war as would spare nobody; and should soon be made sensible, that their wall would be but a trifle, when battered by the Roman machines. In depending on which they would demonstrate themselves to be the only Galileans, that were no better than arrogant slaves and captives.

Now none of the populace durst not only make a reply, but durst not so much as get upon the wall. For it was all taken up by the robbers: who were also the guard at the gates, in order to prevent any of the rest from going out, in order to propose terms of submission; and from receiving any of the horsemen into the city. But John returned Titus this answer: "That for himself he was content to hearken to his proposals; and that he would either persuade or force those that refused them. Yet he said,

that Titus ought to have such regard to the Jewish law, as to grant them leave to celebrate that day, which was the seventh day of the week : on which it was unlawful not only to remove their arms, but even to treat of peace also. And that even the Romans were not ignorant, how the period of the seventh day was among them a cessation from all labours : and that he who should compel them to transgress the law respecting that day, would be equally guilty with those who were compelled to transgress it. And that this delay could be of no disadvantage to him. For why should any body think of doing any thing in the night, unless it were to flee away ? which he might prevent by placing his camp round about them. And that they should think it a great point gained, if they might not be obliged to transgress the laws of their country. And that it would be a right thing for him, who designed to grant them peace, without their expectation of such a favour, to preserve the laws of those they saved inviolable." Thus did this man put a trick upon Titus : not so much out of regard to the seventh day, as to his own preservation. For he was afraid lest he should be quite deserted, if the city should be taken ; and had his hopes of life in that night, and in his flight therein. Now this was the work of God ; who, therefore, preserved this John, that he might bring on the destruction of Jerusalem. As also it was his work that Titus was prevailed with by this pretence for a delay ; and that he pitched his camp farther off the city, at Cydessa. This Cydessa was a strong Mediterranean village of the Tyrians ; which always hated, and made war against, the Jews. It had also a great number of inhabitants, and was well fortified : which made it a proper place for such as were enemies to the Jewish nation.

Now in the night time,* when John saw that there was no Roman guard about the city, he seized the opportunity directly : and taking with him not only the armed men that were about him, but a considerable number of those that had little to do, together with their families, he fled to Jerusalem. And, indeed, though the man

* As darkness is so favourable to those who resort to artifice when violence will not prevail, the utmost vigilance should be used to prevent any advantage being taken of it. The want of this care has often proved fatal. B.

was making haste to get away, and was tormented with fears of being a captive, or of losing his life, yet did he prevail with himself to take out of the city along with him a multitude of women and children, as far as twenty furlongs : but there he left them, as he proceeded farther upon his journey : where those that were left behind made sad lamentations. For the farther every one of them was come from his own people, the nearer they thought themselves to be to their enemies. They also affrighted themselves with this thought, that those who would carry them into captivity were just at hand ; and still turned themselves back at the mere noise they made themselves in their hasty flight : as if those from whom they fled were just upon them. Many also missed their ways : and the earnestness of such as aimed to outgo the rest, threw down many of them. And, indeed, there was a miserable destruction made of the women and children. While some of them took the courage to call their husbands and kinsmen back ; and to beseech them, with the bitterest lamentations, to stay for them. But John's exhortation, who cried out to them to save themselves, and flee away, prevailed. He said also, that if the Romans should seize upon those whom they left behind, they would be revenged on them for it. So this multitude that ran thus away was dispersed abroad ; according as each of them was able to run, one faster or slower than another.

Now on the next day Titus came to the wall, to make the agreement. Whereupon the people opened their gates, and came out to meet him, with their children and wives ; and made acclamations of joy to him, as to one that had been their benefactor, and had delivered the city out of custody. They also informed him of John's flight : and besought him to spare them, and to come in, and bring the rest of those that were for innovations to punishment. But Titus, not so much regarding the supplications of the people, sent part of his horsemen to pursue after John. But they could not overtake him, for he was gotten to Jerusalem before ; they also slew six thousand of the women and children who went out with him : but returned back and brought with them almost three thousand. However, Titus was greatly displeased that he had not been able to bring this John, who had deluded

him to punishment. Yet he had captives enough, as well as the corrupted part of the city, to satisfy his anger, when it missed of John. So he entered the city in the midst of acclamations of joy. And when he had given orders to the soldiers to pull down a small part of the wall, as of a city taken in war, he repressed those that had disturbed the city rather by threatenings, than by executions. For he thought that many would accuse innocent persons, out of their own private animosities and quarrels, if he should attempt to distinguish those that were worthy of punishment from the rest : and that it was better to let a guilty person alone under his fears, than to destroy with him any one that did not deserve it. For that probably such a one might be taught prudence, by the fear of the punishment he had deserved ; and have a shame upon him for his former offences, when he had been forgiven. But that the punishment of such as had been once put to death could never be retrieved. However, he placed a garrison in the city, for its security. By which means he should restrain those that were for innovations ; and should leave those that were peaceably disposed in greater security. And thus was all Galilee taken ; but this not till after it had cost the Romans much pains before it could be taken by them.

CHAP. III.

CONCERNING JOHN OF GISCHALA ; THE ZEALOTS, AND THE HIGH-PRIEST ANANUS : ALSO OF THE SEDITIONS RAISED BY THE JEWS IN JERUSALEM.

UPON John's entry into Jerusalem, the whole body of the people were in an uproar : and ten thousand of them crowded about every one of the fugitives that were come to them ; and inquired what miseries had happened abroad : when their breath was so short, and hot, and quick, that of itself it declared the great distress they were in. Yet did they talk big under their misfortunes, and pretended to say, that they had not fled away from the Romans, but came thither in order to fight them with less hazard. For that it would be an unreasonable and a fruitless thing to expose themselves to desperate hazards about Gischala, and such weak cities : whereas they ought to lay up their weapons,

and their zeal, and reserve them for their metropolis. But when they related to them the taking Gischala, and their decent departure, as they pretended, from that place, many of the people understood it to be no better than a flight. And especially when the people were told of those that were made captives, they were in great confusion, and guessed those things to be plain indications that they should be taken also. But for John, he was very little concerned for those whom he had left behind, but went about among the people, and persuaded them to go to war, by the hopes he gave them. He affirmed that the affairs of the Romans were in a weak condition; and extolled his own power. He also jested upon the ignorance of the unskilful; as if those Romans, although they should take to themselves wings, could never fly over the walls of Jerusalem, who found such great difficulties in taking the villages of Galilee, and had broken their engines of war against their walls.

These harangues of John corrupted a great part of the young men, and puffed them up for the war. But as to the more prudent part, and those in years, there was not a man of them but foresaw what was coming, and made lamentation on that account, as if the city were already undone. And in this confusion were the people. But then it must be observed, that the multitude that came out of the country, were at discord before the Jerusalem sedition began. For Titus went from Gischala to Cæsarea, and Vespasian from Cæsarea to Jamnia, and Azotus, and took them both: and when he had put garrisons into them, he came back with a great number of the people, who were come over to him, upon his giving them his right hand for their preservation. There were besides disorders and civil wars in every city; and all those that were at quiet from the Romans turned their hands one against another. There was also a bitter contest between those that were fond of war, and those that were desirous of peace. At the first this quarrelsome temper caught hold of private families, who would not agree among themselves. After which those people that were the dearest to one another, brake through all restraints with regard to each other; and every one associated with those of his own opinion, and began already to stand in opposition one to another. So that seditions arose every where; while those

that were for innovations, and were desirous of war, by their youth and boldness were too hard for the aged and the prudent men. And in the first place all the people betook themselves to rapine: after which they got together in bodies, in order to rob the people of the country. Insomuch that for barbarity and iniquity, those of the same nation did no way differ from the Romans. Nay, it seemed to be a much lighter thing to be ruined by the Romans, than by themselves.

Now the Roman garrisons, which guarded the cities, partly out of their uneasiness to take such trouble upon them; and partly of the hatred they bare to the Jewish nation, did little or nothing towards relieving the miserable. Till the captains of these troops of robbers, being satiated with rapine in the country, got all together, from all parts, and became a band of wickedness, and all together crept into Jerusalem, which was now become a city without a governor; and, as the ancient custom was, received without distinction all that belonged to their nation. And these they then received, because all men supposed that those who came so fast into the city, came out of kindness, and for their assistance. Although these very men, besides the seditions they raised, were otherwise the direct cause of the city's destruction also. For as they were an unprofitable and a useless multitude, they spent those provisions beforehand which might otherwise have been sufficient for the fighting men. Moreover, besides the bringing on of the war, they were the occasions of sedition and famine therein.

There were besides these, other robbers that came out of the country, and came into the city, and joining to them those that were worse than themselves, omitted no kind of barbarity. For they did not measure their courage by their rapines and plunderings only, but proceeded as far as murdering men: and this not in the night time, or privately, or with regard to ordinary men: but did it openly, in the day time; and began with the most eminent persons in the city. For the first man they meddled with was *Antipas, one of the royal lineage, and the most potent man in the whole city; insomuch that the public treasures were com-

* See the name, Apoc. ii. 3.

mitted to his care. Him they took and confined: as they did in the next place to Levias, a person of great note, with Sophas the son of Ragnel; both of whom were of royal lineage also. And besides these they did the same to the principal men of the country. This caused a terrible consternation among the people; and every one contented himself with taking care of his own safety, as they would do if the city had been taken in war.

But these were not satisfied with the bonds into which they had put the aforementioned persons. Nor did they think it safe for them to keep them thus in custody long: since they were men very powerful, and had numerous families that were able to avenge them. Nay, they thought the very people would perhaps be so moved at these unjust proceedings, as to rise in a body against them. It was, therefore, resolved to have them slain. Accordingly they sent one John, who was the most sanguinary of them all, to do that execution. This man was also called the son of *Dorcas, in the language of our country. Ten more men went along with him into the prison, with their swords drawn; and so they cut the throats of those that were in custody there. The grand pretence these men made for so flagrant an enormity was, that these men had had conferences with the Romans, for a surrender of Jerusalem to them: and so they said they had slain only such as were traitors to their common liberty. Upon the whole, they grew the more insolent upon this bold prank of theirs, as though they had been the benefactors and saviours of the city.

Now the people were come to that degree of meanness and fear, and these robbers to that degree of madness, that these last took upon them to appoint †high-priests. So when they had disannul-

* This name Dorcas in Greek, was Tabitha in Hebrew or Syriac, as Acts ix. 36. Accordingly some of the manuscripts set it down here Tabetha, or Tabeta. Nor can the context in Josephus be made out but by supposing the reading to have been this, the son of Tabitha: which in the language of our country denotes Dorcas, or a doe.

† Here we may discover the utter disgrace and ruin of the high-priesthood among the Jews. When undeserving, ignoble, and vile persons were advanced to the holy office by the seditious. Which sort of high-priests, as Josephus well remarks here, were thereupon obliged to comply with, and assist those that advanced them in their impious practices. The names of these high-priests, or rather ridiculous and profane persons, were Jesus the son of Damneus; Jesus the son of Gamaliel; Matthias.

led the succession, according to those families out of which the high-priests used to be made, they ordained certain unknown and ignoble persons for that office : that they might have their assistance in their wicked undertakings. For such as obtained this highest of all honours, without any desert, were forced to comply with those that bestowed it on them. They also set the principal men at variance one with another, by several sorts of contrivances and tricks : and gained the opportunity of doing what they pleased, by the mutual quarrels of those who might have obstructed their measures. Till at length, when they were satiated with the unjust actions they had done towards men, they transferred their contumelious behaviour to God himself, and came into the sanctuary with polluted feet.

Now the multitude were going to rise against them already. For Ananus, the most ancient of the high-priests, persuaded them to it. He was a very prudent man, and had perhaps saved the city if he could but have escaped the hands of those that plotted against him. Those men made the temple of God a strong hold for them, and a place whither they might resort, in order to avoid the troubles they feared from the people : the sanctuary was now become a refuge, and a scene of tyranny. They also mixed jesting among the miseries they introduced, which was more intolerable than what they did : for in order to try what surprise the people would be under, and how far their own power extended, they undertook to dispose of the high-priesthood by casting lots for it : whereas, as we have said already, it was to descend by succession in a family. The pretence they made for this strange attempt was an ancient practice, while they said that *of old it was determined by lot. But in truth it was no better than a dissolution of an undeniable law, and a cunning contrivance to seize upon the government, derived from those that presumed to appoint governors as they themselves pleased.

Hereupon they sent for one of the pontifical tribes, which is

the son of Theophilus ; and that prodigious ignoramus Phannias, the son of Samuel. All which we shall meet with in Josephus's future history of this war. Nor do we meet with any other so much as pretended high-priest after Phannias, till Jerusalem was taken and destroyed.

* Numbers xvii.

called *Eniachim, and cast lots which of it should be the high-priest. By fortune the lot so fell as to demonstrate their iniquity after the plainest manner; for it fell upon one whose name was Phannias, the son of Samuel, of the village Aphtha. He was a man not only unworthy of the high-priesthood, but that did not well know what the high-priesthood was: such a mere rustic was he. Yet did they bring this man, without his own consent, out of the country, as if they were acting a play upon the stage, and adorned him with a counterfeited face. They also put upon him the sacred garments: and upon every occasion instructed him what he was to do. This horrid piece of wickedness was sport and pastime with them. But occasioned the other priests, who, at a distance, saw their law made a jest of, to shed tears; and sorely to lament the dissolution of such a sacred dignity.

Now the people could no longer bear the insolence of this procedure; but did all together run zealously in order to overthrow that tyranny. And, indeed, they were Gorion the son of Josephus, and Symeon† the son of Gamaliel, who encouraged them, by going up and down when they were assembled together in crowds, and as they saw them alone, to bear no longer; but to inflict punishment upon these pests and plagues of their freedom; and to purge the temple of these base polluters. The best esteemed also of the high-priests, Jesus the son of Gamalas, and Ananus the son of Ananus, when they were at their assemblies, bitterly reproached the people for their sloth, and excited them against the zealots. For that was the name they went by; as if they were zealous in good undertakings; and were not rather zealous in the worst actions, and extravagant in them beyond the example of others.

* This tribe or course of the high-priests or priests here called Eniakim, seems to the learned Mr. Lowth, one well versed in Josephus, to be that 1 Chron. xxiv. 12, the Course of Jakim: where some copies have the Course of Eliakim. And I think this to be by no means an improbable conjecture.

† This Symeon, the son of Gamaliel, is mentioned as the president of the Jewish Sanhedrim, and one that perished in the destruction of Jerusalem, by the Jewish Rabbins; as Reland observes on this place. He also tells us, that those Rabbins mention one Jesus, the son of Gamala, as once a high-priest: but this long before the destruction of Jerusalem. So that if he were the same person with this Jesus the son of Gamala, in Josephus, he must have lived to be very old, or they have been very bad chronologers.

Now when the multitude were gotten together to an assembly, and every one was in indignation at these men's seizing upon the sanctuary; at their rapine and murders; but had not yet begun their attacks upon them: (the reason of which was, that they imagined it to be a difficult thing to suppress these zealots; as, indeed, the case was :) Ananus stood in the midst of them; and casting his eyes frequently at the temple, and having a flood of tears in his eyes, he said, "Certainly it had been good for me to die before I had seen the house of God full of so many abominations; or these sacred places, that ought not to be trodden upon at random, filled with the feet of these blood-shedding villains.— Yet do I, who am clothed with the vestments of the high-priesthood, and am called by that most venerable name of high-priest, still live, and am but too fond of living; and cannot endure to undergo a death, which would be the glory of my old age.— And if I were the only person concerned, and as it were in a desert, I would give up my life, and that alone for God's sake. For to what purpose is it to live among a people insensible of their calamities, and where there is no notion remaining of any remedy for the miseries that are upon them? For when you are seized upon you bear it: and when you are beaten you are silent; and when people are murdered nobody dares so much as to send out a groan openly. O bitter tyranny that we are under! But why do I complain of the tyrants? Was it not you, and your sufferance of them, that have nourished them? Was it not you that overlooked those that first of all got together, for there were then but a few; and by your silence made them grow to be many? And by conniving at them when they took arms, in effect armed them against yourselves? You ought to have then prevented their first attempts, when they began reproaching your relations. But by neglecting that care in time, you have encouraged these wretches to plunder men. When houses were pillaged, nobody said a word: which was the occasion why they carried off the owners of those houses; and when they were drawn through the midst of the city nobody came to their assistance. They then proceeded to put those whom you had betrayed into their hands into bonds. I do not say how many, and of what characters those men were whom they thus served:

but certainly they were such as were accused by none, and condemned by none. And since nobody succoured them when they were put into bonds, the consequence was, that you saw the same persons slain. We have seen this also ; so that still the best of the herd of brute animals, as it were, have been led to be sacrificed, when yet nobody said one word, or moved his right hand for their preservation. Will you bear, therefore ? Will you bear to see your sanctuary trampled on ? And will you lay steps for these profane wretches, upon which they may mount to higher degrees of insolence ? Will not you pluck them down from their exaltation ? For even by this time they had proceeded to higher enormities, if they had not been able to overthrow any thing greater than the sanctuary. They have seized upon the strongest place of the whole city ; you may call it the temple if you please ; though it be like a citadel or fortress. Now while you have tyranny in so great a degree walled in, and see your enemies over your heads, to what purpose is it to take counsel ? And what have you to support your minds withal ? Perhaps you wait for the Romans, that they may protect our holy places. Are our matters then brought to that pass ? And are we come to that degree of misery, that our enemies themselves are expected to pity us ? O wretched creatures ! Will not you rise up, and turn upon those that strike you ? Which you may observe in wild beasts themselves, that they will avenge themselves, on those that strike them. Will not you call to mind every one of you the calamities you yourselves have suffered ? Nor lay before your eyes what afflictions you yourselves have undergone ? And will not such things incite your souls to revenge ? Is, therefore, that most honourable and most natural of our passions, utterly lost, I mean, the desire of liberty ? Truly we are in love with slavery, and in love with those that lord it over us : as if we had received that principle of subjection from our ancestors. Yet did they undergo many and great wars for the sake of liberty. Nor were they so far overcome by the power of the Egyptians, or the Medes, but that still they did what they thought fit, notwithstanding their commands to the contrary. And what occasion is there now for a war with the Romans ? (I meddle not with determining whether it be an advantageous and profitable war or not :) What pretence is there for

it? Is it not that we may enjoy our liberty? Besides, shall we not bear the lords of the habitable earth to be lords over us, and yet bear tyrants of our own country? Although I must say that submission to foreigners may be borne, because fortune hath already doomed us to it: while submission to wicked people of our own nation is too unmanly, and brought upon us by our own consent. However, since I have had occasion to mention the Romans, I will not conceal a thing that, as I am speaking, comes into my mind, and affects me considerably. It is this, that though we should be taken by them, (God forbid the event should be so,) yet can we undergo nothing that will be worse than what these men have already brought upon us. How then can we avoid shedding tears, when we see the Roman donations in our temple, while we withal see those of our own nation taking our spoils, and plundering our glorious metropolis, and slaughtering our men: from which enormities those Romans themselves would have abstained. To see those Romans never going beyond the bounds allotted to profane persons; nor venturing to break in upon any of our sacred customs; nay, having a horror on their minds when they view at a distance those sacred walls: while some that have been born in this very country, and brought up in our customs, and called Jews, do walk about in the midst of the holy places, at the very time when their hands are still reeking with the slaughter of their own countrymen. Besides, can any one be afraid of a war abroad, and that with such as will have comparatively much greater moderation than our own people have? For truly, if we may adapt our words to the things they represent, it is probable one may hereafter find the Romans to be the supporters of our laws; and those within ourselves the subverters of them. And now I am persuaded that every one of you here come satisfied before I speak, that these overthrowers of our liberties deserve to be destroyed; and that nobody can so much as devise a punishment, that they have not merited by what they have done; and that you are all provoked against them by their wretched actions, whence you have suffered so greatly. But perhaps many of you are affrighted at the multitude of these zealots, and at their audaciousness; as well as at the advantage they have over us in their being higher in place than we are. For these circumstances, as they

have been occasioned by your negligence, so will they become still greater by being still longer neglected. For their multitude is every day augmented, by every ill man's running away to those that are like to themselves. And their audacity is, therefore, inflamed, because they meet with no obstruction to their designs. And for their higher place, they will make use of it for engines also, if we give them time to do so. But be assured of this, that if we go up to fight them, they will be made tamer by their own consciences : and what advantages they have in the height of their situation, they will lose by the opposition of their reason. Perhaps also God himself, who hath been affronted by them, will make what they throw at us return against themselves : and these impious wretches will be killed by their own darts. Let us but make our appearance before them, and they will come to nothing. However, it is a right thing, if there should be any danger in the attempt, to die before these holy gates ; and to spend our very lives, if not for the sake of our wives and children, yet for God's sake, and for the sake of his sanctuary. I will assist you both with my counsel, and my hand. Nor shall any sagacity of ours be wanting for your support, nor shall you see that I will be sparing of my body neither."

By these motives Ananus encouraged the multitude to go against the zealots ; although he knew how difficult it would be to disperse them : because of their multitude, their youth, and the courage of their souls ; but chiefly because of their consciousness of what they had done : since they would not yield : as not so much as hoping for pardon at the last for their enormities. However, Ananus resolved to undergo whatever sufferings might come upon him, rather than overlook things now they were in such great confusion. So the multitude cried out to him, to lead them on against those whom he had described in his exhortation : and every one was most readily disposed to run any hazard on that account.

Now while Ananus was choosing out his men, and putting those that were proper for his purpose in array for fighting, the zealots got information of his undertaking : (for there were some who went to them, and told them all that the people were doing :) and were irritated at it, and leaping out of the temple in crowds, and by parties, spared none whom they met with. Hereupon Ananus

suddenly assembled the populace : who were more numerous, indeed, than the zealots, but inferior to them in arms, because they had not been regularly put into array for fighting. But the alacrity that every body showed, supplied all other defects on both sides. The citizens taking up so great a passion as was stronger than arms, and deriving a degree of courage from the temple, more forcible than any multitude whatsoever. And, indeed, these citizens thought it was not possible for them to dwell in the city, unless they could cut off the robbers that were in it. The zealots also thought, that unless they prevailed, there would be no punishment so bad, but it would be inflicted on them. So their conflicts were conducted by their passions : and at the first they only cast stones at each other in the city, and before the temple, and threw their javelins at a distance. But when either of them were too hard for the other, they made use of their swords : and great slaughter was made on both sides, and a great number were wounded. As for the dead bodies of the people, their relations carried them out to their own houses. But when any of the zealots were wounded, he went up into the temple, and defiled that sacred floor with his blood. Insomuch that one may say, it was their blood alone that polluted our sanctuary. Now in these conflicts the robbers always sallied out of the temple, and were too hard for their enemies. But the populace grew very angry, and became more and more numerous, and reproached those that gave back, and those behind would not afford room to those that were going off, but forced them on again : till at length they made their whole body to turn against their adversaries, and the robbers could no longer oppose them, but were forced gradually to retire into the temple ; when *Ananus and his party fell into it at the same time together with them. This horribly affrighted the rob-

* It is worth noting here that this Ananus, the best of the Jews at this time, and the high-priest, who was so very uneasy at the profanation of the Jewish courts of the temple by the zealots, did not, however, scruple the profanation of the court of the Gentiles : as in our Saviour's days it was very much profaned by the Jews, and made a market-place ; nay, a den of thieves, without scruple : Matt. xvi. 12, 13 ; Mark xi. 15, 16, 17. Accordingly Josephus himself, when he speaks of the two inner courts, calls them both holy places : but, so far as I remember, never gives that character of the court of the Gentiles. See v. 9.

bers, because it deprived them of the *first court. So they fled into the finner court immediately, and shut the gates. Now Ananus did not think fit to make any attack against the holy gates; although the other threw their stones and darts at them from above. He also deemed it unlawful to introduce the multitude into that court before they were purified. He, therefore, chose out of them all by lot, six thousand armed men; and placed them as guards in the cloisters. So there was a succession of such guards one after another: and every one was forced to attend in his course. Although many of the chief of the city were dismissed by those that then took on them the government, upon their hiring some of the poorer sort, and sending them to keep the guard in their stead.

Now it was John, who ran away from Gischala, that was the occasion of all these being destroyed. He was a man of great craft, and bore about him in his soul a strong passion after tyranny; and at a distance was the adviser in these actions. And indeed, at this time he pretended to be of the people's opinion; and went all about with Ananus, when he consulted the great men every day; and in the night time also, when he went round the watch. But he divulged their secret to the zealots; and every thing that the people deliberated upon was by his means known to their enemies, even before it had been well agreed upon by themselves. And by way of contrivance how he might not be brought into suspicion, he cultivated the greatest friendship possible with Ananus, and with the chief of the people. Yet, did this over-doing of his turn against him. For he flattered them so extravagantly, that he was but the more suspected: and his constant attendance every where, even when he was not invited to be present, made him strongly suspected of betraying their secrets to the enemy: for they plainly perceived that they understood all the resolutions taken against them at their consultations. Nor was there any one whom they had so much reason to suspect of that discovery as this John. Yet was it not easy to get rid of him, so potent was he grown by his wicked practices. He was also sup-

* The court of the Gentiles.

† The court of Israel.

ported by many of those eminent men, who were to be consulted upon all considerable affairs. It was, therefore, thought reasonable to oblige him to give to them assurance of his good will upon oath. Accordingly John took such an oath readily, that he would be on the people's side, and would not betray any of their counsels or practices to their enemies; and would assist them in overthrowing those that attacked them: and that both by his hand, and his advice. So Ananus, and his party believed his oath; and did now receive him to their consultations without further suspicion. Nay, so far did they believe him, that they sent him as ambassador into the temple, to the zealots, with proposals of accommodation. For they were very desirous to avoid the pollution of the temple, as much as they possibly could: and that no one of their nation should be slain therein.

But now this John, as if his oath had been made to the zealots, and for confirmation of his good will to them, and not against them, went into the temple, and stood in the midst of them, and spake as follows: That he had run many hazards on their accounts, and in order to let them know of every thing that was secretly contrived against them by Ananus, and his party. But that both he and they should be cast into the most imminent danger, unless some providential assistance were afforded them. For that Ananus made no longer delay, but had prevailed with the people to send ambassadors to Vespasian, to invite him to come presently and take the city. And that he had appointed a fast for the next day against them; that they might obtain admission into the temple on a religious account; or gain it by force, and fight with them there. That he did not see how long they could either endure a siege, or how they could fight against so many enemies. He added farther, that it was by the providence of God he was himself sent as an ambassador to them, for an accommodation. For that Ananus did, therefore, offer them such proposals, that he might come upon them when they were unarmed.—That they ought to choose one of these two methods: either to intercede with those that guarded them, to save their lives; or to provide some foreign assistance for themselves. That if any fostered themselves with the hopes of pardon, in case they were subdued, they had forgotten what desperate things they had done;

or could suppose, that as soon as the actors repented, those that had suffered by them must be presently reconciled to them : while those that have done injuries, though they pretend to repent of them, are frequently hated by the others for that sort of repentance. And that the sufferers, when they get the power into their hands, are usually still more severe upon the actors : that the friends and kindred of those that had been destroyed would always be laying plots against them ; and that a large body of people were very angry on account of their gross breaches of their laws, and illegal judicatures. Insomuch, that although some part might commiserate them, those would be quite overborne by the majority.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE ATTEMPT OF THE IDUMEANS TO SUCCOUR THE ZEALOTS OF JERUSALEM ; THEIR EXCLUSION OUT OF THE CITY ; THE SPEECH OF JESUS, ONE OF THE HIGH PRIESTS, AND SIMON'S REPLY.

BY this crafty speech John made the zealots afraid. Yet durst he not directly name what foreign assistance he meant ; but in a covert way only hinted at the Idumeans. But now that he might particularly irritate the leaders of the zealots, he calumniated Ananus, that he was about a piece of barbarity, and did in a special manner threaten them. These leaders were Eleazar, the son of Simon ; who seemed the most plausible man of them all, both in considering what was fit to be done, and in the execution of what he had determined upon ; and Zacharias the son of Phalek. Both of whom derived their families from the priests. Now when these two men had heard, not only the common threatenings which belonged to them all, but those peculiarly levelled against themselves ; and besides how Ananus and his party, in order to secure their own dominion, had invited the Romans to come to them : (for that also was part of John's falsehood :) they hesitated a great while what they should do, considering the shortness of the time by which they were straitened, because the people were prepared to attack them very soon ; and because the suddenness of the plot laid against them.

had almost cut off all their hopes of getting any foreign assistance. For they might be under the height of all their afflictions, before any of their confederates could be informed of it. However, it was resolved to call in the Idumeans. So they wrote a short letter to this effect: that "Ananus had imposed on the people, and was betraying their metropolis to the Romans. That they themselves had revolted from the rest, and were in custody in the temple, on account of the preservation of their liberty. That there was but a small time left, wherein they might hope for their deliverance. And that unless they would come immediately to their assistance, they should themselves be soon in the power of Ananus, and the city would be in the power of the Romans." They also charged the messengers to tell many more circumstances to the rulers of the Idumeans. Now there were two active men proposed for the carrying this message, and such as were able to speak, and to persuade them that things were in this posture: and, what was a qualification still more necessary than the former, they were very swift of foot. For they knew well enough these would immediately comply with their desires: as being ever a tumultuous and disorderly nation; always on the watch upon every motion; delighting in mutations; and upon being flattered ever so little, and petitioned, they soon take up their arms, and put themselves into motion, and hasten to a battle, as if it were to a feast. There was, indeed, occasion for quick despatch in the carrying of this message: in which point the messengers were no way defective. Both their names were Ananias: and they soon came to the rulers of the Idumeans.

Now these rulers were greatly surprised at the contents of the letter, and at what those that came with it farther told them. Whereupon they ran about the nation like madmen, and made proclamation that the people should come to war. So a multitude was suddenly gotten together, sooner indeed than the time appointed in the proclamation; and every body caught up their arms, in order to maintain the liberty of their metropolis. And twenty thousand of them were put into battle array, and came to Jerusalem, under four commanders; John, and Jacob the son of Sosas, Simon the son of Cathlas, and Phineas the son of Clusothus.

Now this exit of the messengers was not known either to Ananus, or to the guards. But the approach of the Idumeans was known to him. For as he knew of it before they came, he ordered the gates to be shut against them, and that the walls should be guarded. Yet did not he by any means think of fighting against them; but, before they came to blows, to try what persuasions would do. Accordingly Jesus, the eldest son of the high-priests next to Ananus, stood upon the tower that was over against them, and said thus: "Many troubles, indeed, and those of various kinds, have fallen upon this city. Yet in none of them I have so much wondered at her fortune as now: when you are come to assist wicked men; and this after a very extraordinary manner. For I see that you are come to support the vilest of men against us, and this with so great alacrity, as you could hardly put on the like, in case our metropolis had called you to her assistance against barbarians. And if I had perceived that your army was composed of men like unto those who invited them, I had not deemed your attempt so absurd. For nothing does so much cement the minds of men together, as the alliance there is between their manners. But now for these men who have invited you, if you were to examine them one by one, every one of them would be found to have deserved ten thousand deaths. For the very rascality and off-scouring of the whole country,* who have spent in debauchery their own substance, and by way of trial beforehand, have madly plundered the neighbouring villages and cities; in the upshot of all, have privately run together into this holy city. They are robbers, who by their prodigious wickedness have profaned this most sacred floor, and who are to be now seen intoxicating themselves in the sanctuary, and expending the spoils of those whom they have slaughtered upon their insatiable appetites. As for the multitude that is with you, one may see them so decently adorned in their armour, as it would become them to be, had their metropolis called them to her assistance against foreigners. What can a man call this procedure of yours, but the sport of fortune,

* Of such characters armies are too often composed. This easily accounts for the excesses committed by them; for those who have before acted without any principle as it regarded themselves, cannot be expected to be influenced by it as it concerns others. B.

when he sees a whole nation coming to protect a sink of wicked wretches? I have for a good while been in doubt what it could possibly be that should move you to do this so suddenly. Because certainly you would not take all your armour on behalf of robbers, and against a people of kin to you, without some very great cause for so doing. But we have had an item that the Romans are pretended; and that we are supposed to be going to betray this city to them. For some of your men have lately made a clamour about those matters, and have said they are come to set their metropolis free. Now we cannot but admire at these wretches, in their devising such a falsehood as this against us. For they knew there was no other way to irritate against us men that were naturally desirous of liberty; and on that account the best disposed to fight against foreign enemies; but by framing a tale as if we were going to betray that most desirable thing, liberty. But you ought to consider what sort of people they are that raise this calumny; and against what sort of people that calumny is raised; and to gather the truth of things, not by fictitious speeches, but out of the actions of both parties. For what occasion is there for us to sell ourselves to the Romans? while it was in our power not to have revolted from them at the first; or when we had once revolted, to have returned under their dominion again; and this while the neighbouring countries were not yet laid waste. Whereas it is not an easy thing to be reconciled to the Romans, if we were desirous of it, now they have subdued Galilee, and are thereby become proud and insolent. And to endeavour to please them at the time when they are so near us, would bring such a reproach upon us, as were worse than death. As for myself, indeed, I should have preferred peace with them before death; but now we have once made war upon, and fought with them, I prefer death with reputation, before living in captivity under them. But farther, whether do they pretend that we, who are the rulers of the people, have sent thus privately to the Romans, or hath it been done by the common suffrages of the people? If it be ourselves only that have done it, let them name those friends of ours that have been sent, as our servants, to manage this treachery. Hath any one been caught as he went out on this errand; or seized upon as he came back? Are they in possession of our letters? How could we be conceal-

ed from such a vast number of our fellow-citizens, among whom we are conversant every hour, while what is done privately in the country is, it seems, known by the zealots; who are but few in number, and under confinement also; and are not able to come out of the temple into the city? Is this the first time that they are become sensible how they ought to be punished for their insolent actions? For while these men were free from the fear they are now under, there was no suspicion raised that any of us were traitors. But if they lay this charge against the people, this must have been done at a public consultation, and not one of the people must have dissented from the rest of the assembly. In which case the public fame of this matter, would have come to you sooner than any particular indication. But how could that be? Must there not then have been ambassadors sent to confirm the agreements? And let them tell us who this ambassador was, that was ordained for that purpose. But this is no other than a pretence of such men as are loth to die, and are labouring to escape those punishments that hang over them. For if fate had determined that this city was to be betrayed into its enemies' hands, no other than these men that accuse us falsely could have the impudence to do it. There being no wickedness wanting to complete their impudent practices, but this only, that they become traitors. And now you, Idumeans, are come hither already with your arms, it is your duty, in the first place, to be assisting to your metropolis, and to join with us in cutting off those tyrants that have infringed the rules of our regular tribunals; that have trampled upon our laws, and made their swords the arbiters of right and wrong. For they have seized upon men of great eminence, and under no accusation, as they stood in the midst of the market-place, and tortured them with putting them into bonds; and without bearing to hear what they had to say, or what supplications they made, they destroyed them. You may, if you please, come into the city, though not in the way of war, and take a view of the vestiges still remaining of what I now say; and may see the houses that have been depopulated by their rapacious hands; with those wives and families that are in mourning for their slaughtered relations. As also you may hear their groans and lamentations all the city over: for there is nobody but hath tasted of the

incursions of these profane wretches. Who have proceeded to that degree of madness, as not only to have transferred their impudent robberies out of the country, and the remote cities, into this city, the very face and head of the whole nation; but out of the city into the temple also. For that is now made their receptacle, and refuge, and the fountain head whence their preparations are made against us. And this place, which is adored by the habitable world, and honoured by such as only know it by report, as far as the ends of the earth, is trampled upon by these wild beasts born among ourselves. They now triumph in the desperate condition they are already in, when they hear that one people are going to fight against another people; and one city against another: and that your nation hath gotten an army together against its own bowels. Instead of which procedure, it were highly fit and reasonable, as I said before, for you to join with us in cutting off these wretches; and in particular to be revenged on them for putting this very cheat upon you: I mean for having the impudence to invite you to assist them, whom they ought to have stood in fear of, as ready to punish them. But if you have some regard to these men's invitation of you, yet may you lay aside your arms, and come into the city under the notion of our kindred, and take upon you a middle name between that of auxiliaries, and of enemies; and so become judges in this case. However, consider what these men will gain by being called into judgment before you, for such undeniable and such flagrant crimes: who would not vouchsafe to hear such as had no accusations laid against them to speak a word for themselves. However, let them gain this advantage by your coming. But still, if you will neither take our part in that indignation we have at these men, nor judge between us; the third thing I have to propose is this, that you let us both alone, and neither insult upon our calamities, nor abide with these plotters against their metropolis. For though you should have never so great a suspicion that some of us have discoursed with the Romans, it is in your power to watch the passage into the city: and in case any thing that we have been accused of is brought to light, then to come, and defend your metropolis, and to inflict punishment on those that are found guilty. For the enemy cannot prevent you, who are now so near to the

city. But if, after all, none of these proposals seem acceptable and moderate, do not you wonder that the gates are shut against you, while you continue in arms."

Thus spake Jesus. Yet did not the multitude of the Idumeans give any attention to what he said, but were in a rage, because they did not meet with a ready entrance into the city. The generals also had indignation at the offer of laying down their arms; and looked upon it as equal to a captivity, to throw them away at any man's injunction. But Simon, the son of Cathlas, one of their commanders, with much difficulty quieted the tumult of his own men, and stood so that the high-priests might hear him, and said as follows: "I can no longer wonder that the patrons of liberty are under custody in the temple, since there are those that shut the gates of our *common city to their own nation; and at the same time are prepared to admit the Romans into it; nay, perhaps, are disposed to crown the gates with garlands at their coming; while they speak to the Idumeans from their towers, and enjoin them to throw down those arms which they have taken up for the preservation of its liberty. And while they will not intrust the guard of our metropolis to their kindred, profess to make them judges of the differences that are among them: nay, while they accuse some men of having slain others without a legal trial, they do themselves condemn a whole nation after an ignominious manner. And have now walled up that city from their own nation, which used to be open to even all foreigners that came to worship there. We have, indeed, come in great haste to you, and to a war against our own countrymen. And the reason why we have made such haste is, that we may preserve that freedom which you are so unhappy as to betray. You have probably been guilty of the like crimes against those whom you keep in custody; and have, I suppose, collected together the like plausible pretences against them also, that you make use of against us. After

* This appellation of Jerusalem, given it here by Simon, the general of the Idumeans, "the common city of the Idumeans," who were proselytes of justice, as well as of the original native Jews, greatly confirms that maxim of the Rabbins, here set down by Reland, that Jerusalem was not assigned or appropriated, to the tribe of Benjamin or Judah, but every tribe had equal right in it; at their coming to worship there, at the several festivals. See a little before, Chap. 3.

which you have gotten the mastery of those within the temple, and keep them in custody ; while they are only taking care of the public affairs. You have also shut the gates of the city in general against nations that are the most nearly related to you. And while you give such injurious commands to others, you complain that you have been tyrannized over by them : and fix the name of unjust governors upon such as are tyrannized over by yourselves. Who can bear your abuse of words, while they have a regard to the contrariety of your actions ? Unless you mean that those Idumeans do now exclude you out of your metropolis, whom you exclude from the sacred offices of your own country. One may, indeed, justly complain of those that are besieged in the temple ; that when they had courage enough to punish those traitors, whom you call eminent men, and free from any accusations, because of their being your companions in wickedness ; they did not begin with you, and thereby cut off beforehand the most dangerous parts of this treason. But if these men have been more merciful than the public necessity required, we that are Idumeans will preserve this house of God ; and will fight for our common country ; and will oppose by war as well those that attack them from abroad, as those that betray them from within. Here will we abide before the walls in our armour, until either the Romans grow weary in waiting for you, or you become friends to liberty, and repent of what you have done against it."

Now the Idumeans made an acclamation to what Simon had said. But Jesus went away sorrowful : as seeing that the Idumeans were against all moderate counsels ; and that the city was besieged on both sides. Nor, indeed, were the minds of the Idumeans at rest : for they were in a rage at the injury that had been offered them, by their exclusion out of the city : and when they thought the zealots had been strong, but saw nothing of theirs to support them, they were in doubt about the matter ; and many of them repented that they had come thither. But the shame that would attend them in case they returned without doing any thing at all, so far overcome their repentance, that they lay all night before the wall, though in a very bad encampment. For there broke out a prodigious storm in the night, with the utmost violence, and very strong winds, with the largest showers of rain, with continued

lightnings, terrible thunderings, and amazing concussions and bel-lowings of the earth. These things were a manifest indication* that some destruction was coming upon men, when the system of the world was put into this disorder; and any one would guess that these wonders foreshowed some grand calamities that were coming.

Now the opinion of the Idumeans, and of the citizens, was one and the same. The Idumeans thought that God was angry at their taking arms; and they should not escape punishment for making war upon their metropolis: while Ananus and his party thought, that they had conquered without fighting; and that God acted as a general for them. But truly they proved both ill con-jectures at what was to come; and made those events to be omi-nous to their enemies, while they were themselves to undergo the ill effects of them. For the Idumeans fenced one another by uni-ting their bodies into one band, and thereby kept themselves warm: and connecting their shields over their heads, were not so much hurt by the rain. But the zealots were more deeply concerned for the danger these men were in, than they were for themselves; and got together, and looked about them to see whether they could devise any means of assisting them. The more violent sort of them thought it best to force their guards with their arms; and after that to fall into the midst of the city, and publicly open the gates to those that came to their assistance. As supposing the guards would be in disorder, and give way at such an unexpected attempt, especially as the greater part of them were unarmed, and unskilled in affairs of war. And that besides the multitude of the citizens would not be easily gathered together, but confined to their houses by the storm. And that if there were any hazard in their undertaking, it became them to suffer any thing themselves, rather than to overlook so great a multitude as were miserably perishing on their account. But the more prudent part of them disapproved of this forcible method; because they saw not only the guards about them very numerous, but the walls of the city

* There certainly are intimations of future events afforded by Providence to pre-pare us for their approach. But in former times superstition invented so many omens and portents, as much oftener to deceive than direct the people. B.

itself carefully watched, by reason of the Idumeans. They also supposed that Ananus would be every where, and visit the guards every hour. Which, indeed, was done upon other nights; but was omitted that night: not by reason of any slothfulness of Ananus, but by the overbearing appointment of *fate; that so both he might himself perish, and the multitude of the guards might perish with him. For as the night was far gone, and the storm very terrible, Ananus gave the guards in the cloisters leave to go to sleep. While it came into the heads of the zealots to make use of the saws belonging to the temple, and to cut the bars of the gates to pieces. The noise of the wind, and that not inferior sound of the thunder, did here also conspire with their designs, that the noise of the saws was not heard by the others.

So they secretly went out of the temple to the wall of the city, and made use of their saws, and opened that gate which was over against the Idumeans. Now at first there came a fear upon the Idumeans themselves, which disturbed them; as imagining that Ananus and his party were coming to attack them. So that every one of them had his right hand upon his sword, in order to defend himself. But they soon came to know who they were that came to them, and were entered the city. And had the Idumeans then fallen upon the city, nothing could have hindered them from destroying the whole of the people: such was the rage they were in at that time. But they first of all hastened to get the zealots out of custody; which those that brought them in earnestly desired them to do, and not to overlook those for whose sake they were come, in the midst of their distresses; nor to bring them into a still greater danger. For that when they had once seized on the guards, it would be easy for them to fall upon the city: but that if the city were once alarmed, they would not then be able to overcome those guards; because as soon as they should perceive they were there, they would put themselves in order to fight them, and would hinder their coming into the temple.

* Or. Providence.

CHAP. V.

OF THE CRUELTY OF THE IDUMEANS, AND OF THE ZEALOTS ; THE
SLAUGHTER OF ANANUS, JESUS, AND ZACHARIAS, AND THE SUB-
SEQUENT RETREAT OF THE IDUMEANS.

THIS advice pleased the Idumeans ; and they ascended through the city to the temple. The zealots were also in great expectation of their coming, and earnestly waited for them. When, therefore, these were entering, they also came boldly out of the *inner temple ; and mixing themselves among the Idumeans, attacked the guards. And some of those that were upon the watch, but were fallen asleep, they killed, as they were asleep. But as those that were now awakened made a cry, the whole multitude arose ; and in the amazement they were in, caught hold of their arms immediately ; and betook themselves to their own defence. And so long as they thought they were only the zealots who attacked them, they went on boldly ; as hoping to overpower them by their numbers. But when they saw others pressing in upon them also, they perceived the Idumeans were got in : and the greatest part of them laid aside their arms, together with their courage, and betook themselves to lamentations. But some few of the younger sort covered themselves with their armour, and valiantly received the Idumeans : and for a great while protected the multitude of old men. Others indeed gave a signal to those that were in the city of the calamities they were in. But when these were also made sensible that the Idumeans were come in, none of them durst come to their assistance. Only they returned the terrible echo of wailing, and lamented their misfortunes. A great howling of the women also was excited : and every one of the guards was in danger of being killed. The zealots also joined in the shouts raised by the Idumeans ; and the storm itself rendered the cry more terrible. Nor did the Idumeans spare any body. For as they are naturally a most barbarous and sanguinary nation, and had been distressed by the tempest, they made use of their weapons against

* The court of Israel.

those that had shut the gates against them : and acted in the same manner as to those that supplicated for their lives, and to those that fought them. Insomuch that they ran those through with their swords, who desired them to remember the relation there was between them; and begged of them to have regard to their common temple. Now there was at present neither any place for flight, nor any hope of preservation ; but as they were driven together by force, as there was no place of retirement, and the murderers were upon them ; and, having no other way, threw themselves down headlong into the city. Whereby, in my opinion, they underwent a more miserable destruction than that which they avoided : because that was a *voluntary one. And now the outer temple was completely overflowed with blood. And that day, as it came on, saw eight thousand five hundred dead bodies there.

But the rage of the Idumeans was not satiated by these slaughters : but they now betook themselves to the city, and plundered every house, and slew every one they met. And for the other multitude, they esteemed it needless to go on with killing them ; but they sought for the high-priests ; and the generality went with the greatest zeal against them. And as soon as they caught them, they slew them : and then standing upon their dead bodies, in way of jest, upbraided Ananus with his kindness to the people ; and Jesus with his speech made to them from the wall. Nay, they proceeded to that degree of impiety, as to cast away their dead bodies without burial : although the Jews used to take so much care of the sepulture of men, that they took down those that were condemned, and buried them before the going down of the sun. I should not mistake if I said, that the death of Ananus was the beginning of the destruction of the city : and that from this very day may be dated the overthrow of her wall, and the ruin of her affairs ; whereon they saw their high-priest, and the procurer of their preservation, slain in the midst of their city. He was on other accounts also a venerable, and a very just man : and besides the

* See Book III. chap. 8.

† The court of the Gentiles.

‡ As at the crucifixion of Jesus Christ.

grandeur of that nobility, dignity, and honour, of which he was possessed, he had been a lover of a kind of parity, even with regard to the meanest of the people. He was a prodigious lover of liberty; and an admirer of a democracy in government; and did ever prefer the public welfare before his own advantage: and preferred peace above all things. For he was thoroughly sensible that the Romans were not to be conquered. He also foresaw that of necessity a war would follow: and that unless the Jews made up matters with them very dexterously, they would be destroyed. In a word, if Ananus had survived, they had certainly compounded matters. For he was a shrewd man in speaking, and persuading the people: and had already gotten the mastery of those that opposed his designs, or were for the war. And the Jews had then abundance of delays in the way of the Romans, if they had had such a general as he was. Jesus was also joined with him: and although he was inferior to him upon the comparison, he was superior to the rest. And I cannot but think, that it was because God had doomed this city to destruction, as a polluted city, and resolved to purge his sanctuary by fire, that he cut off these their great defenders and well-wishers. While those that a little before had worn the sacred garments, and had presided over the public worship, and had been esteemed venerable by those that dwelt on the whole habitable earth, when they came into our city, were cast out naked; and seen to be the food of dogs and wild beasts. And I cannot but imagine that virtue itself groaned at these men's case; and lamented that she was here so terribly conquered by wickedness. And this at last was the end of Ananus and Jesus. Now after these were slain, the zealots and the multitude of the Idumeans fell upon the people as upon a flock of profane animals, and cut their throats. And for the ordinary sort, they were destroyed in what place soever they caught them. But for the noblemen and the youth, they first caught them, and bound them, and shut them up in prison, and put off their slaughter, in hopes that some of them would turn over to their party. But not one of them would comply with their desires; but all of them preferred death before being enrolled among such wicked wretches as acted against their own country. But this refusal of theirs brought upon them terrible torments. For they were so scourged and tor-

tured, that their bodies were not able to sustain their torments : till at length, and with difficulty, they had the favour to be slain. Those whom they caught in the day time were slain in the night ; and then their dead bodies were carried out, and thrown away ; that there might be room for other prisoners. And the terror that was upon the people was so great, that no one had courage either openly to weep for the dead man that was related to him, or to bury him : but those that were shut up in their own houses, could only shed tears in secret ; and durst not even groan, without great caution, lest any of their enemies should hear them. For if they did, those that mourned for others soon underwent the same death with those whom they mourned for. Only, in the night time, they would take up a little dust, and throw it upon their bodies ; and even some that were the most ready to expose themselves to danger, would do it in the day time. And there were twelve thousand of the better sort, who perished in this manner.

When these zealots and Idumeans were quite weary of barely killing men, they had the impudence of setting up fictitious tribunals and judicatures for that purpose. And as they intended to have *Zacharias, the son of Baruch, one of the most eminent of the citizens slain ; so what provoked them against him was, that hatred of wickedness, and love of liberty, which were so eminent

* Some commentators are ready to suppose, that this Zacharias the son of Baruch here most unjustly slain by the Jews in the temple, was the very same person with Zacharias the son of Barachias, whom our Saviour says the Jews slew between the temple and the altar : Matt. xxiii. 35. This is a somewhat strange exposition, since Zachariah the prophet was really the son of Barachiah and grandson of Iddo : Zech. i. 1. and how he died, we have no other account than that before us in St. Matthew : while this Zacharias was the son of Baruch. Since the slaughter was past when our Saviour spake those words, the Jews had then already slain him : whereas his slaughter of Zacharias the son of Baruch, in Josephus, was then about 34 years future. And since that slaughter was between the temple and the altar, in the court of the priests, one of the most sacred and remote parts of the whole temple ; while this was, in Josephus's own words, in the middle of the temple, and much the most probable in the court of Israel only : (for we have had no intimation that the zealots had at this time profaned the court of the priests. See v. 1.) Nor do I believe, that our Josephus, who always insists on the peculiar sacredness of that inmost court, and of the holy house that was in it, would have omitted so material an aggravation of this barbarous murder, as perpetrated in a place so very holy, had that been the true place of it. See Antiquities, XI. 7, and the note here on v. 1.

in him. He was also a rich man : so that by taking him off, they did not only hope to seize his effects, but also to get rid of a man that had great power to destroy them. So they called together, by a public proclamation, seventy of the principal men of the populace, for a show, as if they were real judges ; while they had no proper authority. Before these was Zacharias accused, of a design to betray their polity to the Romans ; and of having treacherously sent to Vespasian for that purpose. Now there appeared no proof or sign of what he was accused ; but they affirmed themselves, that they were well persuaded that so it was, and desired that their affirmation might be taken for sufficient evidence. Now when Zacharias clearly saw that there was no way remaining for his escape, as having been treacherously called before them, and then put in prison, but not with any intention of a legal trial, he took great liberty of speech in that despair of his life that he was under. Accordingly he stood up, and laughed at their pretended accusation ; and in a few words confuted the crimes laid to his charge. After which he turned his speech to his accusers, and went over distinctly all their transgressions of the law ; and made heavy lamentation upon the confusion they had brought public affairs to. In the mean time the zealots grew tumultuous, and had much ado to abstain from drawing their swords : although they designed to preserve the appearance of a judicature to the end. They were also desirous, on other accounts, to try the judges, whether they would be mindful of what was just, at their own peril. Now the seventy judges brought in their verdict, that the person accused was not guilty : as choosing rather to die themselves with him, than to have his death laid at their doors. Hereupon there arose a great clamour of the zealots upon his acquittal : and they all had indignation at the judges, for not understanding that the authority that was given them was but in jest. So two of the boldest of them fell upon Zacharias in the middle of the temple, and slew him. And as he fell down dead, they bantered him, and said, "Thou hast also our verdict : and this will prove a more sure acquittal to thee than the other." They also threw him down from the temple immediately into the valley beneath it. Moreover they struck the judges with the backs of their swords, by way of abuse ; and thrust them out of the court of the temple ; and spared their

lives with no other design than that, when they were dispersed among the people in the city, they might become their messengers, to let them know they were no better than slaves.

But by this time the Idumeans repented of their coming ; and were displeased at what had been done. And when they were assembled together by one of the zealots, who had come privately to them, he declared to them, what a number of wicked pranks they had themselves done in conjunction with those that invited them : and gave a particular account of what mischiefs had been done against their metropolis. He said, that " They had taken arms, as though the high-priests were betraying their metropolis to the Romans ; but had found no indication of any such treachery : but that they had succoured those that had pretended to believe such a thing, while they did themselves the works of war and tyranny, after an insolent manner. It had been indeed their business to have hindered them from such proceedings at the first : but seeing they had once been partners with them in shedding the blood of their own countrymen, it was high time to put a stop to such crimes, and not continue to afford any more assistance to such as were subverting the laws of their forefathers. For that if any had taken it ill that the gates had been shut against them, and they had not been permitted to come into the city ; yet that those who had excluded them had been punished, and Ananus was dead : and that almost all those people had been destroyed in one night's time. That one might perceive many of themselves repenting for what they had done ; and might see the horrid barbarity of those that had invited them : and that they had no regard to such as had saved them : that they were so impudent as to perpetrate the vilest things, under the eyes of those that had supported them : and that their wicked actions would be laid to the charge of the Idumeans : and would be so laid to their charge till somebody should obstruct their proceedings, or separate himself from the same wicked action : that they therefore ought to retire home, since the imputation of treason appeared to be a calumny : and that there was no expectation of the coming of the Romans at this time, and that the government of the city was secured by such walls as could not easily be thrown down. And, by avoiding any farther fellowship with these bad men, to make some excuse for themselves, as to what they had been so far deluded, as to have been partners with them hitherto."

CHAP. VI.

OF THE CONTINUED CRUELITIES OF THE ZEALOTS TOWARDS THE CITIZENS.—AND THE ARGUMENTS USED BY VESPASIAN TO DIS-SUADE THE ROMANS FROM PROCEEDING IN THE WAR AT THAT TIME.

THE Idumeans complied with these persuasions, and in the first place, they set those that were in the prisons at liberty; being about two thousand of the populace: who thereupon fled away immediately to Simon; one of whom we shall speak of presently. After which these Idumeans retired from Jerusalem, and went home. Which departure of theirs was a great surprise to both parties. For the people, not knowing of their repentance, raised their courage for a while, as being eased of so many of their enemies. While the zealots grew more insolent; not as deserted by their confederates, but as freed from such men as might hinder their designs, and put some stop to their wickedness. Accordingly they made no longer any delay, nor took any deliberation in their enormous practices; but made use of the shortest methods for all their executions. And what they had once resolved upon, they put in practice sooner than any one could imagine. But their thirst was chiefly after the blood of valiant men, and men of good families; the one sort of which they destroyed out of envy, the other out of fear. For they thought their whole security lay in leaving no potent men alive. On which account they slew Gorion, a person eminent in dignity, and on account of his family also. He was also for a democracy, and of as great boldness and freedom of spirit as were any of the Jews whatsoever. The principal thing that ruined him, added to his other advantages, was his free speaking. Nor did Niger of Perea escape their hands. He had been a man of great valour in their *war with the Romans; but was now drawn through the middle of the city: and as he went, he frequently called out, and showed the scars of his

* See Book ii. chap. 20.

wounds. And when he was drawn out of the gates, and despaired of his preservation, he besought them to grant him a burial. But as they had threatened him beforehand not to grant him any spot of earth for a grave, which he chiefly desired of them, so did they slay him without permitting him to be buried. Now when they were slaying him, he made this imprecation upon them, that they might undergo both famine and pestilence in this war; and besides all, that they might come to the mutual slaughter of one another: all which imprecations God confirmed against these impious men: and which came most justly upon them, when not long afterward they tasted of their own madness in their mutual seditions one against another. So when this Niger was killed, their fears of being overturned were diminished. And indeed there was no part of the people but they found out some pretence to destroy them. For some were therefore slain, because they had had differences with some of them. And as to those that had not opposed them in times of peace, they watched seasonable opportunities to gain some accusation against them. And if any one did not come near them at all, he was under their suspicion as a proud man. If any one came with boldness, he was esteemed a contemner of them. And if any one came as aiming to oblige them, he was supposed to have some treacherous plot against them. While the only punishment of crimes, whether they were of the greatest or smallest sort, was death. Nor could any one escape, unless he were very inconsiderable, either on account of the meanness of his birth, or on account of his fortune.

Now all the rest of the commanders of the Romans deemed this sedition among their enemies to be of great advantage to them, and were very earnest to march to the city: and they urged Vespasian, as their lord and general in all cases, to make haste; and said they to him, "The providence of God is on our side, by setting our enemies at variance against one another: but still the change in such cases may be sudden, and the Jews may quickly be reconciled again: either because they may be tired out with their civil miseries, or repent of such doings." But Vespasian replied, They were greatly mistaken in what they thought fit to be done: as those that, upon the theatre, love to make a show of their hands, and of their weapons; but do it to their own hazard;

without considering what was for their advantage, and for their security. For that if they should now go and attack the city immediately, they would but occasion their enemies to unite together; and thus convert their force, now it is in its height, against themselves. But if they remained a while they would have fewer enemies; because they must be consumed in this sedition. "God," said he, "acts as the general of the Romans better than I can do; and is giving the Jews up to us, without any pains of our own; and granting our army a victory, without any danger. Therefore it is our best way, while our enemies are destroying each other with their own hands, and falling into the greatest of misfortunes, which is that of sedition, to sit still as spectators of the dangers they run into; rather than to fight hand to hand with men that love murdering, and are mad one against another. But if any one imagine that the glory of the victory, when it is gotten without fighting, will be more insipid; let him know, that a glorious success quietly obtained is more profitable than the dangers of a battle. For we ought to esteem those that do what is agreeable to temperance and prudence no less glorious than those that have gained great reputation by their actions in war. I shall lead on my army with greater force, when the enemies are diminished, and my own troops refreshed after the continual labours they have undergone. However, this is not a proper time to propose to ourselves the glory of victory: for the Jews are not now employed in making of armour, or building of walls; nor indeed in getting together auxiliaries: while the advantage will be on their side who give them such opportunity of delay: but they are torn to pieces every day by their civil wars and dissensions; and are under greater miseries than, if they were once taken, could be inflicted on them by us. Whether, therefore, any one hath regard to what is for our safety, he ought to suffer these Jews to destroy one another; or whether he hath regard to the greater glory of the action, we ought by no means to meddle with these men now they are afflicted with a distemper at home. For should we now conquer them, it would be said the conquest was not owing to our bravery, but to their sedition."

Now the commanders joined in their approbation of what Vespasian had said: and it was soon discovered how wise an opinion

he had given. And indeed there were many of the Jews that deserted every day, and fled away from the zealots. Although their flight was very difficult; since they had guarded every passage out of the city; and slew every one that was caught at them; as taking it for granted they were going over to the Romans. Yet did he who gave them money get clear off; while he only that gave them none was voted a traitor. So the result was, that the rich purchased their flight by money: while none but the poor were slain. Along all the roads also vast numbers of dead bodies lay on heaps; and even many of those that were so zealous in deserting, at length chose rather to perish within the city. For the hopes of burial made death in their own city appear of the two less terrible to them. But these zealots came at last to that degree of barbarity, as not to bestow a burial, either on those slain in the city, or on those that lay along the roads. But as if they had made an agreement to cancel both the laws of their country, and the laws of nature, and at the same time that they defiled men with their wicked actions, they would pollute the divinity itself also; they left the dead bodies to putrefy under the sun. And the same punishment was allotted to such as buried any, as to those that deserted: which was no other than death. While he that granted the favour of a grave to another would presently stand in need of a grave himself. In a word, no other gentle passion was so entirely lost among them as mercy. For what were the greatest objects of pity did most of all irritate these wretches: and they transferred their rage from the living to those who had been slain, and from the dead to the living. Nay, the terror was so very great, that he who survived called them that were first dead happy, as being at rest already: as did those that were under torture in the prisons, declare that upon this comparison those that lay unburied were the happiest. These men, therefore, trampled upon all the laws of men, and laughed at the laws of God: and for the oracles of the prophets they ridiculed them, as the tricks of jugglers. Yet did these prophets foretell many things concerning the rewards of virtue, and punishments of vice, which, when these zealots violated, they occasioned the fulfilling of those very prophecies belonging to their own country. For there was a certain ancient oracle of those men; that "The city should

be taken, *and the sanctuary burnt, by right of war, when a sedition should invade the Jews: and their own hands should pollute the temple of God." Now while these zealots did not quite disbelieve these predictions, they made themselves the instruments of their accomplishment.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE TYRANNICAL BEHAVIOUR OF JOHN, AND THE MISCHIEFS DONE BY THE ZEALOTS AT MASADA.—ALSO OF THE REDUCTION OF GADARA; AND THE ACTIONS PERFORMED BY PLACIDUS.

BY this time John was beginning to tyrannize; and thought it beneath him to accept of barely the same honours that others had. And joining to himself by degrees a party of the most wicked, he broke off from the rest of the faction. This was brought about by his still disagreeing with the opinions of others; and giving out injunctions of his own, in a very imperious manner. So that it was evident he was setting up a monarchical power. Now some submitted to him out of fear, and others out of their good will to him. For he was a shrewd man to entice men, both by deluding them and putting cheats upon them. Nay, many there were that thought they should be safer themselves, if the causes of their past insolent actions should now be reduced to one head, and not to a great many. His activity was so great, and that both in action and in counsel, that he had not a few guards about him. Yet was there a great plenty of his antagonists that left him; among whom envy weighed a great deal; while they thought it a very heavy

*This prediction that "the city of Jerusalem should be taken, and the sanctuary burnt, by right of war, when a sedition should invade the Jews; and their own hands should pollute that temple:" or, as it is VI. 2. "When any one should begin to slay his countrymen in the city," is wanting in our present copies of the Old Testament. See *Essay on the Old Test.* page 104—112. But this prediction, as Josephus well remarks here, though, with the other predictions of the prophets, it was now laughed at by the seditious, was by their very means soon exactly fulfilled. However, I cannot but here take notice of Grotius's positive assertion upon Matt. xxvi. 9. here quoted by Dr. Hudson, that "It ought to be taken for granted, as a certain truth, that many predictions of the Jewish prophets were preserved, not in writing, but by memory." Whereas it seems to me so far from certain, that I think it has no evidence, nor probability at all.

thing to be in subjection to one that was formerly their equal. But the main reason that moved men against him was the dread of monarchy. For they could not hope easily to put an end to his power, if he had once obtained it. And yet they knew that he would have this pretence always against them, that they had opposed him when he was first advanced. While every one chose rather to suffer any thing in war, than that when they had been in a voluntary slavery, for some time, they should afterward perish. So the sedition was divided into two parts: and John reigned in opposition to his adversaries over one of them. But for their leaders they watched one another; nor did they at all, or at least very little, meddle with arms in their quarrels. But they fought earnestly against the people; and contended one with another which of them should bring home the greatest prey. But because the city had to struggle with three of the greatest misfortunes, war, tyranny, and sedition; it appeared, upon the comparison, that the war was the least troublesome to the populace of them all. Accordingly they ran away from their own houses to foreigners; and obtained that preservation from the Romans, which they despaired of obtaining among their own people.

And now a fourth misfortune arose, in order to bring our nation to destruction. There was a fortress of very great strength, not far from Jerusalem, which had been built by our ancient kings: both as a repository for their effects, in the hazards of war, and for the preservation of their bodies at the same time. It was called Masada. Those that were called Sicarii had taken possession of it formerly: but at this time they overran the neighbouring countries: aiming only to procure to themselves necessities; for the fear they were then in prevented their future ravages. But when once they were informed that the Roman army lay still; and that the Jews were divided between sedition and tyranny, they boldly undertook greater matters. And at the feast of unleavened bread, which the Jews celebrate in memory of their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, when they were sent back into the country of their forefathers; they came down by night, without being discovered by those that could have prevented them; and overran a certain small city called Engaddi. In this expedition they prevented those citizens that could have stopped

them, before they could arm themselves, and fight them. They also dispersed them, and cast them out of the city. As for such as could not run away, being women and children, they slew of them about seven hundred. Afterward, when they had carried every thing out of their houses, and had seized upon all the fruits that were in a flourishing condition, they brought them into Masada. And indeed these men laid all the villages that were about the fortress waste, and made the whole country desolate: while there came to them every day, from all parts, not a few men, as corrupt as themselves. At that time all the other regions of Judea that had hitherto been at rest were in motion, by means of the robbers. Now as it is in a human body, if the principal part be inflamed, all the members are subject to the same distemper; so, by means of the sedition and disorder that was in the metropolis, had the wicked men that were in the country opportunity to ravage the same. Accordingly, when every one of them had plundered their own villages, they retired into the desert. Yet were these men that now got together, and joined in the conspiracy by parties, too small for an army, and too numerous for a gang of thieves. And thus did they fall upon the *holy places, and the cities. Yet did it now so happen that they were sometimes very ill treated by those upon whom they fell with such violence: and were taken by them, as men are taken in war. But still they prevented any farther punishment, as do robbers; who as soon as their ravages are discovered, run their way. Nor was there now any part of Judea that was not in a miserable condition, as well as its most eminent city also.

These things were told Vespasian by deserters. For although the seditious watched all the passages out of the city, and destroyed all, whosoever they were, that came thither; yet were there some that had concealed themselves; and when they had fled to

* By these holy places, as distinct from cities, must be meant *Proseuchæ*, or houses of prayer out of cities; as the synagogues were in cities. Of which we find mention made in the New Testament, and other authors. See Luke vi. 12. Acts, xvi. 13, 16. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 10. In qua te quæro proseucha; Juvenal. Sat. III. verse 296. They were situate sometimes by the sides of rivers; Acts, xvi. 13. or by the sea-side: Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 10. So did the LXXII. interpreters go to prayer every morning by the sea-side, before they went to their work, XII. 2.

the Romans, persuaded their general to come to the assistance of their city, and save the remainder of the people: informing him withal, that it was upon account of the people's good will to the Romans, that many of them were already slain, and the survivors in danger of the same treatment. Vespasian did indeed already pity the calamities these men were in; and arose, in appearance, as though he were going to besiege Jerusalem; but in reality to deliver them from a worse siege they were already under. However he was obliged to overthrow what remained elsewhere; and to leave nothing out of Jerusalem behind him, that might interrupt him in that siege. Accordingly he marched against Gadara, the metropolis of Perea, which was a place of strength; and entered that city on the fourth day of the month Dystrus, or Ada.* For the men of power had sent an ambassage to him without the knowledge of the seditious, to treat about a surrender. Which they did out of the desire they had of peace; and for saving their effects: because many of the citizens of Gadara were rich men. This embassy the opposite party knew nothing of: but discovered it, as Vespasian was approaching near the city. However, they despaired of keeping possession of the city; as being inferior in number to their enemies who were within the city, and seeing the Romans very near to the city. So they resolved to flee: but thought it dishonourable to do it without shedding some blood, and revenging themselves on the authors of this surrender. So they seized upon Dolesus, (a person not only the first in rank and family in that city, but one that seemed the occasion of sending such an embassy;) and slew him, and treated his body after a barbarous manner: so very violent was their anger at him; and then ran out of the city. And as now the Roman army was just upon them, the people of Gadara admitted Vespasian with joyful acclamations, and received from him the security of his right hand; as also a garrison of horsemen and footmen, to guard them against the excursions of the runagates. For as to their wall, they had pulled it down before the Romans desired them so to do; that they might thereby give them assurance that they

were lovers of peace : and that, if they had a mind, they could not now make war against them.

Now Vespasian sent Placidus against those that had fled from Gadara, with five hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen ; while he returned himself to Cæsarea, with the rest of the army. But as soon as these fugitives came to a close fight ; they ran together to a certain village, which was called Bethennabris.— Where, finding a great multitude of young men, and arming them, partly by their own consent, and partly by force, they rashly and suddenly assaulted Placidus, and the troops that were with him. These horsemen at the first onset gave way a little ; as contriving to entice them farther off the wall. And when they had drawn them into a place fit for their purpose, they made their horse encompass them round, and throw their darts at them. So the horsemen cut off the flight of the fugitives : while the foot terribly destroyed those that fought against them. For those Jews did no more than show their courage, and then were destroyed. For as they fell upon the Romans, when they were joined close together, and, as it were, walled about with their entire armour, they were not able to find any place where the darts could enter : nor were they any way able to break their ranks. While they were themselves run through by the Roman darts : and like the fiercest of wild beasts, rushed upon the points of the others' swords. So some of them were destroyed, as cut with their enemies' swords upon their faces ; and others were dispersed by the horsemen.

Now Placidus's concern was to exclude them in their flight from getting into the village : and causing his cavalry to march continually on that side, he then turned short upon them ; and at the same time his men made use of their darts, and easily took their aim at those that were the nearest to them : as they made those that were farther off turn back by the terror they were in : till at last the most courageous of them brake through those horsemen, and fled to the wall of the village. And now those that guarded the wall were in great doubt what to do. For they could not bear the thoughts of excluding those that came from Gadara, because of their own people that were among them. And yet, if they should admit them, they expected to perish with them :

which came to pass accordingly. For as they were crowding together at the wall, the Roman horsemen were just ready to fall in with them. However the guards prevented them, and shut the gates. When Placidus made an assault upon them, and fighting courageously till it was dark, he got possession of the wall, and of the people that were in the city. When the useless multitude were destroyed : but those that were more potent ran away : and the soldiers plundered the houses, and set the village on fire. As for those that ran out of the village, they stirred up such as were in the country ; and exaggerating their own calamities, and telling them that the whole army of the Romans was upon them, they put them into great fear on every side. So they got in great numbers together, and fled to Jericho. For they knew no other place that could afford them any hope of escaping : it being a city that had a strong wall, and a great multitude of inhabitants. But Placidus relying much upon his horsemen, and his former good success, followed them ; and slew all that he overtook, as far as Jordan. And when he had driven the whole multitude to the river side, where they were stopped by the current : (for it had been augmented lately by rains, and was not fordable,) he put his soldiers in array over against them. So the necessity the others were in, provoked them to hazard a battle ; because there was no place whither they could flee. They then extended themselves a great way along the banks of the river ; and sustained the darts that were thrown at them ; as well as the attacks of the horsemen : who beat many of them, and pushed them into the current. In this close combat fifteen thousand of them were slain : while the number of those that were unwillingly forced to leap into Jordan was prodigious ; and two thousand and two hundred were taken prisoners. A mighty prey was taken also, consisting of asses, sheep, camels, and oxen.

Now this destruction that fell upon the Jews, as it was not inferior to any of the rest in itself ; so did it still appear greater than it really was. And this because, not only the whole country through which they fled was filled with slaughter, and Jordan could not be passed over by reason of the dead bodies that were in it ; but because the lake Asphaltites was also full of dead bodies, that were carried down into it by the river. And now Placidus, after his

good success, fell violently upon the neighbouring smaller cities and villages. When he took Abila, Julias, Bezemoth, and all those that lay as far as the lake Asphaltites : and put such of the deserters into each of them as he thought proper. He then put his soldiers on board the ships, and slew such as had fled to the lake. Insomuch that all Perea had either surrendered themselves, or were taken by the Romans, as far as Macherus.

CHAP. VIII.

VESPASIAN, UPON HEARING OF SOME COMMOTIONS IN GAUL, HASTENS TO FINISH THE JEWISH WAR.—A DESCRIPTION OF JERICHO, AND OF THE GREAT PLAIN; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE LAKE ASPHALTITES.

IN the mean time an account came, that there were commotions in Gaul; and that *Vindex, together with the men of power in that country, had revolted from Nero; which affair is more accurately described elsewhere. This report excited Vespasian to go on briskly with the war: for he foresaw already the civil wars which were coming upon them; nay, that the very government was in danger: and he thought, if he could first reduce the eastern parts of the empire to peace, he should make the fears for Italy the lighter. While, therefore, the winter was his hinderance from going into the field, he put garrisons into the villages, and smaller cities, for their security. He put decurions also into the villages, and centurions into the cities. He besides this rebuilt many of the cities that had been laid waste. But at the beginning of spring he took the greatest part of his army, and led it from Cæsarea to Antipatris. There he spent two days in settling the affairs of that city, and then, on the third day, he marched on; laying waste and burning all the neighbouring villages. And when he had laid waste all the places about the toparchy of Thamnas, he passed on to Lydda, and Jamnia. And when both those cities had submitted to him, he placed a great many of those that had come over to him from other places as inhabitants therein; and then

* Concerning this Julius Vindex, who was now in rebellion against Nero in Gaul, see Tacitus, *Annal.* XV.74. *Histor.* I. 51. and Suetonius in *Neron*, § 40, 41, 46.

came to Emmaus; where he seized upon the passages which led thence to their metropolis; and fortified his camp: and leaving the fifth legion therein, he came to the toparchy of Bethleptephon. He then destroyed that place and the neighbouring places, by fire; and fortified, at proper places, the strong holds all about Idumea. And when he had seized upon two villages, which were in the very midst of Idumea, Betaris, and Caphartobas, he slew above ten thousand of the people; and carried into captivity above a thousand; and drove away the rest of the multitude; and placed no small part of his own forces in them. These overran and laid waste the whole mountainous country: while he, with the rest of his forces, returned to Emmaus: whence he came down through the country of Samaria, and hard by the city, by others called *Neapolis, but by the people of that country Mabortha, to Corea: where he pitched his camp, on the second day of the month Desius, or Sivan. And on the day following he came to Jericho. On which day Trajan, one of his commanders, joined him with the forces he brought out of Perea, all the places beyond Jordan being already subdued.

Hereupon a great multitude prevented their approach, and came out of Jericho: and fled to those mountainous parts that lay over against Jerusalem: while that part which was left behind was in a great measure destroyed. They also found the city desolate. It is situate in a plain: but a naked and barren mountain, of a very great length, hangs over it: which extends itself to the land about Scythopolis northward; but as far as the country of Sodom, and the utmost limits of the lake Asphaltites southward, this mountain is all of it very uneven, and uninhabited by reason of its barrenness. There is an opposite mountain, that is situate over against it, on the other side of Jordan. This last begins at Julias, and the northern quarters, and extends itself southward as far as †Somorrhon: which is the bound of Petra; in Arabia. In

* Or Sichem.

† Whether this Somorrhon, or Somorrha, ought not to be here written Gomorrha, as some MSS. in a manner have it: (for the place meant by Josephus seems to be near Segor or Zoar, at the very south of the Dead Sea; hard by which stood Sodom and Gomorrha :) cannot now be certainly determined; but seems by no means improbable.

this ridge of mountains there is one called the Iron mountain, that runs in length as far as Moab. Now the region that lies in the middle between these ridges of mountains, is called The Great Plain. It reaches from the village Ginnabris, as far as the lake Asphaltites. Its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs : and its breadth a hundred and twenty : and it is divided in the midst by Jordan. It hath two lakes in it ; that of Asphaltites and that of Tiberias ; whose natures are opposite to each other. For the former is salt, and unfruitful ; but that of Tiberias is sweet, and fruitful. This plain is much burnt up in summer time : and, by reason of the extraordinary heat, contains a very unwholesome air. It is all destitute of water, except the river Jordan. Which water of Jordan is the occasion why those plantations of palm-trees, that are near its banks, are more flourishing, and much more fruitful : as are those that are remote from it not so flourishing, or fruitful.

There is, however, a fountain by Jericho, that runs plentifully ; and is very fit for watering the ground. It rises near the old city, which Joshua, the general of the Hebrews, took the first of all the cities of the land of Canaan, by right of war. The report is, that this fountain, at the beginning, caused not only the blasting of the earth and the trees, but of the children born of women ; and that it was entirely of a sickly and corruptive nature, to all things whatsoever : but that it was made very wholesome and fruitful by the prophet Elisha. This prophet was familiar with Elijah, and was his successor. Who when he once was the guest of the people at Jericho, and the men of the place had treated him very kindly, he made them amends : as well as the country, by a lasting favour. For he went out of the city to this fountain, and threw into the current an earthen vessel full of salt. After which he stretched out his righteous hand to heaven, and pouring out a mild drink-offering, he made this *supplication : that "The current might be mollified ; and that the veins of fresh water might be opened.

* This excellent prayer of Elisha's is wanting in our copies, 2 Kings ii. 21, 22 though it be referred to also in the Apostolical Constitutions, VII. 37. and the speeches of it is mentioned in them all.

That God also would bring into the place a more temperate and fertile air for the current ; and would bestow upon the people of that country plenty of the fruits of the earth, and a succession of children ; and that this prolific water might never fail them, while they continued to be righteous." To these prayers Elisha joined proper operations of his hands, after a skilful manner, and changed the fountain ; and that water, which had been the occasion of sterility and famine before, from that time supplied a numerous posterity, and afforded great abundance to the country. Accordingly the power of it is so great, in watering the ground, that if it but once touch a country, it affords a sweeter nourishment than other waters do, when they lie upon them, till they are satiated with them. For which reason the advantage gained from other waters, when they flow in great plenty, is but small ; while that of this water is great, when it flows even in little quantities. Accordingly it waters a larger space of ground than any other waters do : and passes along a plain of seventy furlongs long, and twenty broad : wherein it affords nourishment to those most excellent gardens, that are thickly set with trees. There are in it many sorts of palm-trees, that are watered by it ; different from each other in taste and name. The better sort of them, when they are pressed, yield an excellent kind of honey ; not much inferior in sweetness to other honey. This country withal produces honey from bees. It also bears that balsam, which is the most precious of all the fruits in that place. Cypress trees also, and those that bear myrobalanum. So that he who should pronounce this place to be divine, would not be mistaken. Wherein is such plenty of trees produced, as are very rare, and of the most excellent sort. And indeed, if we speak of those other fruits, it will not be easy to meet with any climate in the habitable earth, that can well be compared to it : what is sown here comes up in such clusters. The cause of which seems to me to be the warmth of the air, and the fertility of the waters. The warmth calling forth the sprouts, and making them spread : and the moisture making every one of them take root firmly, and supplying that virtue which it stands in need of, in summer time. This country is then so sadly burnt up, that nobody cares to come at it. And if the water be drawn up before sunrising, and after that exposed to the air, it becomes exceeding

cold : and becomes of a nature quite contrary to the ambient air. As in winter again it becomes warm. And if you go into it, it appears very gentle. The ambient air is here also of so good a temperature, that the people of the country are clothed in linen only ; even when snow covers the rest of Judea. This place is a hundred and fifty furlongs from Jerusalem, is desert, and stony. But that as far as Jordan, and the lake Asphaltites, lies lower, though it be equally desert and barren. But so much shall suffice for the description of Jericho ; and of the great happiness of its situation.

The nature of the lake Asphaltites is also worth describing. It is, as I have already said, bitter and unfruitful. It is so thick that it bears up the heaviest things that are thrown into it. Nor is it easy for any one to make things sink therein to the bottom, if he had a mind so to do. Accordingly, when Vespasian went to see it, he commanded that some who could not swim, should have their hands tied behind them, and be thrown into the deep. When it so happened, that they all swam, as if a wind had forced them upwards. The change of the colour of this lake is also wonderful : for it changes its appearance thrice every day. And as the rays of the sun fall differently upon it, the light is variously reflected. However, it casts up black clods of bitumen, in many parts of it. These swim at the top of the water, and resemble both in shape and bigness headless bulls. And when the labourers that belong to the lake come to it, and catch hold of it, as it hangs together, they draw it into their ships. But when the ship is full, it is not easy to cut off the rest : for it is so tenacious as to make the ship hang upon its clods, till they set it loose, with blood and with urine, to which alone it yields. This bitumen is not only useful for the calking of ships, but for the cure of men's bodies. Accordingly it is mixed in a great many medicines. The length of this lake is five hundred and eighty furlongs ; where it is extended as far as Zoar in Arabia, and its breadth is a hundred and fifty. The country of Sodom* borders upon it. It was anciently a most happy land, both for the fruits it bore, and the riches of its cities : although it be

* See the note on Book V. chap. 13.

now all burnt up. It is *related how for the impiety of its inhabitants, it was burnt by lightning. In consequence of which there are still the remainders of that divine fire ; and the traces of these five cities are still to be seen : as well as the ashes growing in their fruits. Which fruits have a colour, as if they were fit to be eaten ; but if you pluck them with your hands, they dissolve into smoke and ashes. And thus what is related of this land of Sodom hath these marks of credibility, which our very sight affords us.

CHAP. IX.

VESPASIAN, AFTER REDUCING GADARA, MAKES PREPARATIONS FOR THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM ; BUT, UPON HEARING OF THE DEATH OF NERO, HE CHANGES HIS INTENTIONS.—ALSO CONCERNING SIMON OF GERASA.

NOW Vespasian had fortified all the places round about Jerusalem, and erected citadels at Jericho and Adida, and placed garrisons in them both ; partly out of his own Romans, and partly out of the body of his auxiliaries. He also sent Lucius Annius to Gerasa ; and delivered to him a body of horsemen, and a considerable number of footmen. So when he had taken the city, which he did at the first onset, he slew a thousand of those young men, who had not prevented him by fleeing away. But he took their families captive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder them of their effects. After this he set fire to their houses, and went away to the adjoining villages : while the men of power fled away, and the weaker part were destroyed ; and what was remaining was all burnt down. And now the war having gone through all the mountainous country, and all the plain country also, those that were at Jerusalem were deprived of the liberty of going out of the city. For such as had a mind to desert, were watched by the zealots. And as to such as were not yet on the side of the Romans, their army kept them in, by encompassing the city round about on all sides.

Now as Vespasian was returned to Cæsarea, and was getting ready with all his army to march directly to Jerusalem, he was

* See Antiquities, I. 11.

informed that Nero was dead;* after he had reigned thirteen years and eight days. But as to any narration after what manner he abused his power in the government, and committed the management of his affairs to those vile wretches Nymphidius and Tigellinus, his unworthy freedmen; and how he had a plot laid against him by them, and was deserted by all his guards, and ran away with four of his most trusty freedmen, and slew himself in the suburbs of Rome; and how those that occasioned his death were, in no long time, brought themselves to punishment: how also the war in Gaul ended: and how †Galba was made emperor, and returned out of Spain to Rome; and how he was accused by the soldiers as a pusillanimous person, and slain by treachery, in the middle of the market-place at Rome; and Otho was made emperor: with his expedition against the commanders of Vitellius, and his destruction thereupon: and besides, what troubles there were under Vitellius, and the fight that was about the capitol: as also how Antonius Primus and Mucianus slew Vitellius, and his German legions: and thereby put an end to that civil war: I have omitted to give an exact account of them, because they are well known by all; and are described by a great number of Greek and Roman authors. Yet for the sake of the connexion of matters, and that my history may not be incoherent, I have just touched upon every thing briefly. Wherefore Vespasian put off at first his expedition against Jerusalem, and stood waiting whither the empire would be transferred, after the death of Nero. Moreover, when he heard that Galba was made emperor, he attempted nothing, till he should send him some directions about the war. However he sent his son Titus, to salute him, and to receive his commands about the Jews. Upon the very same errand did king Agrippa sail along with Titus, to Galba. But as they were sailing in their long ships by the coasts of Achaia, (for it was winter time,) they heard that Galba was slain, before they could get to him; after he had reigned seven months and as many days. After whom

* A. D. 68.

† Of these Roman affairs, and tumults under Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, here only touched upon by Josephus, see Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio, more largely. However, we may observe with Ottius, that Josephus writes the name of the second of them not Otto, with many others, but Otho, with the coins.

Otho took the government, and undertook the management of public affairs. So Agrippa resolved to go on to Rome, without any terror, on account of the change in the government. But Titus, by a divine impulse, sailed back from Greece to Syria; and came in great haste to Cæsarea, to his father. And now they were both in suspense about the public affairs; the Roman empire being then in a fluctuating condition: and did not go on with their expedition against the Jews: but thought that to make any attack upon foreigners was now unseasonable, on account of the solicitude they were in for their own country.

And now there arose another war at Jerusalem. There was a son of Giora, one Simon, by birth of Gerasa, a young man; not so cunning indeed as John of Gischala, who had already seized upon the city, but superior in strength of body, and courage. On which account, when he had been driven away from that Acrabattene toparchy which he once had, by Ananus the high-priest, he came to those robbers that had seized upon Masada. At the first they suspected him, and only permitted him to come, with the women he brought with him, into the lower part of the fortress, while they dwelt in the upper part of it themselves. However, his manners so well agreed with theirs, and he seemed so trusty a man, that he went out with them, and ravaged and destroyed the country with them about Masada. Yet when he persuaded them to undertake greater things, he could not prevail with them so to do. For as they were accustomed to dwell in that citadel, they were afraid of going far from that which was their hiding place: but he affecting to tyrannize, and being fond of greatness, when he had heard of the death of Ananus he left them, and went into the mountainous part of the country. So he proclaimed liberty to those in slavery, and a reward to those already free, and got together a set of wicked men from all quarters.

And as he had now a strong body of men about him, he overran the villages that lay in the mountainous country, and when there were still more and more that came to him, he ventured to go down into the lower parts of the country; and since he was now become so formidable to the cities, many of the men of power were corrupted by him: so that his army was no longer com-

posed of slaves and robbers, but a great many of the populace were obedient to him as to their king. He then overran the Acrabattene toparchy, and the places that reached as far as the great Idumea. For he built a wall at a certain village called *Nain, and made use of that as a fortress for his own party's security : and at the valley called Pharan he enlarged many of the caves, and many others he found ready for his purpose : these he made use of as repositories for his treasures, and receptacles for his prey ; and therein he laid up the fruits that he had got by rapine. And many of his partizans had their dwelling in them ; and he made no secret of it that he was exercising his men beforehand, and making preparations for the assault of Jerusalem.

Hereupon the zealots, out of the dread they were in of his attacking them, and being willing to prevent one that was growing up to oppose them, went out against him with their weapons. Simon met them, and joining battle, slew a considerable number of them, and drove the rest before him into the city ; but durst not trust so much upon his forces, as to make an assault upon the walls. But he resolved first to subdue Idumea. And as he had now twenty thousand armed men, he marched to the borders of that country. Hereupon the rulers of the Idumeans got together on a sudden the most warlike part of their people, about twenty-five thousand in number, and permitted the rest to be a guard to their own country, by reason of the incursions that were made by the Sicarii that were at Masada. Thus they received Simon at their borders : where they fought him, and continued the battle all that day : and the dispute lay whether they had conquered him, or been conquered by him. So he went back to Nain : as did the Idumeans return home. Nor was it long before Simon came violently again upon their country. When he pitched his camp at a certain village called Thecoe : and sent Eleazar, one of his companions, to those that kept garrison at Herodium ; and in order to persuade them to surrender that fortress to him. The garrison received this man readily, while they knew nothing of what he came about. But as soon as he talked of the surrender of the place, they fell upon him with their drawn swords, till he found

* Or Ain.

that he had no place for flight. He therefore threw himself down from the wall into the valley beneath, and died immediately. But the Idumeans, who were already much afraid of Simon's power, thought fit to take a view of the enemy's army before they hazarded a battle with them.

Now there was one of their commanders named Jacob, who offered to serve them readily upon that occasion ; but had it in his mind to betray them. He went therefore from the village Alurus, wherein the army of the Idumeans were gotten together, and came to Simon : and at the very first he agreed to betray his country to him ; and took assurances upon oath from him that he should always have him in his esteem ; and then promised that he would assist him in subduing all Idumea. Upon which account he was feasted after an obliging manner by Simon, and elevated by his mighty promises : and when he was returned to his own men, he at first belied the army of Simon, and said it was much more numerous than it was. After which he dexterously persuaded the commanders, and by degrees the whole multitude, to receive Simon, and to surrender the whole government up to him, without fighting. And as he was doing this, he invited Simon by his messengers, and promised him to dissipate the Idumeans, which he performed also. For as soon as their army was nigh them, he first of all got upon his horse, and fled, together with those whom he had corrupted. Hereupon a terror fell upon the whole multitude : and before it came to a close fight they broke their ranks, and every one retired to his own home.

Thus did Simon unexpectedly march into Idumea, without bloodshed ; and made a sudden attack upon the the city Hebron, and took it. Wherein he got possession of a great deal of prey, and plundered it of a vast quantity of fruit. Now the people of the country say, that it is an ancients city, not only than any in that country, but than *Memphis in Egypt : and accordingly its age is reckoned at two thousand three hundred years. They also relate that it had been the habitation of Abram, the progenitor of the Jews, after he had removed out of Mesopotamia, and that his posterity descended from thence into Egypt. Whose monuments

* Tanis, or Zoan. Antiq. I. 8. Numb. xiii. 22.

are to this very time shown in that small city : the fabric of which monuments are of the most excellent marble, and wrought after the most elegant manner. There is also there shown, at the distance of six furlongs from the city, a very large †turpentine-tree ; and it is reported that this has continued ever since the creation of the world. Thence did Simon make his progress over all Idumea : and did not only ravage the cities and villages, but lay waste the whole country. For, besides those that were completely armed, he had forty thousand men that followed him : insomuch that he had not provisions to suffice such a multitude. Now, besides this want of provisions, he was of a barbarous disposition, and bore great anger at this nation. By which means it came to pass, that Idumea was greatly depopulated. And as one may see all the woods behind despoiled of their leaves by locusts, after they have been there ; so was there nothing left behind Simon's army, but a desert. Some places they burnt down ; some they utterly demolished ; and whatsoever grew in the country they either trod it down, or fed upon it : and by their marches they made the ground that was cultivated harder and more untractable than that which was barren. In short, there was no sign remaining of those places that had been laid waste, that ever they had had a being.

This success of Simon's excited the zealots afresh. And though they were afraid to fight him openly in a fair battle, yet did they lay ambushes in the passes, and seized upon his wife, with a considerable number of her attendants : whereupon they came back to the city rejoicing, as if they had taken Simon himself captive ; and were in present expectation that he would lay down his arms, and make supplication to them for his wife. But instead of indulging any merciful affection, he grew very angry at them for seizing his beloved wife. So he came to the wall of Jerusalem ; and like wild beasts when they are wounded, and cannot overtake those that wounded them, he vented his spleen upon all persons whom he met with. Accordingly he caught all those that were

† Some of the ancients call this famous tree, or grove, an oak, others a turpentine-tree, or grove. It has been very famous in all the past ages ; and is so, I suppose, at this day ; and that particularly for an eminent mart or meeting of merchants there every year, as the travellers inform us.

come out of the city gates, either to gather herbs or sticks, who were unarmed, and in years; he then tormented them, and destroyed them, out of the immense rage he was in: and was almost ready to taste the very flesh of their dead bodies. He also cut off the hands of a great many, and sent them into the city, to astonish his enemies, and in order to make the people fall into a sedition, and desert those that had been the authors of his wife's seizure. He also enjoined them to tell the people that Simon swore by the God of the universe, that unless they would restore him his wife, he would break down their wall, and inflict the like punishment upon all the citizens, without sparing any age: and without making any distinction between the guilty and the innocent. These threatenings so greatly affrighted, not the people only, but the zealots themselves also, that they sent his wife back to him: upon which he became a little milder, and left off his perpetual bloodshedding.

But sedition and civil war prevailed, not only over Judea, but in Italy also. For now Galba was slain in the midst of the Roman market-place. Then was Otho made emperor, and fought against Vitellius, who set up for emperor also: for the legions in Germany had chosen him. But when he gave battle to Valens and Cecinna, who were Vitellius's generals, at Betriacum in Gaul, Otho gained the advantage on the first day: but on the second day Vitellius's soldiers had the victory. And, after much slaughter, Otho slew himself, when he had heard of this defeat at Brixia, and after he had managed the public affairs *three months and two days. †Otho's army also came over to Vitellius's generals, and he came himself down to Rome, with his army. But in the mean time Vespasian removed from Cæsarea, on the fifth day of the month Desius, or Sivan, and marched against those places of Judea which were not yet overthrown. So he went up to the mountainous country, and took those two toparchies that were called the Gophnitic and Acrabattene toparchies. After which he took Bethel and ‡Ephraim, two small cities. And when he had put

* Suetonius differs hardly three days from Josephus, and says Otho perished on the 95th day of his reign. — an. 11.

† A. D. 69.

‡ See John xi. 54.

garrisons into them, he rode as far as Jerusalem: in which march he took many prisoners, and many captives. But Cerealis, one of his commanders, took a body of horsemen and footmen, and laid waste that part of Idumea which was called the Upper Idumea: and attacked Caphethra, which pretended to be a small city, and took it at the first onset, and burnt it down. He also attacked Capharabim and laid siege to it; for it had a very strong wall.—And when he expected to spend a long time in that siege, those that were within opened their gates on the sudden, and came to beg pardon, and surrendered themselves up to him. When Cerealis had conquered them, he went to Hebron, another ancient city, situate in a mountainous country, not far off Jerusalem. And when he had broken into the city by force, what multitude and young men were left therein he slew, and burnt down the city. So that as now all the places were taken, excepting Herodium, Masada, and Macherus, which were in the possession of the robbers; so Jerusalem was what the Romans at present aimed at.

Now, as soon as Simon had set his wife free, and recovered her from the zealots, he returned back to the remainders of Idumea: and driving the nation before him, from all quarters, he compelled a great number of them to retire to Jerusalem. He followed them himself also to the city, and encompassed the wall all round again. And when he met with any labourers, that were coming thither out of the country, he slew them. Now this Simon, who was without the wall, was a greater terror to the people than the Romans themselves: as were the zealots who were within it more heavy upon them than both of the other. And during this time did the mischievous contrivances and courage of John corrupt the *body of the Galileans. For these Galileans had advanced this John, and made him very potent: who made them a suitable requital, from the authority he had obtained by their means, for he permitted them to do all things that any of them desired. While their inclination to plunder was insatiable: as was their zeal in searching the houses of the rich. And for the murdering of the men, and abusing of the women, it was sport to them. They also devoured what spoils they had taken, together with their blood;

* Those that came out of Galilee with John of Gischala.

and indulged themselves in feminine wantonness, without any disturbance, till they were satiated therewith. While they decked their hair, and put on women's garments, and were besmeared over with ointments : and, that they might appear very comely, they had paints under their eyes ; and were guilty of such intolerable uncleanness, that they invented unlawful pleasures, and rolled themselves up and down the city, as in a brothel house ; and defiled it entirely with their impure actions. Nay, while their faces looked like the faces of women, they killed with their right hands : and when their gait was effeminate, they presently attacked men, and become warriors : and drew their swords from under their finely died cloaks, and ran every body through whom they met with ; however, Simon waited for such as ran away from John, and was the more sanguinary of the two. And he who escaped the tyrant within the wall, was destroyed by the other that lay before the gates. So that all attempts of deserting to the Romans were cut off, as to those that had a mind so to do.

Yet did the army that was under John, raise a sedition against him : and all the Idumeans separated themselves from the tyrant, and attempted to destroy him : and this out of their envy at his power, and hatred of his cruelty. So they got together, and slew many of the zealots, and drove the rest before them into that royal palace that was built by Grapte, who was a relation of *Izates, king of Adiabene : the Idumeans fell in with them, and drove the zealots out thence into the temple, and betook themselves to plunder John's effects. For both he himself was in that palace ; and therein had he laid up the spoils he had acquired by his tyranny. In the mean time the multitude of those zealots that were dispersed over the city ran together to the temple, unto those that had fled thither : and John prepared to bring them down against the people and the Idumeans : who were not so much afraid of being attacked by them, because they were themselves better soldiers than they, as at their madness, lest they should privately sally out of the temple, and get among them, and not only destroy them, but set the city on fire also. So they assembled themselves together, and the high-priests with them, and took counsel, after what man-

* See Antiq. XX. 2.

ner they should avoid their assault. Now it was God who turned their opinions to the worst advice, *and thence they devised such a remedy to get themselves free, as was worse than the disease itself. Accordingly, in order to overthrow John, they determined to admit Simon: and earnestly to desire the introduction of a second tyrant into the city. This resolution they brought to perfection, and sent Matthias, the high-priest, to beseech this Simon to come in to them, of whom they had so often been afraid. Those also that had fled from the zealots in Jerusalem joined in this request, out of the desire they had of preserving their houses, and their effects. Accordingly he, in an arrogant manner, granted them his lordly protection; and came into the city, in order to deliver it from the zealots. The people also made joyful acclamations to him, as their saviour and their preserver. But when he was come in, with his army, he took care to secure his own authority; and looked upon those that had invited him in, to be no less his enemies, than those against whom the invitation was intended.

And thus did Simon get possession of Jerusalem, in the third year of the war, in the month Xanthicus, or Nisan. Whereupon John, with his multitude of zealots, as being both prohibited from coming out of the temple, and having lost their power in the city, (for Simon and his party had plundered them of what they had,) were in despair of deliverance. Simon also made an assault upon the temple, with the assistance of the people; while the others stood upon the cloisters, and the battlements, and defended themselves from their assaults. However, a considerable number of Simon's party fell; and many were carried off wounded. For the zealots threw their darts easily from a superior place, and seldom failed of hitting their enemies. But having the advantage of situation, and having withal erected four very large towers beforehand, that their darts might come from higher places, †one at the north-east corner of the court, one above the Xystus; the third at another corner, over against the lower city; and the last was erected above the top of the Pastophoria: where one of the priests stood

* This God can easily effect by leaving men to their own uninfluenced counsel and wisdom. B.

† Take here Reland's small scheme of the situation of these four towers, erected

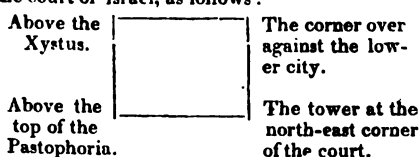
of course, and gave *a signal beforehand, with a trumpet, at the beginning of every seventh day, in the evening twilight : as also at the evening, when that day was finished ; as giving notice to the people when they were to leave off work, and when they were to go to work again. These men also set their engines to cast darts and stones withal, upon those towers, with their arches and slingers. And now Simon made his assault upon the temple more faintly, by reason that the greatest part of his men grew weary of that work. Yet did he not leave off his opposition : because his army was superior to the others : although the darts which were thrown by the engines were carried a great way, and slew many of those that fought for him.

CHAP. X.

OF THE ELEVATION OF VESPASIAN TO THE IMPERIAL DIGNITY,
AND THE EMANCIPATION OF JOSEPHUS FROM HIS BONDS.

ABOUT this time heavy calamities came about Rome on all sides. For Vitellius was come from Germany with his soldiery ; and drew along with him a great multitude of other men besides. And when the spaces allotted for soldiers could not contain them, he made all Rome itself his camp ; and filled all the houses with the armed men. Which men, when they saw the riches of Rome, with those eyes which had never seen such riches before, and found themselves shone round about on all sides with silver and gold, they had much ado to contain their covetous desires ; and

in the temple, in the court of Israel, as follows :



* This beginning and ending the observance of the Jewish seventh day, or sabbath, with a priest's blowing of a trumpet, is remarkable ; and nowhere else mentioned, that I know of. Nor is Reland's conjecture here improbable ; that this was the very place that has puzzled our commentators so long, called *Musach Sabbati*, the "covert of the Sabbath : " if that be the true reading, 2 Kings xvi. 18. Because here the proper priest stood dry, under a covering to proclaim the beginning and ending of every Jewish sabbath.

were ready to betake themselves to plunder, and to the slaughter of such as should stand in their way. And this was the state of affairs in Italy at that time.

But when Vespasian had overthrown all the places that were near to Jerusalem, he returned to Cæsarea, and heard of the troubles that were at Rome, and that Vitellius was emperor, this produced indignation in him: although he well knew how to be governed, as well as to govern: and could not, with any satisfaction, own him for his lord, who acted so madly, and seized upon the government, as if it were absolutely destitute of a governor. And as this sorrow of his was violent, he was not able to support the torments he was under; nor to apply himself farther in other wars, when his native country was laid waste. But then, as much as his passion excited him to avenge his country, so much was he restrained by the consideration of his distance therefrom. Because fortune might prevent him, and do a world of mischief before he could himself sail over the sea to Italy: especially as it was still the winter season: so he restrained his anger, how vehement soever it was at this time.*

But now his commanders and soldiers met in several companies, and consulted openly about changing the public affairs: and out of their indignation, cried out, "At Rome there are soldiers that live delicately: and when they have not ventured so much as to hear the fame of war, they ordain whom they please for our governors; and in hopes of gain make them emperors, while you have gone through so many labours, and are grown into years under your helmets, give leave to others to use such a power; when you have among yourselves one more worthy to rule than any whom they have set up. Now what juster opportunity shall they ever have of requiting their generals, if they do not make use of this that is now before them? while there is much juster reasons for Vespasian's being emperor, than for Vitellius: as they are themselves more deserving, than those that made the other emperors. For they have undergone as great wars as have the troops that come from Germany. Nor are they inferior in war to those that have brought that tyrant to Rome; nor have

* A. D. 69.

they undergone smaller labours than they. For neither will the Roman senate, nor people, bear such a lascivious emperor as Vitellius; if he be compared with their chaste Vespasian. Nor will they endure a most barbarous tyrant, instead of a good governor; nor choose one that hath *no child, to preside over them instead of him that is a father. Because the advancement of men's own children to dignities is certainly the greatest security kings can have for themselves. Whether, therefore, we estimate the capacity of governing from the skill of a person in years, we ought to have Vespasian; or whether from the strength of a young man, we ought to have Titus: for by this means we shall have the advantage of both their ages. For they will afford strength to those that shall be made emperors: they having already three legions, besides other auxiliaries from the neighbouring kings; and will have farther all the armies in the east to support them: as also those in Europe, so far as they are out of the distance and dread of Vitellius: besides such auxiliaries as they may have in Italy itself; that is, Vespasian's †brother, and his ‡other son: the one of which will bring in a great many of those young men that are of dignity; while the other is intrusted with the government of the city: which office of his will be no small means of Vespasian's obtaining the government. Upon the whole, the case may be such, that if we ourselves make farther delays, the senate may choose an emperor whom the soldiers, who are the saviours of the empire, will hold in contempt."

These were the discourses the soldiers had in their several companies. After which they got together in a great body; and, encouraging one another, they ||declared Vespasian emperor; and

* The Roman authors that now remain, say Vitellius had children: whereas Josephus introduces here the Roman soldiers in Judea saying, he had none. Which of these assertions was the truth, I know not. Spanheim thinks he had given a peculiar reason for calling Vitellius childless, though he really had children. *Diss. de Num.* page 649. 650. To which it appears very difficult to give our assent.

† This brother of Vespasian was Flavius Sabinus, as Suetonius informs us, in *Vitell.* § 15. and in *Vespas.* § 2. He is also named by Josephus presently, chap. 11.

‡ Domitian.

|| It is plain by the nature of the thing, as well as by Josephus and Eutropius, that Vespasian was first of all saluted emperor in Judea; and not till some time afterward in Egypt. Whence Tacitus's and Suetonius's present copies must be correct-

exhorted him to save the government, which was now in danger. Now Vespasian's concern had been for a considerable time about the public. Yet did he not intend to set up for governor himself, though his actions showed him to deserve it: while he preferred that safety which is in a private life, before the dangers in a state of such dignity. But when he refused the empire, the commanders insisted the more earnestly upon his acceptance: and the soldiers came about him with drawn swords, and threatened to kill him, unless he would now live according to his dignity. And when he had showed his reluctance a great while, and had endeavoured to thrust away this dominion from him, he at length, being not able to persuade them, yielded to their solicitations that would salute him emperor.

So upon the exhortations of Mucianus, and the other commanders, that he would accept of the empire; and upon that of the rest of the army, who cried out, that they were willing to be led against all his opposers, he was in the first place intent upon gaining the dominion over Alexandria; as knowing that Egypt was of the greatest consequence in order to obtain the entire government, because of its supplying of corn to Rome: which corn, if he could be master of, he hoped to dethrone Vitellius; supposing he should aim to keep the empire by force: (for he would not be able to support himself, if the multitude at Rome should once be in want of food:) and because he was desirous to join the two legions that were at Alexandria, to the other legions that were with him. He also considered with himself, that he should then have that country for a defence to himself against the uncertainty of fortune. For *Egypt is hard to be entered by land; and hath no good havens by sea. It hath on the west the dry deserts of Libya; and on the south Siene, that divides it from Ethiopia; as well as the cataracts of the Nile, that cannot be sailed over: and on the east the Red Sea, extended as far as Coptus;

ed; when they both say, that he was first proclaimed in Egypt, and that on the calends of July: while they still say, it was the fifth of the nones or the ides of the same July before he was proclaimed in Judea. I suppose the month they there intended was June, and not July, as the copies now have it. Nor does Tacitus's coherence imply less. See Essay on the Revelation, page 136.

* Here we have an authentic description of the bounds and circumstances of Egypt, in the days of Vespasian and Titus.

and it is fortified on the north by the land that reaches Syria ; together with that called the Egyptian Sea ; having no havens in it for ships. And thus is Egypt walled about on every side. Its length, between Pelusium and Siene, is two thousand furlongs ; and the passage by sea from Plinthine to Pelusium is three thousand six hundred furlongs. Its river Nile is navigable as far as the city called Elephantine : the cataracts hindering ships from going any farther. The haven also of Alexandria is not entered by the mariners without difficulty, even in times of peace. For the passage inward is narrow, and full of rocks, that lie under water, which oblige the mariners to turn from a straight direction. Its left side is blocked up by works made by men's hands on both sides. On its right side lies the island called Pharos, which is situate just before the entrance, and supports a very great tower, that affords the sight of a fire to such as sail within three hundred furlongs of it ; that ships may cast anchor a great way off in the night time, by reason of the difficulty of sailing nearer. About this island are built very great piers ; against which, when the sea dashes itself, and its waves are broken against those boundaries, the navigation becomes very troublesome, and the entrance through so narrow a passage is rendered dangerous. Yet is the haven itself, when you are got into it, a very safe one ; and of thirty furlongs in extent. Into which is brought what the country wants in order to its happiness ; as also what abundance the country affords, more than it wants itself, is hence distributed into all the habitable earth.

Justly, therefore, did Vespasian desire to obtain that government, in order to corroborate his attempts upon the whole empire. So he immediately sent to Tiberius Alexander, who was then governor of Egypt and of Alexandria, and informed him, what the army had put him upon, and how he, being forced to accept of the burden of the government, was desirous to have him for his confederate and supporter. Now as soon as Alexander had read this letter, he readily obliged the legions, and the multitude, to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian ; both of which willingly complied with him : as already acquainted with the courage of the man, from his conduct in their neighbourhood. Accordingly Vespasian, looking upon himself as already intrusted with the go-

vernment, got all things ready for his journey to Rome. Now fame carried this news abroad, more suddenly than one could have thought, that he was emperor over the east. Upon which every city kept festivals, and celebrated sacrifices, and oblations, for such good news. The legions also that were in Mysia and Pannonia, who had been in commotion a little before, on account of this insolent attempt of Vitellius, were very glad to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, upon his coming to the empire. Vespasian then removed from Cæsarea to Berytus: where many ambassages came to him from Syria, and many from other provinces: bringing with them from every city crowns, and the congratulations of the people. Mucianus came also, who was the president of the province, and told him with what alacrity the people received the news of his advancement, and how the people of every city had taken the oath of fidelity to him.

So Vespasian's good fortune succeeded to his wishes every where: and the public affairs were, for the greatest part, already in his hands. Upon which he considered, that he had not arrived at the government without divine providence; but that a righteous kind of fate had brought the empire under his power. For as he called to mind the other numerous signals, which had foretold he should obtain the government, so did he remember what Josephus had said to him, when he ventured to *foretell his coming to the empire, while Nero was alive. So he was much concerned that this man was still in bonds with him. He then called for Mucianus, together with his other commanders and friends; and in the first place he informed them what a valiant man Josephus had been, and what great hardships he had made him undergo in the siege of Jotapata. After that he related those †predictions of his which he had then suspected as fictions, sug-

* See Book III. chap. 8.

† As Daniel was preferred by Darius and Cyrus, on account of his having foretold the destruction of the Babylonian monarchy by their means, and the consequent exaltation of the Medes and Persians, Dan. v. 6. or rather, as Jeremiah, when he was a prisoner, was set at liberty, and honourably treated by Nebuzaradan, at the command of Nebuchadnezzar, on account of his having foretold the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians: Jer. xl. 1—6. so was our Josephus set at liberty, and honourably treated, on account of his having foretold the advancement of Vespasian and Titus to the Roman empire. All these are most eminent instances of the

gested out of the fear he was in ; but which had by this time been demonstrated to be divine. "It is a shameful thing," said he, "that this man, who hath foretold my coming to the empire beforehand, and been the minister of a divine message to me, should still be retained in the condition of a captive or prisoner." So he called for Josephus, and commanded that he should be set at liberty. Whereupon the commanders promised themselves glorious things, from this requital Vespasian made to a stranger. Titus was then present with his father, and said, "O father, it is but just that the scandal of a prisoner should be taken off Josephus, together with his iron chain. For if we do not barely loose his bonds, but cut them to pieces, he will be like a man that had never been bound at all." For that is the usual method as to such as have been bound without a cause. This advice was agreed to by Vespasian. So there came a man in, and cut the chain to pieces : while Josephus received this testimony of his integrity for a reward ; and was also esteemed a person of credit as to futurities.

CHAP. XI.

UPON THE CONQUEST AND SLAUGHTER OF VITELLIUS, VESPASIAN HASTENS HIS JOURNEY TO ROME ; BUT TITUS RETURNS TO JERUSALEM.

NOW, when Vespasian had given answers to the ambassages, and had disposed of the places of power *justly, and according to every one's deserts, he came to Antioch : and consulting which way he had best take, he preferred to go for Rome, rather than to march to Alexandria ; because he saw that Alexandria was sure

interposition of divine providence, and of the certainty of divine predictions, in the great revolutions of the four monarchies. Several such-like examples occur both in the sacred and other histories. As in the case of Joseph in Egypt ; of Jaddua the high-priest, in the days of Alexander the Great, &c.

* This is well observed by Josephus, that Vespasian, in order to secure his success, and establish his government at first, distributed his offices and places upon the foot of justice ; and bestowed them on such as best deserved them, and were best fit for them. Which wise conduct, in a mere heathen, ought to put those rulers and ministers of state to shame, who, professing Christianity, act otherwise ; and thereby expose themselves and their kingdoms to vice and to destruction.

to him already ; but that the affairs at Rome were put into disorder by Vitellius. So he sent Mucianus to Italy, and committed a considerable army both of horsemen and footmen to him. Yet was Mucianus afraid of going by sea, because it was the middle of winter ;* and so he led his army on foot through Cappadocia and Phrygia.

In the mean time Antonius Primus took the third of the legions that were in Mysia, for he was president of that province, and made haste, in order to fight Vitellius. Whereupon Vitellius sent away Cecinna, with a great army : having a mighty confidence in him, because of his having beaten Otho. This Cecinna marched out of Rome in great haste, and found Antonius about Cremona in Gaul : which city is in the borders of Italy. But when he saw that the enemy was numerous, and in good order, he durst not fight them : and as he thought a retreat dangerous, so he began to think of betraying his army to Antonius. Accordingly he assembled the centurions and tribunes that were under his command, and persuaded them to go over to Antonius ; and this by diminishing the reputation of Vitellius's affairs, and by exaggerating the power of Vespasian. He also told them, that " With the one there was no more than the bare name of dominion ; but with the other was the power of it. And that it were better for them to prevent necessity, and gain favour ; and, while they were likely to be overcome in battle, to avoid the danger beforehand ; and to go over to Antonius willingly. That Vespasian was able of himself to subdue what had not yet submitted, without their assistance : while Vitellius could not preserve what he had already with it."

Cecinna said this, and much more to the same purpose ; and persuaded them to comply with him : and both he and his army deserted. But the very same night the soldiers repented of what they had done : and a fear seized on them, lest, perhaps, Vitellius, who sent them, should get the better. And drawing their swords, they assaulted Cecinna, in order to kill him. And the thing had been done by them, if the tribunes had not fallen upon their knees, and besought them not to do it. So the soldiers did not kill him,

* A. D. 69.

but put him in bonds, as a traitor : and were about to send him to Vitellius. When Antonius Primus heard of this, he raised up his men immediately, and made them put on their armour, and led them against those that had revolted. Hereupon they put themselves in order of battle, and made a resistance for a while : but were soon beaten, and fled to Cremona. Then did Primus take his horsemen, and cut off their entrance into the city, and encompassed and destroyed a great multitude of them before the city ; and fell into the city together with the rest, and gave leave to his soldiers to plunder it. And here it was that many strangers, who were merchants, as well as many of the people of that country, perished : and among them Vitellius's whole army, being thirty thousand and two hundred ; while Antonius lost no more of those that came with him from Mysia than four thousand and five hundred. He then *loosed Cecinna, and sent him to Vespasian, to tell him the good news. So he came, and was received by him, and covered the scandal of his treachery, by the unexpected honours he received from Vespasian.

Now, upon the news that Antonius was approaching, †Sabinus took courage at Rome, and assembled those cohorts of soldiers that kept watch by night : and in the night time seized upon the capitol. And as the day came on, many men of character came over to him, with Domitian, his brother's son : whose encouragement was of very great weight for the compassing the government. Now Vitellius was not much concerned at this Primus ; but was very angry at those that had revolted with Sabinus : and thirsting, out of his own natural barbarity, after noble blood, he sent out that part of his army which came along with him to fight against the capitol : and many bold actions were done on this side, and on the side of those that held the ‡temple. But at last the soldiers that came from Germany, being too numerous for the others, got the hill into their possession. Where Domitian, with many other of the principal Romans, providentially escaped : while the rest of the

* This delivery of Cecinna, and his sending to Vespasian, are also in Tacitus. Hist. III. 31. as Spanheim here observes.

† The brother of Vespasian.

‡ The capitol, where was Jupiter's famous temple.

multitude were entirely cut to pieces ; and Sabinus himself was brought to Vitellius, and then slain. The soldiers also plundered the temple of its ornaments, and set it on fire. But now, within a day's time, came Antonius, with his army ; and were met by Vitellius and his army : and having had a battle, in three several places, the last were all destroyed. Then did Vitellius come out of the palace, in his cups, and satiated with an extravagant and luxurious meal, as in the last extremity. And being drawn along through the multitude, and abused with all sorts of torments, his head was cut off in the midst of Rome ; having retained the government *eight months and five days ; and had he lived much longer, I cannot but think the empire would not have been sufficient for his lust. Of the others that were slain were numbered above fifty thousand. This battle was fought on the third day of the month Apelleus, or Casleu. On the next day Mucianus came into the city, with his army ; and ordered Antonius and his men to leave off killing. For they were still searching the houses, and killed many of Vitellius's soldiers, and many of the populace, as supposing them to be of his party : preventing by their rage any accurate distinction between them and others. He then produced Domitian, and recommended him to the multitude, until his father should come himself. So the people being now freed from their fears, made acclamations of joy for Vespasian, as for their emperor ; and kept festival days for his confirmation, and for the destruction of Vitellius.

And now, as Vespasian was come to Alexandria, this good news came from Rome ; and at the same time came embassies from all this own habitable earth, to congratulate him upon his advance-

* The numbers in Josephus, chap. 9. for Galba, seven months seven days, for Otho, three months two days, and here for Vitellius, eight months five days, do not agree with any of the Roman historians : who also disagree among themselves. And, indeed, Scaliger justly complains, as Dr. Hudson observes on chap. 9. § 2. that this period is very confused and uncertain in the ancient authors. They were probably some of them contemporary together for some time. One of the best evidences we have, I mean Ptolemy's Canon, omits them all, as if they did not altogether reign one whole year : nor had a single Thoth or New-Year's-day, (which then fell upon August 6.) in their entire reigns. Dio also, who says that Vitellius reigned a year within ten days, does yet estimate all their reigns together at no more than one year, one month and two days.

† The whole Roman empire.

ment. And though this Alexandria was the greatest of all cities next to Rome, it proved too narrow to contain the multitude that then came to it. So upon this confirmation of Vespasian's entire government, which was now settled ; and upon the unexpected deliverance of the public affairs of the Romans from ruin ; Vespasian turned his thoughts to what remained unsubdued in Judea. However, he himself made haste to go to Rome, as the winter was now almost over ; and soon set the affairs of Alexandria in order : but he sent his son Titus, with a select part of his army, to destroy Jerusalem. So Titus marched on foot as far as Nicopolis ; which is distant twenty furlongs from Alexandria. There he put his army on board some long ships, and sailed upon the river along the Mendesian Nomus as far as the city Thmuis. There he got out of the ships, and walked on foot, and lodged all night at a small city called *Tanis. His second station was Heracleopolis ; and his third Pelusium. He then refreshed his army at that place, for two days. And on the third passed over the mouth of the Nile at Pelusium. He then proceeded one station over the desert, and pitched his camp at the temple of the †Casian Jupiter ; and on the next day at Ostracine. This station had no water : but the people of the country make use of water brought from other places. After this he rested at Rhinocolura ; and from thence he went to Raphia, which was his fourth station : this city is the beginning of Syria. For his fifth station he pitched his camp at Gaza. After which he came to Ascalon, and thence to Jamnia, and after that to Joppa, and from Joppa to Cæsarea : having taken a resolution to gather all his other forces together at that place.

* Zoan in the Old Testament.

† There are coins of this Casian Jupiter, still extant, as Spanheim here informs us.

THE
JEWISH WAR.

BOOK V.

Containing an Interval of near Six Months.

FROM THE COMING OF TITUS TO BESIEGE JERUSALEM, TO THE
GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED.

CHAP. I.

CONCERNING THE SEDITIOUS AT JERUSALEM; AND THE TERRIBLE
MISERIES WHICH AFFLICTED THE CITY BY THEIR MEANS.

WHEN Titus had marched over that desert which lies between Egypt and Syria, in the manner before mentioned, he came to Cæsarea : having resolved to set his forces in order at that place, before he began the war. Nay, indeed, while he was assisting his father at Alexandria, in settling that government which had been newly conferred upon them by God, it so happened, that the sedition at Jerusalem was revived, and parted into three factions : and that one faction fought against the other. Which partition in such evil cases may be said to be a good thing, and the effect of divine justice. Now as to the attack the zealots made upon the people, and which I esteem the beginning of the city's destruction, it hath been already explained after an accurate manner ; as also whence it arose, and to how great a mischief it was increased. But for the present sedition, one should not mistake if he called it a sedition begotten by another sedition : and to be like a wild beast grown mad, which, for want of food from abroad, fell now upon eating its own flesh.

For Eleazar, the son of Simon, who made the first separation of the zealots from the people, and made them retire into the tem-

ple, appeared very angry at John's insolent attempts, which he made every day upon the people. For this man never left off murdering. But the truth was, that he could not bear to submit to a tyrant, who set up after him. So he being desirous of gaining the entire power and dominion to himself, revolted from John, and took to his assistance John the son of Chelcias, and Simon the son of Ezron, who were among the men of greatest power. There was also with him Hezekiah, the son of Chobar, a person of eminence. Each of these were followed by a great many of the zealots. These seized upon the *inner †court of the temple, and laid their arms upon the holy gates, and over the holy fronts of that court. And because they had plenty of provisions, they were of good courage. For there was great abundance of what was consecrated to sacred uses, and they scrupled not the making use of them. Yet were they afraid on account of their small number. And when they had laid up their arms there, they did not stir from the place they were in. Now as to John, what advantage he had above Eleazar in the multitude of his followers, the like disadvantage he had in the situation he was in : since he had his enemies over his head. And as he could not make any assault upon them without some terror, so was his anger too great to let him be at rest. Nay, although he suffered more mischief from Eleazar and his party than he could inflict upon them; yet would he not leave off assaulting them. Insomuch that there were continual sallies made one against another ; as well as darts thrown at one another, and the temple was defiled every where with murders.

But the tyrant Simon, the son of Gioras, whom the people had invited in, out of the hopes they had of his assistance in the great distresses they were in ; having in his power the upper city, and a great part of the lower, did now make more vehement assaults

* This appears to be the first time that the zealots ventured to pollute this most sacred court of the temple, which was the court of the priests, wherein the temple itself and the altar stood. So that the conjecture of those that would interpret that Zacharias, who was slain between the temple and the altar, several months before, IV. 5, as if he were slain there by these zealots, is groundless : as I have noted on that place already.

† The court of the priests.

upon John, and his party : because these were fought against from above also. Yet was he beneath their situation, when he attacked them : as were they beneath the attacks of the others above them. Whereby it came to pass, that John did both receive and inflict great damage, and that easily : as he was fought against on both sides. And the same advantage that Eleazar and his party had over him, since he was beneath them ; the same advantage had he, by his higher situation, over Simon. On which account he easily repelled the attacks that were made from beneath, by the weapons thrown with their hands only : but was obliged to repel those that threw their darts from the temple above him, by his engines of war. For he had such engines as threw darts, javelins, and stones ; and that in no small number. By which he did not only defend himself from such as fought against him, but also slew many of the priests, as they were about their sacred ministrations. For notwithstanding these men were mad with all sorts of impiety, yet did they still admit those that desired to offer their sacrifices ; although they took care to search the people of their own country beforehand ; and both suspected and watched them. While they were not so much afraid of strangers : who, although they had gotten leave of them, how cruel soever they were, to come into that court, were yet often destroyed by this sedition. For those darts that were thrown by the engines came with such force, that they went over all the buildings, and reached as far as the altar, and the temple itself : and fell upon the priests, and *those that were about the sacred offices. Insomuch that many persons who came thither with great zeal from the ends of the earth, to offer sacrifices, at this celebrated place, which was esteemed holy by all mankind, fell down before their own sacrifices, and sprinkled that altar which was venerable among all men, both Greeks and barbarians, with their own blood, till the dead bodies of strangers were mingled together with those of their own country ; and those of profane persons with those of priests : and the blood of all sorts of dead carcasses stood in lakes in the holy courts themselves. And now, O most wretched city ! what misery so great as this didst thou suffer from the Romans, when they came to purify

* The Levites.

thee from thy intestine hatred? For thou couldst be no longer a place fit for God; nor couldst thou long continue in being, after thou hadst been a sepulchre for the bodies of thy own people; and hadst made the holy house itself a burial place in this civil war. Yet *mayest thou again grow better, if perchance thou wilt hereafter appease the anger of that God who is the author of thy destruction. But I must refrain myself from these passions by the rules of history: since this is not a proper time for domestic lamentations, but for historical narrations; I, therefore, return to the operations that follow in this sedition.

Now there were three treacherous factions in the city, the one parted from the other. Eleazar and his party, that kept the sacred first-fruits, came against John in their cups. Those that were with John plundered the populace, and went out with zeal against Simon. This Simon had his supply of provisions from the city, in opposition to the seditious. When, therefore, John was assaulted on both sides, he made his men turn about, throwing darts upon those citizens that came up against him, from the cloisters he had in his possession; while he opposed those that attacked him from the temple, by his engines of war. And if at any time he was freed from those that were above him, which happened frequently, from their being tired or inebriated, he sallied out with a greater number upon Simon and his party. And this he did always in such parts of the city as he could come at, till he set on fire those houses that were full of †corn, and of all other provisions. The same thing was done by Simon, when, upon the others' retreat, he attacked the city also: as if they had on purpose done it to serve the Romans, by destroying what the city

* This is an excellent reflection of Josephus: including his hopes of the restoration of the Jews, upon their repentance. See *Antiquities*, IV. 8. Which is the grand Hope of Israel, as Manasseh ben Israel, the famous Jewish Rabbi, styles it, in his small but remarkable treatise on that subject; of which the Jewish prophets are every where full.

† This destruction of such a vast quantity of corn and other provisions, as was sufficient for many years, was the direct occasion of that terrible famine, which consumed incredible numbers of Jews in Jerusalem during its siege. Nor probably could the Romans have taken this city, after all, had not these seditious Jews been so infatuated as thus madly to destroy what Josephus here justly styles, "The nerves of their power."

had laid up against the siege ; and by thus cutting off the nerves of their own power. Accordingly, it came to pass, that all the places that were about the temple were burnt down ; and were become an intermediate desert space, ready for fighting on both sides of it : and almost all that corn was burnt, which would have been sufficient for a siege of many years. So they were taken by means of the famine : which it was impossible they should have been, unless they had thus prepared the way for it by this procedure.

Now, as the city was engaged in a war on all sides, from these treacherous crowds of wicked men ; the people of the city between them were, like a great body, torn in pieces. The aged men, and the women, were in such distress by their internal calamities, that they wished for the Romans ; and earnestly hoped for an external war, in order to their delivery from their domestic miseries. The citizens themselves were under a terrible consternation and fear. Nor had they any opportunity of taking counsel, and of changing their conduct. Nor were there any hopes of coming to an agreement with their enemies ; nor could such as had a mind flee away. For guards were set at all places ; and the heads of the robbers, although they were seditious one against another in other respects, yet did they agree in killing those that were for peace with the Romans ; or were suspected of an inclination to desert to them, as their common enemies. They agreed in nothing but this, to kill those that were innocent. The noise also of those that were fighting was incessant both by day and by night : but the lamentation of those that mourned exceeded the other. Nor was there ever any occasion for them to leave off their lamentations ; because their calamities came perpetually one upon another : although the deep consternation they were in prevented their outward wailing. But being constrained by their fear to conceal their inward passions, they were inwardly tormented ; without daring to open their lips in groans. Nor was any regard paid to those that were still alive by their relations : nor was there any care taken of burial for those that were dead. The occasion of both which was, that every one despaired of himself. For those that were not among the seditious had no great desires of any thing ; as expecting for certain, that they should very soon

be destroyed. But for the seditious themselves, they fought against each other while they trod upon the dead bodies, as they lay heaped one upon another : and taking up a mad rage from those dead bodies that were under their feet, became the fiercer thereupon. They, moreover, were still inventing somewhat or other that was pernicious against themselves. And when they had resolved upon any thing, they executed it without mercy ; and omitted no method of torment, or of barbarity. Nay, John abused the sacred *materials ; and employed them in the construction of his engines of war. For the people and the priests had formerly determined to support the temple, and raise the holy house twenty cubits higher. For king Agrippa had, at a very great expense, and with very great pains, brought thither such materials as were proper for that purpose ; being pieces of timber very well worth seeing, both for their straightness, and their largeness. But the war coming on, and interrupting the work, John had them cut, and prepared for building him towers, he finding them long enough, to oppose from them, those his adversaries that fought him from the temple that was above him. He also had them brought, and erected behind the inner court, over against the west end of the cloisters ; where †alone he could erect them. Whereas the other sides of that court had so many steps, as would not let them come nigh enough to the cloisters.

Thus did John hope to overcome his enemies by these engines ; constructed by his impiety. But God himself demonstrated that his pains would prove of no use to him, by bringing the Romans upon him before he had reared any of his towers. For Titus, when he had gotten together part of his forces about him, and had ordered the rest to meet him at Jerusalem, marched out of Cæsarea. He had with him those three legions, that had accompanied his father when he laid Judea waste : together with that

* This timber we see was designed for the rebuilding those twenty additional cubits of the holy house above the hundred which had fallen down some years before. See the note on Antiq. XV. 11.

† There being no gate on the west, and only on the west side of the court of the priests, and so no steps there ; this was the only side that the seditious, under this John of Gischala, could bring their engines close to the cloisters of that court endways, though upon the floor of the court of Israel.

twelfth legion which had been formerly beaten with Cestius. Which legion, as it was otherwise remarkable for their valour, so did it march on now with greater alacrity, to revenge themselves on the Jews, as remembering what they had formerly suffered from them. Of these legions he ordered the fifth to meet him, by going through Emmaus; and the tenth to go up by Jericho. He also moved himself, together with the rest. Besides which marched those auxiliaries that came from the kings, being now more in number than before: together with a considerable number that came to his assistance from Syria. Those also that had been selected out of these four legions, and sent with Mucianus to Italy, had their places filled up out of those soldiers that came out of Egypt with Titus: which were two thousand men, chosen out of the armies at Alexandria. There followed him also three thousand drawn from those that guarded the river Euphrates. As also there came Tiberius Alexander, who was a friend of his, most valuable both for his good will to him, and for his prudence. He had formerly been governor of Alexandria, but was now thought worthy to be general of the army under Titus. The reason of this was, that he had been the first who encouraged Vespasian very lately to accept this his new dominion: and enjoined himself to him, with great fidelity, when things were uncertain, and fortune had not yet declared for him. He also followed Titus, as a counsellor; very useful to him in this war, both by his age, and skill in such affairs.

CHAP. II.

TITUS MARCHES TO JERUSALEM, AND IS IN DANGER, WHILE TAKING A VIEW OF THE CITY.—OF THE PLACE ALSO WHERE HE PITCHED HIS CAMP.

NOW as Titus was upon his march into the enemies' country, the auxiliaries, that were sent by the kings, marched first: having all the other auxiliaries with them. After whom followed those that were to prepare the roads, and measure out the camp. Then came the commanders' baggage; and after that the other soldiers, who were completely armed to support them. Then came Titus himself, having with him another select body; and then came the

pikemen. After whom came the cavalry belonging to that legion. All these came before the engines. And after these engines came the tribunes, and the leaders of the cohorts, with their select bodies. After these came the ensigns, with the eagle : and before those ensigns came the trumpeters belonging to them. Next came the main body of the army in their rank : every rank six deep. The servants belonging to every legion came after these, and before these last their baggage. The mercenaries came last ; and those that guarded them brought up the rear. Now Titus, according to the Roman usage, went in the front of the army, after a decent manner ; and marched through Samaria, to Gophna ; a city that had been formerly taken by his father, and was then garrisoned by Roman soldiers. And when he had lodged there one night, he marched on in the morning : and when he had gone as far as a day's march, he pitched his camp at that valley which the Jews, in their own tongue, call The Valley of Thorns, near a certain village called Gabaoth Saul : which signifies the bill of Saul : being distant from Jerusalem about thirty furlongs. There it was that he chose out six hundred select horsemen, and went to take a view of the city, to observe what strength it was of, and how courageous the Jews were. Whether, when they saw him, and before they came to a direct battle, they would be affrighted, and submit. For he had been informed, what was really true, that the people who were fallen under the power of the seditious and the robbers were greatly desirous of peace : but, being too weak to rise up again : the rest, they lay still.

Now so long as he rode along the straight road which led to the wall of the city, nobody appeared out of the gates. But when he went out of that road, and declined towards the tower Psephinos, and led the band of horsemen obliquely, an immense number of Jews leaped out suddenly at the towers called the Women's towers, through that gate which was over against the monuments of queen Helena, and intercepted his horse : and standing directly opposite to those that still ran along the road, hindered them from joining those who had declined out of it. They intercepted Titus also, with a few others. Now it was here impossible for him to go forward, because all the places had trenches dug in them from the wall, to preserve the gardens round about ; and were full of

gardens obliquely situate, and of many hedges. And to return back to his own men he saw was also impossible; by reason of the multitude of the enemies that lay between them. Many of whom did not so much as know that the *king was in any danger; but supposed him still among them. So he perceived that his preservation must be wholly owing to his own courage, and turned his horse about, and cried out aloud to those that were about him to follow him; and ran with violence into the midst of his enemies: in order to force his way through them to his own men. And hence we may principally learn that both the success of wars, and the dangers that kings are in, are under the providence of God. For while such a number of darts were thrown at Titus, when he had neither his head-piece on, nor his breast-plate: (for he went out not to fight, but to view the city :) none of them touched his body, but went aside, without hurting him. As if all of them missed him on purpose; and only made a noise as they passed by him. So he diverted those perpetually with his sword that came on his side, and overturned many of those that directly met him; and made his horse ride over those that were overthrown. The enemy, indeed, made a shout at the boldness of Caesar, and exhorted one another to rush upon him. Yet did those against whom he marched flee away, and go off from him in great numbers. While those that were in the same danger kept up close to him, though they were wounded both on their backs, and on their sides. For they had each of them but this one hope of escaping, if they could assist Titus in opening himself a way, that he might not be encompassed round by his enemies, before

* We may here note, that Titus is here called a king, and Caesar by Josephus, even while he was no more than the emperor's son, and general of the Roman army; and his father Vespasian was still alive. Just as the New Testament says Archelaus reigned, or was king, Matt. ii. 22; though he were properly no more than ethnarch, as Josephus assures us, *Antiq.* XVII. 11. Of the War, II. Thus also the Jews called the Roman emperors kings; though they never took that title to themselves. "We have no king but Caesar," John xix. 15. "Submit to the king as supreme," 1 Pet. ii. 13, 17. Which is also the language of the Apostolical Constitutions, II. 11, 34; IV. 13; V. 19; VI. 2, 25; VII. 16, VIII. 2, 13. And elsewhere in the New Testament, John xix. 15; Matt. x. 18.—xvii. 25; 1 Tim. ii. 2, and in Josephus also. Though I suspect Josephus particularly esteemed Titus as joint king with his father, ever since his divine dreams that declared them both such, III. 8.

he got away from them. Now there were two of those that were with him, but at some distance : the one of which the enemy compassed round, and slew him with their darts, and his horse also. But the other they slew, as he leaped down from his horse, and carried off his horse with them. But Titus escaped with the rest, and came safe to the camp. So this success of the Jews' first attack raised their minds, and gave them an ill-grounded hope : and this short inclination of fortune on their side made them very courageous for the future.

But now, as soon as that legion that had been at Emmaus was joined to Cæsar at night, he removed thence, when it was day, and came to a place called Scopus : from whence the city began already to be seen, and a plain view might be taken of the great temple. Accordingly this place, on the north quarter of the city, and joining thereto, was a plain, and very properly named Scopus, or the prospect : and was no more than seven furlongs distant from it. And here it was that Titus ordered a camp to be fortified for two legions, that were to be together : but ordered another camp to be fortified at three furlongs farther distance behind them, for the fifth legion. For he thought that by marching in the night they might be tired, and might deserve to be covered from the enemy, and with less fear might fortify themselves. And as these were now beginning to build, the tenth legion, which came through Jericho, was already come to the place, where a certain party of armed men had formerly lain, to guard that pass into the city, and had been *taken before by Vespasian. These legions had orders to encamp at the mount called the †mount of Olives ; which lies over against the city, on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep valley, interposed between them, which is named Cedron.

Now when hitherto the several parties in the city had been dashing one against another perpetually, this foreign war, now suddenly come upon them after a violent manner, put the first

* See Book IV. chap. 9.

† This situation of the mount of Olives, on the east of Jerusalem, at about the distance of five or six furlongs, with the valley of Cedron interposed between the mountain and the city, are things well known both in the Old and New Testament, in *Josephus* elsewhere, and in all the descriptions of Palestine.

stop to their contentions one against another. And as the seditious now saw, with astonishment, the Romans pitching three several camps, they began to think of an awkward sort of concord : and said one to another, " What do we do here ? and what do we mean, when we suffer three fortified walls to be built, to coop us in, that we shall not be able to breathe freely ; while the enemy is securely building a kind of city in opposition to us : and while we sit still, within our own walls, and become spectators only of what they are doing, with our hands idle, and our armour laid by ; as if they were about somewhat that was for our good and advantage ? We are, it seems, only courageous against ourselves ; while the Romans are likely to gain the city without bloodshed, by our sedition." Thus did they encourage one another, when they were gotten together ; and took their armour immediately, and ran out upon the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with great eagerness, and with a prodigious shout, as they were fortifying their camp. These Romans were caught in different parties, and this in order to perform their several works ; and on that account had, in great measure, laid aside their arms. For they thought the Jews would not have ventured to make a sally upon them : and had they been disposed so to do, they supposed their sedition would have distracted them. So they were put into disorder unexpectedly : when some of them left the works they were about, and immediately marched off ; while many ran to their arms, but were smitten and slain before they could turn back upon the enemy. The Jews became still more and more in number, as encouraged by the good success of those that first made the attack. And while they had such good fortune, they seemed both to themselves and to the enemy to be many more than they really were. The disorderly way of their fighting at first put the Romans also to a stand : who had been constantly used to fight skillfully, in good order, and with keeping their ranks, and obeying the orders that were given them. For which reason the Romans were caught unexpectedly, and were obliged to give way to the assaults that were made upon them. Now when these Romans were overtaken, and turned back upon the Jews, they put a stop to their career ; yet when they did not take care enough of themselves, through the vehemency of their pursuit, they were wounded by

them. But as still more Jews and more sallied out of the city, the Romans were at length brought into confusion, and put to flight, and ran away from their camp. Nay, things looked as though the entire legion would have been in danger, unless Titus had been informed of the case they were in, and had sent them succours immediately. So he reproached them for their cowardice; and brought those back that were running away; and fell himself upon the Jews on their flank, with those select troops that were with him; and slew a considerable number, and wounded more of them: and put them all to flight, and made them run away hastily down the valley. Now as these Jews suffered greatly in the declivity of the valley, so when they were gotten over it, they turned about, and stood over against the Romans, having the valley between them, and there fought with them. Thus did they continue to fight till noon; but when it was already a little after noon, Titus set those that came to the assistance of the Romans with him, and those that belonged to the cohorts, to prevent the Jews from making any more sallies: and then sent the rest of the legion to the upper part of the mountain, to fortify their camp.

This march of the Romans seemed to the Jews to be a flight. And as the watchman, who was placed upon the wall, gave a signal, by shaking his garment, there came out a fresh multitude of Jews, and that with such mighty violence, that one might compare it to the running of the most terrible wild beasts. To say the truth, none of those that opposed them could sustain the fury with which they made their attacks: but, as if they had been cast out of an engine, they brake the enemies' ranks to pieces, who were put to flight, and ran away to the mountain: none but Titus himself, and a few others with him, being left in the midst of the acclivity. Now these others, who were his friends, despised the danger they were in, and were ashamed to leave their general, earnestly exhorting him, "to give way to these Jews, that are fond of dying; and not to run into such dangers before those that ought to stay before him: to consider what his fortune was: and not, by supplying the place of a common soldier, to venture to turn back upon the enemy so suddenly. And this because he was a general in the war, and lord of the habitable earth, on whose preservation the public affairs do all depend." These persuasions

Titus seemed not so much as to hear : but opposed those that ran upon him, and smote them on the face ; and when he had forced them to go back, he slew them. He also fell upon great numbers as they marched down the hill, and thrust them forward. While those men were so amazed at his courage, and his strength, that they could not flee directly to the city, but declined from him on both sides : and pressed after those that fled up the hill. Yet did he still fall upon their flank, and put a stop to their fury. In the mean time a disorder and a terror fell again upon those that were fortifying their camp, at the top of the hill : upon their seeing those beneath them running away. Insomuch that the whole legion was dispersed : while they thought that the sallies of the Jews upon them were plainly insupportable, and that Titus was himself put to flight. Because they took it for granted, that if he had staid, the rest would never have fled for it. Thus were they encompassed on every side, by a kind of panic fear : and some dispersed themselves one way, and some another : till certain of them saw their general in the very midst of an action : and being under great concern for him, they loudly proclaimed the danger he was in to the entire legion. And now shame made them turn back : and they reproached one another, that they did worse than run away, by deserting Cæsar. So they used their utmost force against the Jews ; and declining from the straight declivity, they drove them on heaps into the bottom of the valley. Then did the Jews turn about, and fight them : but as they were themselves retiring. And now because the Romans had the advantage of the ground, and were above the Jews, they drove them all into the valley. Titus also pressed upon those that were near ; and sent the legion again to fortify their camp. While he, and those that were with him before, opposed the enemy, and kept them from doing farther mischief. Insomuch, that if I may be allowed neither to add any thing out of flattery, nor to diminish any thing out of envy, but to speak the plain truth, Cæsar did twice deliver that entire legion, when it was in jeopardy ; and gave them a quiet opportunity of fortifying their camp.

CHAP. III.

OF THE REVIVAL OF THE SEDITION IN JERUSALEM ; THE SNARES
CONTRIVED FOR THE ROMANS ; AND THE MEANS USED BY TITUS
TO RESTRAIN THE UNGOVERNABLE RASHNESS OF HIS TROOPS.

AS now the war abroad ceased for a while, the sedition within was revived. And on the feast of unleavened bread, which was now come ; it being the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, or Nisan,* when it is believed the Jews were first freed from the Egyptians ; Eleazar and his party opened the gates of the inmost court of the temple, and admitted †such of the people as were desirous to worship God into it. But John made use of this festival as a cloak for his treacherous designs, and armed the most inconsiderable of his own party, the greater part of which were not purified, with weapons concealed under their garments, and sent them with great zeal into the temple, in order to seize upon it. Accordingly these men, when they were gotten in, threw their garments away, and presently appeared in their armour. Upon which there was a very great disorder and disturbance about the holy house : while the people, who had no concern in the sedi-

* A. D. 70.

† Here we see the true occasion of these vast numbers of Jews that were in Jerusalem, during this siege by Titus, and perished therein ; that the siege began at the feast of the passover : when such prodigious multitudes of Jews, and proselytes of the gates, were from all parts of Judea, and from other countries, in order to celebrate that great festival. See the note on VI. 9. Tacitus himself informs us, that the number of men, women, and children, in Jerusalem, when it was besieged by the Romans, as he had been informed, was 600,000. This information must have been taken from the Romans : for Josephus never mentions the numbers of those that were besieged. Only he lets us know that of the vulgar, carried dead out of the gates, and buried at the public charges, was the like number of 600,000. Chap. 13. However, when Cestius Gallus came first to the siege, that sum in Tacitus is no way disagreeable to Josephus's history : though they were become much more numerous, when Titus encompassed the city at the Passover. As to the number that perished, during this siege, Josephus assures us, as we shall see hereafter, they were 1,100,000 ; besides 97,000 captives. But Tacitus's History of the last part of this siege is not now extant. So we cannot compare his parallel numbers with those in Josephus.

tion, supposed that this assault was made against all, without distinction : as the zealots thought it was made against themselves only. So these left off guarding the gates any longer, and leaped down from their battlements, before they came to an engagement, and fled away into the subterranean caverns of the temple : while the people that stood trembling at the altar, and about the holy house, were rolled on heaps together, and trampled upon ; and were beaten both with wooden and with iron weapons, without mercy. Such also as had differences with others slew many persons that were quiet, out of their own private enmity and hatred ; as if they were opposite to the *seditious. And all those that had formerly offended any of these plotters were now known, and led away to the slaughter. And when they had done abundance of horrid mischief to the guiltless, they granted a truce to the guilty ; and let those go off that came out of the caverns. These followers of John also did now seize upon this inner temple, and upon all the warlike engines therein ; and then ventured to oppose Simon. And thus that sedition, which had been divided into three factions, was now reduced to two.

But Titus, intending to pitch his camp nearer to the city than Scopus, placed as many of his choice horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient opposite to the Jews, to prevent their sallying out upon them ; while he gave orders for the whole army to level the distance, as far as the wall of the city.† So they threw down all the hedges and walls, which the inhabitants had made about their gardens and groves of trees ; and cut down all the fruit-trees, that lay between them and the wall of the city ; and filled up all the hollow places, and the chasms ; and demolished the rocky precipices with iron instruments : and thereby made all the place level from Scopus to Herod's monuments, which adjoined to the pool, called the Serpent's Pool.

Now at this very time, the Jews contrived the following strata-

* John's party was now so called, as distinct from the zealots under Eleazar.

† Devastation is the usual companion of war. Such destruction of private property is, in such cases, thought justifiable from necessity ; and has accordingly ever been practised. The progress of an army over uneven ground being impossible, it has been usual to level the ground, so as to allow an uninterrupted and easy passage. Vid. *Oriental Customs*, Vol. 2. No. 1078. B.

gem against the Romans. The bolder sort of the seditious went out at the towers, called the Women's towers, as if they had been ejected out of the city by those who were for peace : and rambled about as if they were afraid of being assaulted by the Romans, and were in fear of one another : while those that stood upon the wall, and seemed to be of the people's side, cried out aloud for peace ; and entreated they might have security for their lives given them ; and called for the Romans : promising to open the gates to them. And as they cried out after that manner, they threw stones at their own people, as though they would drive them away from the gates. These also pretended that they were excluded by force ; and that they petitioned those that were within to let them in : and rushing upon the Romans perpetually, with violence, they then came back, and seemed to be in great disorder. Now the Roman soldiers thought this cunning stratagem of theirs was to be believed real : and thinking they had the one party under their power, and could punish them as they pleased : and hoping that the other party would open their gates to them, set to the execution of their designs accordingly. But for Titus himself, he had this surprising conduct of the Jews in suspicion. For whereas he had invited them to come to terms of accommodation by Josephus, but one day before, he could then receive no civil answer from them. So he ordered the soldiers to stay where they were. However some of them that were set in front of the works prevented him : and catching up their arms, ran to the gates. Whereupon those that seemed to have been ejected at the first retired : but as soon as the soldiers were gotten between the towers on each side of the gate, the Jews ran out, and encompassed round, and fell upon them behind : while that multitude, which stood upon the wall, threw a heap of stones and darts of all kinds at them. In-somuch that they slew a considerable number, and wounded many more. For it was not easy for the Romans to escape ; by reason those behind them pressed them forward. Besides which, the shame they were under for being mistaken, and the fear they were in of their commanders engaged them to persevere in their mistake. Whereupon they fought with their spears a great while, and received many blows from the Jews : though indeed they gave them as many blows again ; and at last repelled those that

had encompassed them about. While the Jews pursued them, as they retired ; and followed them, and threw darts at them as far as the monument of queen Helena.

After this these Jews, without keeping any decorum, grew insolent upon their good fortune, and jested upon the Romans for being deluded by the trick they had put upon them : and making a noise with beating their shields, leaped for gladness, and made joyful exclamations. In the mean time these soldiers were received with threatenings by their officers ; and with indignation by Cæsar himself, who spake to them thus : " These Jews, who are only conducted by their madness, do every thing with care and circumspection : they contrive stratagems, and lay ambushes ; and fortune gives success to their stratagems, because they are obedient, and preserve their good will and fidelity to one another. While the Romans, to whom fortune uses to be ever subservient, by reason of their good order, and ready submission to their commanders, have now had ill success, by their contrary behaviour : and by not being able to restrain their hands from action, they had been caught : and that which is the most to their reproach, they have gone on without their commanders in the very presence of Cæsar. Truly, the laws of war cannot but groan heavily ; as will my father also himself, when he shall be informed of this wound that hath been given us : since he, who is grown old in wars, did never make so great a mistake. Our laws of war do also ever inflict capital punishment on those that in the least break into good order : while at this time they have seen an entire army run into disorder. However, those that have been so insolent shall be made immediately sensible, that even they who conquer among the Romans, without orders for fighting, are to be under disgrace." When Titus had enlarged upon this matter before the commanders, it appeared evident that he would execute the law against all those that were concerned. So these soldiers were in despair ; as expecting to be put to death, and that justly, and quickly. However, the other legions came round about Titus, and entreated his favour to these their fellow soldiers ; and made supplication to him, that he would pardon the rashness of a few, on account of the better obedience of all the rest : and promised for them that they should make amends for their present fault, by their more virtuous behaviour for the time to come.

So Cæsar complied with their desires, and with what prudence dictated to him also. For he esteemed it fit to punish single persons by real executions ; but that the punishment of great multitudes should proceed no farther than reproofs. So he was reconciled to the soldiers, but gave them a special charge to act more wisely for the future. And he considered with himself, how he might be even with the Jews for their stratagem. And now, when the space between the Romans and the wall had been levelled, which was done in four days ; and as he was desirous to bring the baggage of the army, with the rest of the multitude that followed him, safely to the camp ; he set the strongest part of his army over against that wall which lay on the north quarter of the city, and over against the western part of it ; and made his army seven deep, with the footmen placed before them, and the horsemen behind them, each of the last in three ranks : while the archers stood in the midst in seven ranks. And now as the Jews were prohibited by so great a body of men from making sallies upon the Romans, both the beasts that carried the burthens, and belonged to the three legions, and the rest of the multitude, marched on without any fear. But as for Titus himself, he was but about two furlongs distant from the wall ; at that part of it where was the *corner, and over against that tower which was called Psephinus : at which tower the compass of the wall belonging to the north bended and extended itself over against the west. But the other part of the army fortified itself at the tower called Hippicus ; and was distant, in like manner, but two furlongs from the city. However the tenth legion continued in its own place, upon the mount of Olives.

CHAP. IV.

A DESCRIPTION OF JERUSALEM.

THE city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls, on such parts as were not encompassed with unpassable valleys. For in

* Perhaps, says Dr. Hudson, here was that gate, called the gate of the corner, in 2 Chron. xxvi. 9. See Chap. 4.

such places it had but one wall. The city was built upon two hills, which are opposite to one another, and have a valley to divide them asunder. At which valley the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more direct. Accordingly it was called the citadel, by king David. He was the father of that Solomon who built this temple at the first. But it is by us called the Upper Market-place. But the other hill, which was called Acra, and sustains the lower city, is of the shape of a moon, when she is horned. Over against this there was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra; and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in those times, when the Asmoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth; and had a mind to join the city to the temple. They then took off part of the height of Acra, and reduced it to be of less elevation than it was before, that the temple might be superior to it. Now the valley of the cheesemongers, as it was called, and was that which we told you before distinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam. For that is the name of a fountain which hath sweet water in it, and this in great plenty also.— But on the outsides these hills are surrounded by deep valleys; and by reason of the precipices to them belonging on both sides, they are every where unpassable.

Now of these three walls, the old one was hard to be taken, both by reason of the valleys, and of that hill on which it was built, and which was above them. But besides that great advantage, as to the place where they were situate, it was also built very strong: because David and Solomon, and the following kings, were very zealous about this work. Now that wall began on the north, at the tower called Hippicus, and extended as far as the Xistus, a place so called; and then joining to the council-house, ended at the west cloister of the temple. But if we go the other way westward, it began at the same place; and extended through a place called Bethso, to the gate of the Essenes; and after that it went southward, having its bending above the fountain Siloam: where it also bends again towards the east at Solomon's pool; and reaches as far as a certain place which they called Ophlas,

where it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple. The second wall took its beginning from that gate which they called Gennath, which belonged to the first wall. It only encompassed the northern quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower Antonia. The beginning of the third wall was at the tower Hippicus; whence it reached as far as the north quarter of the city, and the tower Psephinus; and then was so far extended till it came over against the monument of Helena, queen of Adiabene, the *mother of Izates. It then extended farther to a great length; and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the kings, and bent again at the tower of the corner, at the monument of the †fuller: and joined to the old wall at the valley called the Valley of Cedron. It was Agrippa who encompassed the parts added to the old city with this wall: which had been all naked before. For as the city grew more populous, it gradually crept beyond its old limits:‡ and those parts of it that stood northward of the temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it considerably larger, and occasioned that hill, which is in number the fourth, and is called ||Bezetha, to be inhabited also. It lies over against the tower Antonia: but is divided from it by a deep valley, which was dug on purpose: and that in order to hinder the foundations of the tower of Antonia from joining to this hill, and thereby affording an opportunity for getting to it with ease, and hindering the security that arose from its superior elevation. For which reason also that depth of the ditch made the elevation of the towers more remarkable. This new built part of the city was called Bezetha, in our own language: which, if interpreted in the Grecian language, may be called the New City. Since, therefore, its inhabitants stood in need of a covering, the father of the present king, and of the same name with him, Agrippa, began that wall we spoke of. But §he left off building it when he had only laid the foundations;

* See Antiquities, XX. 2.

† See 2 Kings xviii. 17. Isaiah vii. 3.

‡ Cities were usually bounded by walls; but the increase of their population rendering it impossible for the inhabitants to be accommodated within them, gave rise to suburbs and liberties. B.

|| Bethesda. See John v. 2.

§ See Antiquities, XIX. 7.

out of the fear he was in of Claudius Cæsar; lest he should suspect that so strong a wall was built in order to make some innovation in public affairs. For the city could no way have been taken, if that wall had been finished in the manner it was begun. As its parts were connected together by stones twenty cubits long, and ten cubits broad: which could never have been either easily undermined by any iron tools, or shaken by any engines. The wall was, however, ten cubits wide; and it would probably have had a height greater than that, had not his zeal who began it been hindered from exerting itself. After this, it was erected with great diligence by the Jews, as high as twenty cubits; above which it had battlements of two cubits; and turrets of three cubits' altitude. Insomuch that the entire altitude extended as far as twenty-five cubits.

Now the towers that were upon it were twenty cubits in breadth, and twenty cubits in height. They were square, and solid, as was the wall itself. Wherein the niceness of the joints and the beauty of the stones, were no way inferior to those of the holy house itself. Above this solid altitude of the towers, which was twenty cubits, there were rooms of great magnificence; and over them upper rooms, and cisterns to receive rain-water. They were many in number; and the steps by which you ascended up to them were every one broad. Of these towers then the third wall had ninety; and the spaces between them were each two hundred cubits. But in the middle wall were forty towers; and the old wall was parted into sixty; while the compass of the city was thirty-three furlongs. Now the third wall was all of it wonderful. Yet was the tower Psephinus elevated above it at the north-west corner: and there Titus pitched his own tent. For being seventy cubits high, it both afforded a prospect of Arabia, at sunrising, as well as of the utmost limits of the Hebrew possessions at the sea westward. Moreover it was an octagon, and over against it was the tower Hippicus; and hard by it two others were erected by king Herod, in the old wall. These were for largeness, beauty, and strength, beyond all that were in the habitable earth. For besides the magnanimity of his nature, and his magnificence towards the city on other occasions, he built these after an extraordinary manner, to gratify his own private affections; and dedi-

cated these towers to the memory of those three persons who had been the dearest to him, viz. his brother, his friend, and his wife. This wife he had slain, out of his love and jealousy, as we have already *related. The other two he lost in war, as they were courageously fighting. Hippicus, so named from his friend, was square ; its length and breadth were each twenty-five cubits, and its height thirty ; and it had no vacuity in it. Over this solid building, which was composed of great stones united together, there was a reservoir twenty cubits deep. Over which there was a house of two stories, whose height was twenty-five cubits, and divided into several parts : and over this were battlements, of two cubits ; and turrets all round of three cubits high. Insomuch that the entire height added together amounted to eighty cubits. The second tower, which he named from his brother Phasaelus, had its breadth and its height equal ; each of forty cubits. Over which was its solid height of forty cubits : and above this a cloister went round about, whose height was ten cubits : and it was covered from enemies by breastworks and bulwarks. There was also built over that cloister another tower, parted into magnificent rooms, and a place for bathing. So that this tower wanted nothing that might make it appear to be a royal palace. It was also adorned with battlements and turrets, more than was the foregoing. And the entire altitude was about ninety cubits. The appearance of it resembled the tower of Pharos, which exhibited a fire to such as sailed to Alexandria ; but was much larger than it in compass. This was now converted to a house ; wherein Simon exercised his tyrannical authority. The third tower was Mariamne ; for that was his queen's name. It was solid as high as twenty cubits. Its breadth and its length were twenty cubits ; and were equal to each other. Its upper buildings were more magnificent, and had greater variety, than the other towers had. For the king thought it most proper for him to adorn that which was denominated from his wife, better than those denominated from men : as those were built stronger than this that bore his wife's name. The entire height of this tower was fifty-five cubits.

* See Book I. chap. 22.

Now as these towers were so very high, they appeared much taller by the place on which they stood. For that very old wall wherein they were was built on a high hill ; and was itself a kind of elevation that was still thirty cubits taller. Over which were the towers situate, and thereby were made much higher to appearance. The largeness also of the stones was wonderful. For they were not made of common small stones, nor of such larger ones only as men could carry ; but they were made of white marble, cut out of the rock. Each stone was twenty cubits in length, ten in breadth, and five in depth. They were so exactly united to one another, that each tower looked like one entire rock of stone, so growing naturally ; and afterward cut by the hands of the artificers into their present shape : so little did their joints and connexion appear. Now as these towers were themselves on the north side of the wall, the king had a palace inwardly thereto adjoined, which exceeds all my ability to describe it. For it was so very curious as to want no cost nor skill in its construction ; but was entirely walled about to the height of thirty cubits ; and was adorned with towers at equal distances, and with large bed-chambers, each of which would contain beds for a hundred guests. The variety of the stones used in these is not to be expressed : for a large quantity of those that were rare of that kind was collected together. Their roofs were also wonderful ; both for the length of the beams, and the splendour of their ornaments. The number of the rooms was also very great, and the variety of the figures that were about them was prodigious. Their furniture was complete : and the greatest part of the vessels that were in them was of silver and gold. There were besides many porticoes one beyond another, round about ; and in each of those porticoes curious pillars. Yet were all the courts that were exposed to the air every where green. There were also several groves of trees, and long walks through them, with deep canals and cisterns, that in several parts were filled with brazen statues, through which the water ran out. There were likewise many *dove-courts of tame pigeons about

* These dove-courts in Josephus, built by Herod the Great, are, in the opinion of Reland, the very same that are mentioned by the Talmudists, and named by them Herod's dove-courts. Nor is there any reason to suppose otherwise : since in both accounts they were expressly tame pigeons which were kept in them.

the canals. But indeed it is not possible to give a complete description of these palaces; and the very remembrance of them is a torment to one, as putting one in mind what vastly rich buildings that fire which was kindled by the robbers hath consumed. For these were not burnt by the Romans, but by these internal plotters, as we have *already related, in the beginning of their rebellion. That fire began at the tower of Antonia, and went on to the palaces, and consumed the upper parts of the three towers themselves.

CHAP. V.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE.

NOW the temple, as I have †already said, was built upon a strong hill. At first the plain at the top was hardly sufficient for the holy house, and the altar: for the ground about it was very uneven, and like a precipice. But when king Solomon, who was the person that erected the temple, built a wall to it, on its east side, there was then added one cloister, founded on a bank cast up for it, and on the other parts the holy house stood naked. But in future ages the people ‡added new banks: and the hill became a larger plain. They then brake down the wall on the north side, and took in as much as sufficed afterward for the compass of the entire temple. And when they had built walls on three sides of the temple round about, from the bottom of the hill; and

* See Book II. chap. 17.

† See Book IV. chap. 5.

‡ See the description of the temples hereto belonging, Chap. xv. But note, that what Josephus here says of the original scantiness of this mount Moriah; that it was quite too little for the temple; and that, at first, it held only one cloister, or court of Solomon's building; and that the foundations were forced to be added long afterward by degrees, to render it capable of the cloisters for the other courts, &c. is without all foundation in the scriptures: and not at all confirmed by his exacter account in the Antiquities. All that is or can be true here is, that when the court of the Gentiles was long afterward to be encompassed with cloisters, the southern foundation for those cloisters was found not to be large or firm enough, and was raised; and that additional foundation supported by great pillars, and arches under ground: which Josephus speaks of elsewhere, Antiq. XV. 11. and which Mr. Maundrel saw, and describes, page 109, as extant under ground at this day.

had performed a work that was greater than could be hoped for ; (in which work long ages were spent by them ; as well as all their sacred treasures were exhausted ; which were still replenished by those tributes that were sent to God from the whole habitable earth ;) they then encompassed their upper courts with cloisters, as well as they afterward did the lowest court of the temple. The lowest part of this was erected to the height of three hundred cubits, and in some places more. Yet did not the entire depth of the foundations appear : for they brought earth, and filled up the valleys ; as being desirous to make them on a level with the narrow streets of the city. Wherein they made use of stones of forty cubits in magnitude. For the great plenty of money they then had, and the liberality of the people, made this attempt of theirs to succeed to an incredible degree. And what could not be so much as hoped for, as ever to be accomplished, was by perseverance, and length of time, brought to perfection.

Now the works that were above these foundations were not unworthy of such foundations. For all the cloisters were double : and the pillars to them belonging were twenty-five cubits in height, and supported the cloisters. These pillars were each of one entire block of white marble. And the roofs were adorned with cedar, curiously graven. The natural magnificence, and excellent polish, and the harmony of the joints in these cloisters, afforded a prospect that was very remarkable. Nor was it on the outside adorned with any work of the painter or engraver. The cloisters of the exterior court were in breadth thirty cubits ; while the entire compass of it was by measure six furlongs ; including the tower of Antonia. Those entire courts that were exposed to the air were laid with stones of all sorts. When you go through these first cloisters, unto the second court of the temple, there was a partition made of stone, all round ; whose height was three cubits, and its construction was very elegant. Upon it stood pillars, at equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, some in Greek, and some in Roman letters ; that no foreigner should go within that sanctuary. For that second court of the temple was called the sanctuary : and was ascended to by fourteen steps from the first court. This court was four square ; and had a wall about it peculiar to itself. The height of its buildings, although

it were *on the outside forty cubits, was hidden by the steps ; and on the inside that height was but twenty-five cubits. For it being built over against a higher part of the hill with steps, it was no farther to be entirely discerned within ; being covered by the hill itself. Beyond those fourteen steps there was the distance of ten cubits ; this was all plain. Whence there were other steps, each of five cubits, that led to the gates : which gates on the north and south sides were eight ; on each of those sides four ; and of necessity two on the east. For since there was a partition built for the women on that side, as the proper place wherein they were to worship, there was a necessity of a second gate for them. This gate was cut out of its wall over against the first gate. There was also on the other side one southern, and one northern gate ; through which was a passage into the court of the women. For as to the other gates the women were not allowed to pass through them. Nor when they went through their own gate could they go beyond their own wall. This place was allotted to the women of our own country, and of other countries, provided they were of the same nation, and that equally. The western part of this court had no gate at all ; but the wall was built entire on that side. But then the cloisters which were betwixt the gates extended from the wall inward, before the chambers. For they were supported by very fine and large pillars. These cloisters were single ; and, excepting their magnitude, were no way inferior to those of the lower court.

Now nine of these gates were on every side covered over with gold and silver : as were the jambs of their doors, and their lintels.

* What Josephus seems here to mean is this, that these pillars, supporting the cloisters in the second court, had their foundations or lowest parts as deep as the floor of the first or lowest court ; but that so far of those lowest parts as were equal to the elevation of the upper floor above the lowest, were, and must be, hidden on the inside by the ground or rock itself, on which that upper court was built. So that 40 cubits visible below, were reduced to 25 visible above : and implies the difference of their heights to be 15 cubits. The main difficulty lies here, how 14 or 15 steps should give an ascent of 15 cubits : half a cubit seeming sufficient for a single step. Possibly there were 14 or 15 steps at the partition wall, and 14 or 15 more thence into the court itself : which would bring the whole near to the just proportion. But I determine nothing.

But there was one gate that was without the inward court of the holy house, which was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those that were only covered over with silver and gold. Each gate had two doors; whose height was severally thirty cubits, and their breadth fifteen. However they had large spaces within of thirty cubits, and had on each side rooms, and those both in breadth and in length built like towers; and their height was about forty cubits. Two pillars did also support those rooms: and were in circumference twelve cubits. Now the magnitudes of the other gates were equal one to another; but that over the Corinthian gate, which opened on the east, over against the gate of the holy house itself, was much larger. For its height was fifty cubits, and its doors were forty cubits; and it was adorned after a most costly manner, as having much richer and thicker plates of silver and gold upon them than the other. These nine gates had that silver and gold poured upon them by *Alexander, the father of Tiberius. Now there were fifteen steps, which led from the wall of the court of the women to this greater gate: whereas those that led thither from the other gates were five steps shorter.

As to the holy house itself, which was placed in the midst of the inmost court, that most sacred part of the temple, it was ascended to by twelve steps: and in front its height and its breadth were equal, each being a †hundred cubits: though it was behind forty cubits narrower. For on its front it had what may be styled shoulders on each side, that extended twenty cubits farther.—Its first gate was seventy cubits high, and twenty-five cubits broad, but this gate had no doors: for it represented the universal visibility of heaven, and that it cannot be excluded from any place. Its front was covered with gold all over; and through it the first part of the house that was more inward, did all of it appear.—Which, as it was very large, so did all the parts about the more inward gate appear to shine to those that saw them. But then as the entire house was divided into two parts within, it was only the first part of it that was open to our view. Its height extended all

* Governor of Egypt, before his son Tiberius Alexander. See Book II. chap. 15.

† The additional twenty cubits of its original height being now fallen down, and not rebuilt. See Book V. chap. 1. and XV. 1.

along to ninety cubits in height ; and its length was fifty cubits, and its breadth twenty. But that gate which was at this end of the first part of the house, was, as we have already observed, entirely covered with gold : as was its whole wall about it. It had also golden vines above it : from which clusters of grapes hung as tall as a man's height. But then this house, as it was divided into two parts, the inner part was lower than the appearance of the outer : and had golden doors of fifty-five cubits altitude and sixteen in breadth ; but before these doors there was a veil of equal largeness with the doors. It was a Babylonian curtain, embroidered with blue, and fine linen, and scarlets, and purple : and of a contexture that was truly wonderful. Nor was this mixture of colours without its mystical interpretation : but was a kind of image of the universe. For by the scarlet there seemed to be enigmatically signified fire ; by the fine flax, the earth ; by the blue, the air ; and by the purple, the sea. Two of them having their colours the foundations of this resemblance : but the fine flax, and the purple have their own origin for that foundation, the earth producing the one, and the sea the other. This curtain had also embroidered upon it all that was mystical in the heavens, excepting that of the twelve signs, representing living creatures.

When any person entered into this temple, its *floor received them. This part of the temple, therefore, was in height sixty cubits, and its length the same. Whereas its breadth was but twenty cubits. But still that sixty cubits in length was divided again ; and the first part of it was cut off at forty cubits, and had in it three things that were very famous among all mankind ; the candlestick, the table of shew-bread, and the altar of incense.—Now the seven lamps signified the seven planets. For so many there were springing out of the candlestick. The twelve loaves that were upon the table signified the circle of the zodiac, and the year. But the altar of incense, by its thirteen kinds of sweet smelling spices, with which the sea replenished it, signified that God is the possessor of all things that are both in the uninhabitable and habitable parts of the earth ; and that they are all to be dedica-

The lower part of the holy house.

ted to his use. But the inmost part of the temple of all was of twenty cubits. This also was separated from the outer part by a veil. In this there was nothing at all. It was inaccessible, inviolable, and not to be seen by any : and was called the *Holy of Holies. Now about the sides of the lower part of the temple there were little houses, with passages out of one into another. There were also entrances on each side into them, from the gate of the temple. But the superior part of the temple had no such little houses any farther : because the temple was there narrower, and forty cubits higher, and of a smaller body than the lower parts of it. Thus we collect that the whole height, including the sixty cubits from the floor, amounted to a hundred cubits.

Now the outward face of the temple in its front wanted nothing that was likely to excite either admiration or astonishment. For it was covered all over with plates of gold, of great weight : and at the first rising of the sun reflected back a very fiery splendour, and made those who forced themselves to look upon it, to turn their eyes away ; just as they would have done at the sun's rays. But this temple appeared to strangers, when they were coming to it at a distance, like a mountain covered with snow.† For as to those parts of it that were not gilt, they were exceeding white. On its top it had spikes, with sharp points, to prevent any pollution of it by birds sitting upon it. Of its stones some of them were forty-five cubits in length, five in height, and six in breadth. Before this temple stood the altar, fifteen cubits high, and equal both in length and breadth : each of which dimensions was fifty cubits.—The figure it was built in was a square ; and it had corners like horns : and the passage up to it was by an insensible acclivity. It was formed without any iron tool, nor did any such iron tool so much as touch it at any time. There was also a wall of partition, about a cubit in height, made of fine stones, and so as to be grateful to the sight. This encompassed the holy house, and the altar ; and kept the people that were on the outside off from the priests. Moreover those that had the gonorrhea, and the leprosy, were ex-

* See Hebrews ix. 3.

† The appearance of the temple was very majestic ; and calculated to impress strangers with reverence and awe. An ample description of it may be found in the works of the learned Dr. Lightfoot. B.

cluded out of the city entirely. Women also, when deemed impure by the law, were shut out of the temple : nor were they at any time allowed to go beyond the limit before mentioned. Men also that were not thoroughly pure were prohibited to come into the inner court of the temple. Nay, the priests themselves, that were not pure, were prohibited to come into it also.

Now all those of the stock of the priests that could not minister by reason of some defect in their bodies came within the partition, together with those that had no such imperfection ; and had their share with them, by reason of their stock : but still made use of none, except their own private garments. For nobody but he that officiated had on his sacred garments. But then those priests that were unblemished, went up to the altar, clothed in fine linen. They abstained chiefly from wine ; out of this fear, lest otherwise they should transgress some rules of their ministration. The high-priest did also go up with them : not always, indeed, but on the seventh days, and new moons ; and upon the alteration of any particular festival. When he officiated he had on a pair of breeches, and an inner garment of linen ; together with a blue garment round without seam, with fringe work : and reaching to the feet. There were also golden bells, that hung upon the fringes ; and pomegranates intermixed among them. The bells signified thunder, and the pomegranates lightning. But that girdle that tied the garment to the breast was embroidered with five rows of various colours : of gold, and purple, and scarlet : as also of fine linen, and blue. With which colours, we have already said, the veils of the temple were embroidered. The like embroidery was upon the ephod ; but the quantity of gold therein was greater. Its figure was that of a stomacher for the breast. There were upon it two golden buttons, like small shields, which buttoned the ephod to the garments. In these buttons were inclosed two very large and very excellent sardonyxes ; having the names of the tribes of that nation engraved upon them. On the other part there hung twelve stones ; three in a row one way, and four in the other. A sardius, a topaz, and an emerald ; a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire ; an agate, an amethyst, and a ligure ; an onyx, a beryl, and a chrysolite. Upon every one of which was again engraved one of the forementioned names of the tribes. A mitre also of fine

linen encompassed his head, and was tied by a blue riband, about which there was another golden crown, engraven with the sacred name of God, consisting of four vowels. However, the high-priest did not wear these garments, but when he went into the most sacred part of the temple, which he did but once in a year: on that day when our custom is for all of us to keep a fast-day to God. And thus much concerning the city and the temple. But for the custom and laws hereto relating, we shall speak more accurately *another time. For there remain a great many things thereto relating, which have not been here touched upon.

Now as to the tower of Antonia, it was situate at the corner of two cloisters of the †court of the temple: of that on the west, and that on the north. It was erected upon a rock of fifty cubits in height, and was on a great precipice. It was the work of king ‡Herod: wherein he demonstrated his natural magnanimity. In the first place the rock itself was covered over with smooth pieces of stone from its foundation; both for ornament, and that any one who would either try to get up, or to go down it, might not be able to hold his feet upon it. Next to this, and before you come to the edifice itself, there was a wall, three cubits high: but within that wall all the space of the tower of Antonia was built upon, to the height of forty cubits. The inward parts had the largeness and form of a palace: being parted into all kinds of rooms, and other conveniencies; such as courts, baths, and broad spaces for camps: insomuch that by having all conveniencies that cities wanted, it might seem to be composed of several cities; but by magnificence it seemed a palace. And as the entire structure resembled that of a tower, it contained also four other distinct towers, at its four corners. Whereof the others were but fifty cubits high: whereas that which lay upon the south-east corner was seventy cubits: that from whence the whole temple might be viewed. But on the corner, where it joined to the two cloisters of the temple, it had passages down to them both: through which the guards, (for there always lay in this tower a Roman legion,) went several ways among the cloisters, with their arms, on the Jewish festivals, in

* See Antiquities, I. 6.

† The court of the Gentiles.

‡ See Book I. chap. 21.

order to watch the people, that they might not there attempt to make any innovations. For the temple was a fortress, that guarded the city ; as was the tower of Antonia a guard to the temple. And in that tower were *the guards of those three. There was also a peculiar fortress belonging to the upper city, which was Herod's palace. But for the hill Bezetha, it was divided from the tower of Antonia, as we have already observed. And as that hill on which the tower of Antonia stood was the highest of these three, so did it adjoin to the †new city : and was the only place that hindered the sight of the temple on the north. And this shall suffice at present to have spoken respecting the city, and the walls about it.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE TYRANTS SIMON AND JOHN : ALSO CONCERNING AN ACCIDENT WHICH PROVOKED TITUS TO PRESS ON THE SIEGE.

NOW the warlike men that were in the city, and the multitude of the seditious that were with Simon, were ten thousand, besides the Idumeans. Those ten thousand had fifty commanders ; over whom this Simon was supreme. The Idumeans that paid him homage were five thousand, and had eight commanders. Among those of the greatest fame were Jacob the son of Sosas, and Simon the son of Cathlas. John, who had seized upon the temple, had six thousand armed men, under twenty commanders. The zealots also that had come over to him, and left off their opposition, were two thousand four hundred : and had the same commander that they had formerly, Eleazar ; together with Simon the son of Arius. Now while these factions fought one against another, the people were their prey on both sides. And that part of the people which would not join with them in their wicked practices were plundered by both factions. Simon held the upper city, and the great wall as far as Cedron ; and as much of the old wall as bent from Siloam to the east ; and which went down to the palace of

* These three guards that lay in the tower of Antonia must be those that guarded the city, the temple, and the tower of Antonia.

† Bezetha.

Monobazus, who was king of the Adiabeni, beyond Euphrates. He also held that fountain : and the area, which was no other than the lower city. He also held all that reached to the palace of queen Helena, the mother of Monobazus. But John held the temple, and the parts thereto adjoining, for a great way ; as also Ophla, and the valley of Cedron. And when the parts that were interposed between their possessions were *burnt by them, they left a space wherein they might fight with each other. For this internal sedition did not cease, even when the Romans were encamped near their very walls. But although they had grown wiser at the first onset the Romans made upon them, this lasted but a while : for they returned to their former madness, and separated one from another, and fought it out ; and did every thing that the besiegers could desire them to do. For they never suffered any thing worse from the Romans, than they made each other suffer. Nor was there any misery endured by the city, after these men's actions, that could be esteemed new. But it was most of all unhappy before it was overthrown. While those that took it did it a greater kindness. For I venture to affirm, that the sedition destroyed the city, and the Romans destroyed the sedition : which it was a much harder thing to do than to destroy the walls. So that we may justly ascribe our misfortunes to our own people, and the just vengeance taken on them to the Romans. As to which matter let every one determine by the actions on both sides.

Now when affairs within the city were in this posture, Titus went round the city, on the outside, with some chosen horsemen ; and looked about for a proper place, where he might make an impression upon the walls. But he was in doubt where he could possibly make an attack, on any side : for the place was no way accessible where the vallies were ; and on the other side, the first wall appeared too strong to be shaken by the engines. He, therefore, thought it best to make an assault about the monument of John, the high-priest. For there it was that the first fortification was lower, and the second was not joined to it. The builders neglecting to build the wall strong, where the new city was not much

* See Book V, chap. 4.

inhabited. Here also was an easy passage to the third wall, through which he thought to take the upper city : and through the tower of Antonia the temple itself. But at this time, as he was going round about the city, one of his friends, whose name was Nicanor, was wounded with a dart on his left shoulder, as he approached, together with Josephus, too near to the wall ; and attempted to discourse to those that were upon the wall about terms of peace. For he was a person known by them. On this account it was that Cæsar, as soon as he knew their vehemence, that they would not bear even such as approached them, to persuade them to what tended to their own preservation, was provoked to press on the siege. He also, at the same time, gave his soldiers permission to set the suburbs on fire : and ordered that they should bring timber together, and raise banks against the city. And when he had divided his army into three parts, in order to set about those works, he placed those that shot darts, and the archers, in the midst of the banks that were then raising. Before whom he placed those engines that threw javelins, and darts, and stones ; that he might prevent the enemy from sallying out upon their works : and might hinder those that were upon the wall from being able to obstruct them. So the trees were cut down immediately, and the suburbs left naked. But while the timber was carrying to raise the banks, and the whole army was earnestly engaged in their works, the Jews were not quiet. And it happened that the people of Jerusalem, who had been hitherto plundered and murdered, were now of good courage ; and supposed they should have a breathing time : while the others were very busy in opposing their enemies without the city : and that they should now be avenged on those that had been the authors of their miseries, in case the Romans did but get the victory.

However, John staid behind, out of his fear of Simon ; even while his own men were earnest in making a sally upon their enemies without. Yet did not Simon remain inactive : but, continuing near the place of siege, he brought his engines of war, and disposed of them at due distances upon the wall ; both those which they took from *Cestius formerly : and those which they got when

* Book II. chap. 19.

they seized the garrison that lay in the tower Antonia. But though they had these engines in their possession, they had so little skill in using them, that they were in a great measure useless to them. But a few there were who had been taught by deserters how to use them : which they did, though after an awkward manner. So they cast stones and arrows at those that were making the banks. They also ran upon them by companies, and fought with them. Now those that were at work covered themselves with hurdles, spread over their banks ; and their engines were opposed to them when they made their excursions. These engines, that all the legions had ready prepared for them, were admirably contrived : but still more extraordinary ones belonged to the tenth legion. Those that threw darts, and those that threw stones, were more forcible, and larger than the rest ; by which they not only repelled the excursions of the Jews, but drove those away that were upon the walls also. Now the *stones that were cast were of the weight of a talent ; and were carried upwards of two furlongs. The blow they gave was no way to be sustained ; not only by those that stood first in the way, but by those that were beyond them, for a great space. As for the Jews, they at first watched the coming of the stone : for it was of a white colour ; and could, therefore, not only be perceived by the great noise it made, but could be seen also before it came, by its brightness. Accordingly the watchmen that sat upon the towers gave them notice when the engine was let go, and the stone came from it ; and cried out aloud, in their own country language, †THE SON

* Περρος, in the masculine, is here a rock, or large stone, as in the name of St. Peter, and not Περρα only ; as Matt. xvi. 18. John i. 42.

† What should be the meaning of this signal, or watch-word, when the watchmen saw a stone coming from the engine, THE SON COMETH ; or what mistake there is in the reading I cannot tell. The MSS. both Greek and Latin, all agree in this reading. And I cannot approve of any groundless conjectural alteration of the text from ΤΙΟΣ to ΙΟΣ : that not the son, or a stone, but that the arrow or dart cometh : as hath been made by Dr. Hudson, and not corrected by Havercamp. Had Josephus written even his first edition of these books of the war in pure Hebrew, or had the Jews then used the pure Hebrew, at Jerusalem, the Hebrew word for a son, is so like that for a stone, Ben, and Eben, that such a correction might have been more easily admitted. But Josephus wrote his former edition for the use of the Jews beyond Euphrates, and so in the Chaldee language : as he did this second edition in the Greek language ; and Bar was the Chaldee word for son, instead of the He-

COMETH. So those that were in its way stood off, and throw themselves down upon the ground. By which means, and by their thus guarding themselves, the stone fell down, and did them no harm. But the Romans contrived how to prevent that, by blacking the stone: who then could aim at them with success, when the stone was not discerned beforehand, as it had been till then: and so they destroyed many of them at one blow. Yet did not the Jews, under all this distress, permit the Romans to raise their banks in quiet. But they shrewdly and boldly exerted themselves, and repelled them, both by night and by day.

And now, upon finishing the Roman works, the workmen measured the distance there was from the wall, and this by lead and a line, which they threw to it from their banks. For they could not measure it any otherwise; because the Jews would shoot at them, if they came to measure it themselves. And when they found that the engines could reach the wall, they brought them thither. Then did Titus set his engines at proper distances, so much nearer to the wall, that the Jews might not be able to repel them: and gave orders that they should go to work. And when thereupon a prodigious noise echoed round about from three places, and that on the sudden; there was a great noise made by the citizens that were within the city; and no less a terror fell upon the seditious themselves. Whereupon both sorts, seeing the common danger they were in, contrived to make a like defence. So those of different factions cried out one to another, that they acted entirely as

brew Ben; and was used not only in Chaldea, &c. but in Judea also, as the New Testament informs us. Dio also lets us know, that the very Romans at Rome pronounced the name of Simon, the son of Gioras, bar Poras, for bar Gioras, as we learn from Xiphiline, page 217. Reland takes notice, that "Many will here look for a mystery; as though the meaning were, that the Son of God came now to take vengeance on the sins of the Jewish nation." Which is, indeed, the truth of the fact; but hardly what the Jews could now mean. Unless, possibly, by way of derision of Christ's threatenings so often made, that he would come at the head of the Roman army for their destruction. But even this interpretation has but a very small degree of probability. If I were to make an emendation, by mere conjecture, I would read ΠΕΤΡΟΣ instead of ΥΙΟΣ: though the likeness be not so great as in ΟΙΣ. Because that is the word used by Josephus just before, as I have already noted, on this very occasion. While ΙΟΣ, an arrow, or dart, is only a poetical word, and never used by Josephus elsewhere; and is, indeed, no way suitable to the occasion. This engine not throwing arrows or darts, but great stones, at this time.

in concert with their enemies : whereas they ought, notwithstanding God did not grant them a lasting concord, in their present circumstances, to lay aside their enmities one against another, and to unite together against the Romans.* Accordingly Simon gave those that came from the temple leave, by proclamation, to go upon the wall. John also himself, though he could not believe that Simon was in earnest, gave them the same leave. So on both sides, they laid aside their hatred, and their peculiar quarrels, and formed themselves into one body. They then ran round the walls : and having a vast number of torches with them, they threw them at the machines, and shot darts perpetually upon those that impelled those engines which battered the wall. Nay, the bolder sort leaped out by troops upon the hurdles that covered the machines, and pulled them to pieces, and fell upon those that belonged to them, and beat them : not so much by any skill they had, as, principally, by the boldness of their attacks. However, Titus himself still sent assistance to those that were the hardest set ; and placed both horsemen and archers on the several sides of the engines, and thereby beat off those that brought the fire to them. He also thereby repelled those that shot stones or darts from the towers, and then set the engines to work in good earnest. Yet did not the wall yield to these blows ; excepting where the battering ram of the fifteenth legion moved the corner of a tower ; while the wall itself continued unhurt. For the wall was not presently in the same danger with the tower ; which was extant far above it. Nor could the fall of that part of the tower easily break down any part of the wall itself together with it.

And now the Jews intermitted their sallies for a while. But when they observed the Romans dispersed all abroad at their works, and in their several camps ; (for they thought the Jews had retired out of weariness and fear ;) these all at once made a sally, at the tower Hippicus, through an obscure gate ; and at the same time brought fire to burn the works ; and went boldly up

* Their internal dissensions were as ruinous to them, or even more so, than the assaults of their foes from without. As neither policy nor interest could induce them to preserve or restrain harmony, this discordant spirit was evidently permitted to reign among them for their destruction. B.

to the Romans, and to their very fortifications themselves : where, at the cry they made, those that were near came presently to their assistance ; and those farther off came running after them : and here the boldness of the Jews was too hard for the good order of the Romans. And as they beat those whom they first met with, so they pressed upon those that were now gotten together. So this fight about the machines was very hot ; while the one side tried hard to set them on fire, and the other side to prevent it ; on both sides there was a confused cry made, and many of those in the forefront of the battle were slain. However, the Jews were now too hard for the Romans, by the furious assaults they made, like madmen ; and the fire caught hold of the works : and both all those works, and the engines themselves, had been in danger of being burnt, had not many of those select soldiers that came from Alexandria opposed themselves to prevent it : and had they not behaved with greater courage than they themselves supposed they could have done. For they outdid those in this fight that had greater reputation than themselves before. This was the state of things till Cæsar took the stoutest of his horsemen, and attacked the enemy. When he himself slew twelve of those that were in the forefront of the Jews. Which death of these men, when the rest of the multitude saw, they gave way, and he pursued them, and drove them all into the city, and saved the works from the fire. Now it happened at this fight, that a certain Jew was taken alive ; who by Titus's order was crucified before the wall : to see whether the rest of them would be affrighted, and abate of their obstinacy. But after the Jews were retired, John, who was commander of the Idumeans, and was talking to a certain soldier of his acquaintance before the wall, was wounded by a dart, shot at him by an Arabian, and died immediately : leaving the greatest lamentation to the Jews, and sorrow to the seditious. For he was a man of great eminence, both for his actions and his conduct.

CHAP. VII.

ONE OF THE TOWERS ERECTED BY THE ROMANS FALLS DOWN OF ITS OWN ACCORD ; AND THE ROMANS, AFTER GREAT SLAUGHTER, GET POSSESSION OF THE FIRST WALL.—TITUS MAKES HIS ASSAULTS UPON THE SECOND WALL.—ALSO CONCERNING LONGINUS THE ROMAN, AND CASTOR THE JEW.

NOW on the next night, a surprising disturbance happened among the Romans. For whereas Titus had given orders for the erection of three towers, of fifty cubits high ; that by setting men upon them at every bank he might from thence drive those away who were upon the wall ; it happened, that one of these towers fell down about midnight. And as its fall made a very great noise, fear fell upon the army ; and they, supposing that the enemy was coming to attack them, ran all to their arms. Whereupon a disturbance and tumult arose among the legions. And as nobody could tell what had happened, they went on after a disconsolate manner ; and seeing no enemy appeared, they were afraid one of another : and every one demanded of his neighbour the watch-word, with great earnestness : as though the Jews had invaded their camp. And now were they like people under a panic fear, till Titus was informed of what had happened, and gave orders that all should be acquainted with it. And then, though with some difficulty, they got clear of the disturbance they had been under.

Now these towers were very troublesome to the Jews, who otherwise opposed the Romans very courageously. For they shot at them out of their lighter engines from those towers ; as they did also by those that threw darts, and the archers, and those that flung stones. For the Jews could not reach those that were over them, by reason of their height ; and it was not practicable to take them, nor to overturn them, they were so heavy ; nor to set them on fire, because they were covered with plates of iron. So they retired out of the reach of the darts, and did no longer endeavour to hinder the impressions of their rams ; which, by con-

tinually beating upon the wall, did gradually prevail against it. So that the wall already gave way to the *Nico, for by that name did the Jews themselves call the greatest of their engines, because it conquered all things. And now they were for a long while grown weary of fighting, and of keeping guards; and were retired to lodge on the night times at a distance from the wall.— It was on other accounts also thought by them to be superfluous to guard the wall; there being besides that two other fortifications still remaining: and they being slothful, and their counsels having been ill concerted on all occasions. So a great many grew indolent and retired. Then the Romans mounted the breach, where Nico had made one; and all the Jews left the guarding that wall, and retreated to the second: so those that had gotten over that wall opened the gates, and received all the army within. And thus did the Romans get possession of this first wall, on the fifteenth day of the siege: which was the seventh day of the month Artemisius, or Jyar, when they demolished a great part of it; as well as of the northern parts of the city, which had been demolished also† by Cestius on a former occasion.

And now Titus pitched his camp within the city, at that place which was called the ‡camp of the Assyrians: having seized upon all that lay as far as Cedron; but took care to be out of the reach of the Jews' darts: he then presently began his attacks: upon which the Jews divided themselves into several bodies, and courageously defended that wall. While John and his faction did it from the tower of Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the temple; and fought the Romans before the monument of king Alexander: and Simon's army also took for their share the spot of ground that was near John's monument, and fortified it, as far as to that gate where water was brought into the tower Hippicus. However, the Jews made violent sallies, and that frequently, and in bodies together, out of the gates, and there fought the Romans. And when they were pursued all together to the wall, they were beaten in those fights, as wanting the skill of the Romans. But

* The conqueror.

† See Book II. chap. 19.

‡ See the note on Chap. 9

when they fought [them from the walls, they were too hard for them : the Romans being encouraged by their power, joined to their skill : as were the Jews by their boldness, which was nourished by the fear they were in, and that hardiness which is natural to our nation under calamities. They were also encouraged still by the hope of deliverance ; as were the Romans by their hopes of subduing them in a little time. Nor did either side grow weary. But attacks and fightings upon the wall, and perpetual sallies in bodies, were there all the day long. Nor were there any sort of warlike engagements that were not then put in use. And the night itself was scarcely sufficient to part them ; when they began to fight in the morning. Nay, the night was passed without sleep on both sides, and was more uneasy than the day to them. While the one was afraid lest the wall should be taken ; and the other lest the Jews should make sallies upon their camps. Both sides also lay in their armour during the night time ; and thereby were ready at the first appearance of light to go to the battle. Now among the Jews the ambition was who should undergo the first dangers, and thereby gratify their commanders. Above all they had a great veneration and dread of Simon ; and to that degree was he regarded by every one of those that were under him, that at his command they were ready to kill themselves with their own hands. What made the Romans so courageous was their usual custom of conquering, and disuse of being defeated, their constant wars, and perpetual warlike exercises, and the grandeur of their dominion. And what was now their chief encouragement, Titus, who was present every where with them all. For it appeared a terrible thing to grow weary while Cæsar was there : and fought bravely as well as they did, and was himself at once an eyewitness of such as behaved themselves valiantly, and he who was to reward them also. It was besides esteemed an advantage at present to have any one's valour known by Cæsar. On which account many of them appeared to have more alacrity than strength to answer it. And now as the Jews were about this time standing in array before the wall, and that in a strong body ; and while both parties were throwing their darts at each other, Longinus, one of the equestrian order, leaped into the very midst of the army of the Jews. And as they dispersed

themselves upon this attack, he slew two of their men of the greatest courage. One of them he struck in his mouth, as he was coming to him : the other was slain by him by that very dart which he drew out of the body of the other ; with which he ran this man through his side, as he was running away. And when he had done this, he first of all ran out of the midst of his enemies to his own side. So this man signalized himself for his valour ; and many there were who were ambitious of gaining the like reputation. And now the Jews were unconcerned at what they suffered themselves from the Romans ; and were only solicitous about what mischief they could do them. And death itself seemed a small matter to them, if at the same time they could but kill any one of their enemies. But Titus took care to secure his own soldiers from harm, as well as to have them overcome their enemies. He also said, that inconsiderate violence was madness ; and that this alone was true courage, that was joined with good conduct : he, therefore, commanded his men to take care, when they fought their enemies, that they received no harm from them at the same time ; and thereby show themselves to be truly valiant men.

Now Titus brought one of his engines to the middle tower of the north part of the wall. Here a certain crafty Jew, whose name was Castor, lay in ambush, with ten others like himself, the rest being fled away by reason of the archers. These men lay still for a while, as in great fear, under their breast-plates. But when the tower was shaken, they arose, and Castor did then stretch out his hand, as a petitioner, and called for Cæsar, and by his voice moved his compassion, and begged of him to have mercy upon them. Titus, in the innocence of his heart, believing him to be in earnest, and hoping that the Jews did now repent, stopped the working of the battering ram, and forbade them to shoot at the petitioners ; and bade Castor say what he wished. He said, that he would come down, if he would give him his right hand for his security. Titus replied, that he was pleased with such agreeable conduct ; and would be well pleased if all the Jews would be of his mind, and that he was ready to give the like security to the city. Now five of the ten dissembled with him, and pretended to beg for mercy ; while the rest cried out aloud, that they would never be slaves to the Romans, while it was in their power to die

in a state of freedom. Now while these men were quarrelling for a long while, the attack was delayed. Castor also sent to Simon, and told him that they might take some time for consultation about what was to be done, because he would delude the power of the Romans for a considerable time. And at the same time that he sent thus to him, he appeared openly to exhort those that were obstinate to accept of Titus's hand for their security. But they seemed very angry, and brandished their naked swords upon the breast-works, and struck themselves upon their breasts, and fell down, as if they had been slain. Hereupon Titus, and those with him, were amazed at the courage of the men. And as they were not able to see exactly what was done, they admired at their great fortitude, and pitied their calamity. During this interval a certain person shot a dart at Castor, and wounded him in his nose ; whereupon he presently pulled out the dart, and showed it to Titus, and complained that this was unfair treatment. So Cæsar reproved him that shot the dart, and desired Josephus, who then stood by him, to give his right hand to Castor. But Josephus said, that he would not go to him, because these pretended petitioners meant nothing that was good : he also restrained those friends of his who were zealous to go to him. But still there was one Eneas, a deserter, who said he would go to him. Castor also called to them, that somebody should come, and receive the money which he had with him. This made Eneas the more earnestly to run to him, with his bosom open. Then did Castor take up a great stone, and threw it at him ; which missed him, because he guarded himself against it. But still it wounded another soldier that was coming to him. When Cæsar understood that this was a delusion, he perceived that mercy in war is a pernicious thing ; because such cunning tricks have less place under the exercise of greater severity. So he caused the engine to work more strongly than before, on account of his anger at the deceit put upon him. But Castor, and his companions, set the tower on fire, when it began to give way, and leaped through the flame into a hidden vault that was under it : which made the Romans farther suppose that they were men of great courage, as having cast themselves into the fire.

CHAP. VIII.

THE ROMANS TAKE THE SECOND WALL TWICE ; AND GET ALL READY FOR TAKING THE THIRD WALL.

NOW *Cæsar* took this wall on the fifth day after he had taken the first. And when the Jews had fled from him, he entered into it, with a thousand armed men of his choice troops ; and this at a place where were the merchants of wool, the braziers, and the market for cloth ; and where the narrow streets led obliquely to the wall. Wherefore if *Titus* had either demolished a larger part of the wall immediately, or had come in, and, according to the law of war, had laid waste what was left, this victory would not, I suppose, have been mixed with any loss to himself. But now, out of the hope he had that he should make the Jews ashamed of their obstinacy, by not being willing, when he was able to afflict them more than he needed to do ; he did not widen the breach of the wall, in order to make a safer retreat upon occasion. For he did not think they would lay snares for him that did them such a kindness. When, therefore, he came in, he did not permit his soldiers to kill any of those they caught, nor to set fire to their houses. Nay, he gave leave to the seditious, if they had a mind, to fight without any harm to the people : and promised to restore the people's effects to them. For he was very desirous to preserve the city for his own sake ; and the temple for the sake of the city. As to the people he had them of a long time ready to comply with his proposals. But as to the fighting men, this humanity of his seemed a mark of his weakness : and they imagined that he made these proposals because he was not able to take the rest of the city. They also threatened death to the people, if they should any one of them say a word about a surrender. They moreover cut the throats of such as talked of a peace : and then attacked those Romans that were come within the wall. Some of them they met in the narrow streets, and some they fought against from their houses : while they made a sudden sally out at the upper gate, and assaulted such Romans as were beyond the wall : till those

that guarded the wall were so affrighted, that they leaped down from their towers, and retired to their several camps. Upon which a great noise was made by the Romans that were within, because they were encompassed round on every side by their enemies : as also by them that were without, because they were in fear for those that were left in the city. Thus did the Jews grow more numerous perpetually, and had great advantages over the Romans by their full knowledge of those narrow lanes ; and they wounded a great many of them, and fell upon them, and drove them out of the city. Now these Romans were at present forced to make the best resistance they could ; for they were not able, in great numbers, to get out at the breach in the wall, it was so narrow. It is also probable that all those that were gotten within had been cut to pieces, if Titus had not sent them succours. For he ordered the archers to stand at the upper ends of these narrow lanes, and he stood himself where was the greatest multitude of his enemies : and with his darts he put a stop to them. As with him did Domitius Sabinus also, a valiant man, and one that in this battle appeared so to be. Thus did Cæsar continue to shoot darts at the Jews continually, and to hinder them from coming on his men : and this until all his soldiers had retreated out of the city.

Thus were the Romans driven out, after they had possessed themselves of the second wall. Whereupon the fighting men that were in the city were elevated in their minds, upon this good success ; and began to think that the Romans would never venture to come into the city any more : and that, if they kept within it themselves, they should not be any more conquered. For God had blinded their minds for the transgressions they had been guilty of : nor could they see how much greater forces the Romans had than those that were now expelled ; no more than they could discern how a famine was creeping upon them. For hitherto they had fed themselves out of the public miseries, and drank the blood of the city. But now poverty had for a long time seized upon the better part ; and a great many had died already for want of necessaries. Although the seditious, indeed, supposed the destruction of the people to be an easement to themselves. For they desired that none others might be preserved, but such as were against a peace with the Romans, and were resolved to live in opposition

to them : and they were pleased when the multitude of those of a contrary opinion were consumed, as being then freed from a heavy burden. And this was their disposition of mind with regard to those that were within the city : while they covered themselves with their armour, and prevented the Romans, when they were trying to get into the city again, and made a wall of their own bodies over against that part of the wall that was cast down. Thus did they valiantly defend themselves for three days. But on the fourth day, they could not support themselves against the vehement assaults of Titus, but were compelled by force to flee whither they had fled before : so he quietly possessed himself again of that wall, and demolished it entirely. And when he had put a garrison into the towers that were on the south parts of the city, he contrived how he might assault the third wall.

CHAP. IX.

OF THE INTERMISSION AND RENEWAL OF THE SIEGE.—ALSO OF
THE DISCOURSE OF JOSEPHUS WITH HIS COUNTRYMEN CONCERN-
ING A PEACE.

A RESOLUTION was now taken by Titus to relax the siege for a little while, and to afford the seditious an interval for consideration ; and to see whether the demolishing of their second wall would not make them a little more compliant ; or whether they were not somewhat afraid of a famine : because the spoils they had gotten by rapine would not be sufficient for them long. So he made use of this relaxation in order to effect his own designs. Accordingly, as the usual appointed time, when he must distribute subsistence money to the soldiers, was now come, he gave orders that the commanders should put the army into battle array, in the face of the enemy, and then give every one his pay. So the soldiers, according to custom, opened the cases wherein their arms lay covered, and marched with their breast-plates on : as did the horsemen lead their horses in their fine trappings. Then did the places that were before the city shine very splendidly for a great way. Nor was there any thing either so grateful to Titus's own

men, or so terrible to the enemy as that sight. For the whole old wall, and the north side of the temple, was full of spectators: and one might see the houses full of such as looked at them. Nor was there any part of the city which was not covered over with their multitudes. Nay, a very great consternation seized upon the hardiest of the Jews themselves, when they saw all the army in the same place, together with the fineness of their arms, and the good order of their men. And I cannot but think that the seditious would have changed their minds at that sight, unless the crimes they had committed against the people had been so horrid, that they despaired of forgiveness from the Romans. But as they believed death with torments must be their punishment, if they did not go on in the defence of the city, they thought it much better to die in war. *Fate also prevailed so far over them, that the innocent were to perish with the guilty; and the city was to be destroyed, with the seditious that were in it.

Thus did the Romans spend four days in bringing this subsistence money to the several legions. But on the fifth day, when no signs of peace appeared to come from the Jews, Titus divided his legions, and began to raise banks, both at the tower of Antonia, and at John's monument. Now his designs were to take the upper city at that monument, and the temple at the tower of Antonia. For if the temple were not taken, it would be dangerous to keep the city itself. So at each of these parts he raised banks; each legion raising one. As for those that wrought at John's monument, the Idumeans, and those that were in arms with Simon, made sallies upon them, and put some stop to them; while John's party, and the multitude of zealots with them, did the like to those that were before the tower of Antonia. These Jews were now too hard for the Romans; not only in direct fighting, because they stood upon the higher ground, but because they had now learned to use their own engines. For their continual use of them, one day after another, did by degrees improve their skill about them. For of one sort of engines for darts they had three hundred; and forty for stones. By means of which they made it more tedious for the Romans to raise their banks. But then Titus, knowing that the city would be either saved or destroy-

* Providence.

ed for himself, did not only proceed earnestly in the siege, but did not omit to have the Jews exhorted to repentance. So he mixed good counsel with his works for the siege. And being sensible that exhortations are frequently more effectual than arms, he persuaded them to surrender the city, now in a manner already taken, and thereby to save themselves : and sent Josephus to speak to them in their own language. For he imagined they might yield to the persuasions of a countryman of their own.

So Josephus went round about the wall, and tried to find a place that was out of the reach of their darts, and yet within their hearing : and besought them, in many words, " To spare themselves ; to spare their country, and their temple ; and not to be more obdurate in these cases than foreigners themselves. For that the Romans, who had no relation to those things, had a reverence for their sacred cities and places, although they belonged to their enemies, and had till now refrained from meddling with them.— While such as were brought up under them, and, if they be preserved, will be the only people that will reap the benefit of them, hurry on to have them destroyed. That certainly they have seen their strongest walls demolished ; and that the wall still remaining was weaker than those already taken. That they must know the Roman power was invincible ; and that they had been used to serve them. For that in case it be allowed a right thing to fight for liberty, that ought to have been done at first. But for them that have once fallen under the power of the Romans, and have now submitted to them for so many long years, to pretend to shake off that yoke afterward, was the work of such as had a mind to die miserably ; not of such as were lovers of liberty. Besides, men may well enough grudge at the dishonour of owning ignoble masters over them ; but ought not to do so to those who have all things under their command. For what part of the world is there that hath escaped the Romans, unless it be such as are of no use for violent heat, or for violent cold ? And evident it is that fortune is on all hands gone over to them : and that God, when he had gone round the nations with this dominion is now settled in Italy. That, moreover, it is a strong and fixed law, even among brute beasts, as well as among men, to yield to those that are too strong for them ; and to suffer those to have the dominion, who are too hard

for the rest in war. For which reason their forefathers, who were far superior to them both in their souls and bodies, and other advantages, did yet submit to the Romans, which they would not have suffered, had they not known that God was with them. As for themselves, what can they depend on in this their opposition, when the greatest part of their city is already taken? and when those that are within it are under greater miseries than if they were taken, although their wall be still standing? For that the Romans are not unacquainted with that famine which is in the city, whereby the people are already consumed, and the fighting men will in a little time be so too. For although the Romans should leave off the siege, and not fall upon the city with their swords in their hands; yet was there an insuperable war that beset them within, and was augmented every hour. Unless they were able to wage war with famine, or could alone conquer their natural appetites." He added farther, "How right a thing it was to change their conduct before their calamities became incurable: and to have recourse to such advice as might preserve them, while opportunity was offered them for so doing. For that the Romans would not be mindful of their past actions, to their disadvantage, unless they persevered in their insolent behaviour to the end. Because they were naturally mild in their conquests, and preferred what was profitable, before what their passions dictated to them. Which profit of theirs lay in not leaving the city empty of inhabitants, nor the country a desert. On which account Cæsar did now offer them his right hand for a security. Whereas, if he took the city by force, he would not save any of them; and this especially if they rejected his offers in these their utmost distresses. For the walls that were already taken could not but assure them that the third wall would quickly be taken. And although their fortifications should prove too strong for the Romans to break through them, the famine would fight for the Romans against them.

While Josephus was making this exhortation to the Jews, many of them jested upon him from the wall, and many reproached him: nay, some threw their darts at him. But when he could not himself persuade them by such good advice, he betook himself to the histories belonging to their own nation, and cried out aloud, "O miserable creatures! are you so unmindful of those that used to

assist you, that you will fight by your weapons, and by your hands, against the Romans? When did we ever conquer any other nation by such means? And when was it that God, who is the creator of the Jewish people, did not avenge them, when they had been injured? Will not you turn again, and look back, and consider whence it is that you fight with such violence, and how great a supporter you have profanely abused? Will not you recall to mind the prodigious things done for your forefathers and this holy place, and how great enemies of yours were by him subdued under you? I even tremble myself in declaring the works of God before your ears, that are unworthy to hear them. However, hearken to me, that you may be informed, how you fight, not only against the Romans, but against God himself. In old time there was one Necao, king of Egypt, who was also called Pharaoh. He came with a prodigious army of soldiers, and seized queen Sarah, the mother of our nation. What did Abraham our progenitor then do? Did he defend himself from this injurious person by war? although he had three hundred and eighteen *captains under him, and an immense army under each of them? Indeed, he deemed them to be no number at all, without God's assistance: and only †spread out his hands towards this holy place, which you have now polluted; and reckoned upon him, as upon his invincible supporter, instead of his own army. Was not our queen sent back without any defilement, to her husband the very next evening? While the king of Egypt fled away; adoring this place which you have defiled, by shedding thereon the blood of your own countrymen: and he also trembled at those visions which he saw in the night season; and bestowed both silver and gold on the Hebrews, as on a people beloved by God. Shall I mention the removal of our fathers into Egypt?

* Correct this mistake from the Antiquities, I. 10.

† Josephus supposes, in this admirable speech of the Jews, that not Abraham only, but Pharaoh king of Egypt, prayed towards a temple at Jerusalem, or towards Jerusalem, in which were mount Sion, and mount Moriah, on which the tabernacle and temple did afterward stand: and this long before either the Jewish tabernacle or temple were built. Nor is the famous command given by God to Abraham, to go two or three days' journey on purpose to offer up his son Isaac there, unfavourable to such a notion.

Who when they were used tyrannically, and were fallen under the power of foreign kings, for four hundred years together, and might have defended themselves by war, and by fighting; did yet do nothing but commit themselves to God. Who is there that does not know how Egypt was overrun with all sorts of wild beasts, and consumed by all sorts of distempers; how their land did not bring forth its fruit; how the Nile failed of water: how the ten plagues of Egypt followed upon one another; and how, by those means, our fathers were sent away, under a guard, without any bloodshed, and without running any dangers: because God conducted them, as his peculiar servants. Moreover, did not *Palestine groan under the ravage the †Assyrians made, when they carried away our sacred ark? as did their idol Dagon: and as also did the entire nation of those that carried it away; how they were smitten with a loathsome distemper, and their very bowels came down, together with what they had eaten; till those hands that stole it away were obliged to bring it back again; and that with the sound of cymbals and timbrels, and other oblations, in order to appease the anger of God for their violation of his holy ark. It was God, who then became our general, and accomplished these great things for our fathers: and this because they did not meddle with war and fighting, but committed it to him to judge about their affairs. When Sennacherib, ‡king of Assyria, brought along with him all Asia, and encompassed this city round with his army, did he fall by the hands of men? were not our king's hands lifted up to God in prayer, without meddling with arms, when an angel of God destroyed that prodigious army in one night? when the Assyrian king, as he arose the next day, found a hundred and eighty-five thousand dead bodies: and when

* The Philistines.

† Note here that Josephus, in this same admirable speech, calls the Syrians, nay, even the Philistines, on the most south part of Syria, Assyrians. Which Reland observes as what was common among the ancient writers. Note also, that Josephus might well put the Jews in mind, as he does here more than once, of their wonderful, and miraculous deliverance from Sennacherib king of Assyria: while the Roman army, and himself with them, were now encamped upon, and beyond that very spot of ground, where the Assyrian army lay 780 years before; and which retained the name of the Camp of the Assyrians to that very day. See chap. 7, 12.

‡ See 2 Kings xviii. 13. xix. 32. 2 Chron. xxxii. Isaiah xxxvi. xxxvii.
VOL. IV.

he, with the remainder of his army, fled away from the Hebrews ; though they were unarmed, and did not pursue them. You are also acquainted with the slavery we were under at Babylon, where the people were captives for seventy years ; yet were they not delivered into freedom again, before God made Cyrus *his gracious instrument in bringing it about. Accordingly they were set free by him, and did again restore the worship of their deliverer, at his temple. And, to speak in general, we can produce no example wherein our fathers got any success by war, or failed of success when without war they committed themselves to God. When they staid at home they conquered, as pleased their judge ; but when they went out to fight, they were always disappointed. For example, when the king of Babylon besieged this very city, and our king Zedekiah fought against him, contrary to the predictions made to him by Jeremiah the prophet, he was at once taken prisoner, and saw the city and the temple demolished.† Yet how much greater was the moderation of that king, than is that of your present governors ? and that of the people then under him, than that of yourselves at this time ? For when Jeremiah cried out aloud, how very angry God was at them, because of their transgressions ; and told them they should be taken prisoners, unless they would surrender up their city : neither did the king, nor the people, put him to death. But for you, (to pass over what you have done within the city ; which I am not able to describe, as your wickedness deserves ;) you abuse me, and throw darts at me, who only exhort you to save yourselves : as being provoked when you are reminded of your sins, and cannot bear the very mention of those crimes, which you every day perpetrate. For another example : when ‡Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, lay before this city, and had been guilty of many indignities against God, and our forefathers met him in arms : they then

† Ezra i.

‡ Jeremiah xxxix.

|| Josephus says here, that Antiochus Epiphanes was fought against by the Jews, and that he took Jerusalem by force, as he had done before : Book I. chap. 1. and as it is, 2 Maccabees x. 3. Yet does he directly contradict it in his later and exacter work the Antiquities, XII. 5. The number three years and six months should also be corrected to just three years, for this profanation of the temple.

were slain in the battle ; this city was plundered by our enemies, and our sanctuary made desolate for three years and six months. And why need I bring any more examples ? Indeed, what can it be that hath stirred up an army of the Romans against our nation ? Is it not the impiety of the inhabitants ? Whence did our servitude commence ? Was it not derived from the seditions that were among our forefathers, when the madness of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and our mutual quarrels, brought Pompey upon this city ; and when God reduced those under subjection to the Romans, who were unworthy of the liberty they had enjoyed ; after a siege, therefore, of three months, they were forced to surrender themselves : although they had not been guilty of such offences with regard to our sanctuary and our laws as you have. And this while they had much greater advantages to go to war than you have. Do not we know what end Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to ? under whose reign God provided that this city should be taken again, upon account of the people's offences. When Herod, the son of Antipater, brought upon us Sosius, and Sosius brought upon us the Roman army. They were then encompassed and besieged for six months, till, as a punishment for their sins, they were taken, and the city was plundered by the enemy. Thus it appears that arms were never given to our nation ; but that we are always given up to be fought against, and to be taken. For I suppose that such as inhabit this holy place ought to commit the disposal of all things to God : and then only to disregard the assistance of men, when they resign themselves up to their arbitrator, who is above. As for you, what have you done of those things that are recommended by our legislator ? and what have you not done of those things that he hath condemned ? How much more impious are you than those which were so quickly taken ? You have not avoided so much as those sins that are usually committed in secret : I mean thefts, treacherous plots against men, and adulteries. You are quarrelling about rapines and murders, and invent strange ways of wickedness. Nay, the temple itself is become the receptacle of all. And this divine place is polluted by the hands of those of our own country ; which place hath been revered by the Romans, when it was at a dis-

tance from them ; when they have suffered many of their own customs to give place to our law. And after all this, do you expect Him whom you have so impiously abused to be your supporter ? To be sure then you have a right to be petitioners ; and to call upon Him to assist you ; so pure are your hands ! Did your king Hezekiah lift up such hands in prayer to God against the king of Assyria, when he destroyed that great army in one night ? And do the Romans commit such wickedness, as did the king of Assyria, that you may have reason to hope for the like vengeance upon them ? Did not that monarch accept of money from our king on this condition, that he should not destroy the city ; and yet, contrary to the oath he had taken, he came down to burn the temple ? While the Romans demand no more than that accustomed tribute, which our fathers paid to their ancestors : and if they but once obtained that, they neither aim to destroy this city, nor to touch this sanctuary. Nay, they will grant you besides, that your posterity shall be free, and your possessions secured to you, and will preserve your holy laws inviolate. And it is actual madness to expect that God should appear as well disposed towards the wicked as towards the righteous ; since he knows when it is proper to punish men for their sins immediately.

Accordingly he brake the power of the Assyrians, the very first night that they pitched their camp. Wherefore had he judged that our nation was worthy of freedom, or the Romans of punishment, he had immediately inflicted punishment upon those Romans, as he did upon the Assyrians, when Pompey began to meddle with our nation ; or when, after him, Sosius came up against us ; or when Vespasian laid waste Galilee ; or lastly, when Titus came first of all near to this city. Although *Magnus and Sosius did not only suffer nothing, but took the city by force : as did Vespasian go from the war he made against you to receive the empire. And as for Titus, those †springs that were formerly

* Pompeius Magnus, Pompey the Great.

† This drying up of the Jerusalem fountain of Siloam, when the Jews wanted it ; and its flowing abundantly, when the enemies of the Jews wanted it ; and these both in the days of Zedekiah, and of Titus ; and this last, as a certain event well known by the Jews at that time, as Josephus here tells them to their faces ; are very remarkable instances of the divine providence for the punishment of the Jewish na-

almost dried up, when they were under your power ; since he is come, run more plentifully than they did before. Accordingly you know that Siloam, as well as all the other springs that were without the city, did so far fail, that water was sold by distinct measures : whereas they now have such a great quantity of water for your enemies, as is sufficient not only for drink, both for themselves, and their cattle, but for watering their gardens also. The same *wonderful sign you had also experience of formerly, when the aforementioned king of Babylon made war against us ; and when he took the city, and burnt the temple. While yet I believe the Jews of that age were not so impious as you are. Wherefore I cannot but suppose that God is fled out of his sanctuary, and stands on the side of those against whom you fight. Now even a man, if he be but a good man, will flee from an impure house, and will hate those that are in it : and do you persuade yourselves that God will abide with you in your iniquities, who sees all secret things, and hears what is kept most private ?

Now what crime is there, I pray you, that is so much as kept secret among you, or is concealed by you ? Nay, what is there that is not open to your very enemies ? For you show your transgressions after a pompous manner ; and contend one with another which of you shall be the more wicked than another : and you make a public demonstration of your injustice, as if it were virtue. However, there is a place left for your preservation, if you be willing to accept of it : and God is easily reconciled to those that confess their faults, and repent of them. O hard-hearted wretches as you are ! Cast away all your arms, and take pity on your country, already verging to ruin ; return from your wicked ways, and have regard to the excellency of that city you are going to betray ; to that excellent temple, with the donations of so many countries in it. Who could bear to be the first that should set that temple on fire ? Who could be willing that these things should be no more ?

And what is there that can better deserve to be preserved ? O insensible creatures, and more stupid than are the stones them-

tion, when they were grown very wicked, at both the times of the destruction of Jerusalem.

* The history of this is now wanting elsewhere.

selves ! And if you cannot look at these things with discerning eyes, yet, at least, have pity upon your families ; and set before every one of your eyes your children, and wives, and parents, who will be gradually consumed, either by famine, or by war. I am sensible that this danger will extend to my mother, and wife, and to that family of mine which hath been by no means ignoble ; and, indeed, to one that hath been very eminent in old time.

And perhaps you may imagine that it is on their account only that I give you this advice. If that be all, kill them : nay, take my own blood, as a reward, if it may but procure your preservation. For I am ready to die, in case you will but return to a sound mind after my decease."

CHAP. X.

OF THE ATTEMPTS OF MANY OF THE PEOPLE TO DESERT TO THE ROMANS ; THE CALAMITIES WHICH THOSE THAT STAYED BEHIND SUFFERED BY FAMINE, AND THE SAD CONSEQUENCES THEREOF.

AS Josephus was speaking thus, with a loud voice, the seditious would neither yield to what he said, nor did they deem it safe for them to alter their conduct. But as for the people, they had a great inclination to desert to the Romans. Accordingly some of them sold what they had, and even the most precious things that had been laid up as treasures by them, for a very small matter : and swallowed pieces of gold, that they might not be found out by the robbers. And when they had escaped to the Romans, they had wherewithal to provide plentifully for themselves. For Titus let a great number of them go away into the country, whither they pleased. And the main reasons why they were so ready to desert were these ; that now they should be freed from those miseries which they had endured in that city, and yet should not be in slavery to the Romans. However, John and Simon, with their factions, did more carefully watch these men's going out than they did the coming in of the Romans. And if any one did but afford the least shadow of suspicion of such an intention, his throat was cut immediately.

But as for the richer sort, it proved all one to them whether

they staid in the city or attempted to get out of it : for they were equally destroyed in both cases. For every such person was put to death under pretence that they were going to desert ; but in reality that the robbers might get what they had. The madness of the seditious did also increase, together with their famine, and both those miseries were every day inflamed more and more. For there was no corn which any where appeared publicly ; but the robbers came running into, and searched men's private houses ; and then, if they found any, they tormented them, because they had denied they had any : and if they found none, they tormented them worse, because they supposed they had more carefully concealed it. The indication they made use of whether they had any or not was taken from the bodies of these miserable wretches : which if they were in good case, they supposed they were in no want of food ; but if they were wasted away, they walked off, without searching any farther. Nor did they think it proper to kill such as these ; because they saw they would very soon die for want. Many there were, indeed, who sold what they had for one measure : it was of wheat, if they were of the richer sort ; but of barley, if they were poorer. When these had so done, they shut themselves up in the inmost rooms of their houses, and ate the corn they had gotten. Some did it without grinding it, by reason of the extremity of the want they were in : and others baked bread of it, according as necessity and fear dictated to them. A table was nowhere laid for a distinct meal : but they snatched the bread out of the fire, half baked, and devoured it very hastily.

It was now a miserable case, and a sight that would justly bring tears into our eyes, how men stood as to their food : while the more powerful had more than enough, and the weaker were lamenting for want of it. But the famine was too hard for all other passions : and it is destructive to nothing so much as to modesty ; for what was otherwise worthy of reverence, was in this case despised. Insomuch that children pulled the very morsels that their fathers were eating out of their mouths ; and what was still more to be pitied, so did the mothers do as to their infants. And when those that were most dear were perishing under their hands, they were not ashamed to take from them the very last drops that might preserve their lives. And while they ate after this manner,

yet were they not concealed in so doing. But the seditious everywhere came upon them immediately, and snatched away from them what they had gotten from others. For when they saw any house shut up, this was a signal that the people within had gotten some food : whereupon they brake open the doors, and ran in, and took pieces of what they were eating almost out of their very throats, and this by force. The old men, who held their food fast, were beaten : and if the women hid what they had within their hands, their hair was torn for so doing. Nor was there any commiseration shown either to the aged, or to the infants : but they lifted up children from the ground, as they hung upon the morsels they had gotten, and shook them down upon the floor.* But still were they more barbarously cruel to those that had prevented their coming in, and had actually swallowed down what they were going to sieze upon, as if they had been unjustly defrauded of their right. They also invented terrible methods of torments, to discover where any food was ; and a man was forced to bear what is terrible even to hear, in order to make him confess that he had but one loaf of bread ; or that he might discover a handful of barley-meal that was concealed. And this was done when these tormentors were not themselves hungry ; for the thing had been less barbarous had necessity forced them to it. But this was done to keep their madness in use ; and as making preparation of provisions for themselves for the following days. These men went also to meet those that had crept out of the city by night, as far as the Roman guards, to gather some plants and herbs that grew wild. And when those people thought they had got clear of the enemy, these snatched from them what they had brought with them ; even while they had frequently entreated them, and that by calling upon the tremendous name of God, to give them back some part of what they had brought : though these would not give them the least morsel. And they were to be well contented that they were only plundered, and not slain at the same time.

* Vide Psalm cxxxvii. 8. Such instances of cruelty serve to show to what inhumanity the human mind may be brought. Anciently the claims of pity were denied in the prosecution of war, which too frequently was made the engine of vengeance. B

Such were the afflictions which the lower sort of the people suffered from these tyrants' guards. But for the men that were in dignity, and withal were rich, they were carried before the tyrants themselves. Some of them were falsely accused of laying treacherous plots, and so were destroyed; others were charged with designs of betraying the city to the Romans; but the readiest way of all was, to suborn somebody to affirm that they were resolved to desert to the enemy. And he who was utterly despoiled of what he had by Simon, was sent back again to John: as of those who had been already plundered by John, Simon got what remained. Insomuch that they drank the blood of the populace to one another, and divided the bodies of the poor creatures between them. So that although, on account of their ambition after dominion, they contended with each other; yet did they very well agree in their wicked practices. For he that did not communicate what he got by the miseries of others, to the other tyrant, seemed to be too little guilty, and in one respect only. And he that did not partake of what was so communicated to him, grieved, as at the loss of what was a valuable thing, that he had no share in such barbarity.

It is impossible, indeed, to go distinctly over every instance of these men's iniquity. I shall, therefore, speak my mind here at once briefly; that neither did any other city ever suffer such miseries; nor did any age ever breed a generation more fruitful in wickedness than this was from the beginning of the world. Finally, they brought the Hebrew nation into contempt; that they might themselves appear comparatively less impious, with regard to strangers. They confessed, what was true, that they were the slaves, the scum, and the spurious and abortive offspring of our nation. While they overthrew the city themselves, and forced the Romans, whether they would or no, to gain a melancholy reputation by acting gloriously against them: and did almost draw that fire upon the temple, which they seemed to think came too slowly. And, indeed, when they saw that temple burning, from the upper city, they were neither troubled at it, nor did they shed any tears on that account. While yet these passions were discovered among the Romans themselves. Which circumstances we shall speak of hereafter, in their proper place.

CHAP. XI.

MANY OF THE JEWS ARE CRUCIFIED BEFORE THE WALLS OF THE CITY.—CONCERNING ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BANKS THAT HAD BEEN RAISED BY THE ROMANS.

TITUS'S banks were now advanced a great way, notwithstanding his soldiers had been very much distressed from the wall. He then sent a party of horsemen, and ordered they should lay ambushes for those that went out into the valleys to gather food. Some of these were, indeed, fighting men, who were not contented with what they got by rapine. But the greater part of them were poor people, who were deterred from deserting by the concern they were under for their own relations. For they could not hope to escape, together with their wives and children, without the knowledge of the seditious. Nor could they think of leaving these relations to be slain by the robbers, on their account. Nay, the severity of the famine made them bold in thus going out. So nothing remained but that, when they were concealed from the robbers, they should be taken by the enemy. And when they were going to be taken they were forced to defend themselves, for fear of being punished; as after they had fought, they thought it too late to make any supplications for mercy. So they were first whipped, and then tormented with all sorts of tortures, before they died, and were then *crucified before the wall of the city.—This miserable procedure made Titus greatly to pity them; while they caught every day five hundred Jews: nay, some days they caught more. Yet did it not appear to be safe for him to let those that were taken by force to go their way: and to set a guard over so many he saw would be to make such as guarded them useless to him. The main reason why he did not forbid that cruelty was, that he hoped the Jews might perhaps yield at that sight, out of

* Reland very properly takes notice here, how justly this judgment came upon the Jews, when they were crucified in such multitudes together, that the Romans wanted room for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies of these Jews: since they had brought this judgment on themselves by the crucifixion of their Messiah.

fear lest they might themselves afterward be liable to the same cruel treatment. So the soldiers, out of the wrath and hatred they bore the Jews, nailed those they caught, one after one way, and another after another, to the crosses, by way of jest. When their multitude was so great that room was wanting for the crosses; and crosses wanting for the bodies.

But so far was the seditious from repenting at this sad sight, that, on the contrary, they made the rest of the multitude believe otherwise. For they brought the relations of those that had deserted upon the wall, with such of the populace as were very eager to go over upon the security offered them, and showed them what miseries those underwent who fled to the Romans; and told them, that those which were caught were supplicants to them, and not such as were taken prisoners. This sight kept many of those within the city, who were eager to desert, till the truth was known. Yet did some of them run away immediately, as unto certain punishment: esteeming death from their enemies to be a quiet departure, if compared with that by famine. So Titus commanded that the hands of many of those that were caught should be cut off, that they might not be thought deserters, and might be credited on account of the calamity they were under, and sent them in to John and Simon: with this exhortation, that, "They would now at length leave off their madness, and not force him to destroy the city: whereby they would have these advantages of repentance, even in their utmost distress: that they would preserve their own lives, and so fine a city, and that temple which was their peculiar glory." He then went round about the banks that were cast up, and hastened them; in order to show that his words should in no long time be followed by his deeds. In answer to which the seditious cast reproaches upon Cæsar himself, and upon his father also; and cried out with a loud voice, that "They contemned death, and did well in preferring it before slavery; that they would do all the mischief to the Romans they could, while they had breath in them; and that for their own city, since they were, as he said, to be destroyed, they had no concern about it: and that the world itself was a better temple to God than this. That yet this temple would be preserved by him that inhabited therein; whom they still had for their assistant in this war: and did therefore laugh at all the

threatenings of their enemies, which would come to nothing.—Because the conclusion of the whole depended upon God only.” These words were mixed with reproaches : and with them they made a mighty clamour.

In the mean time *Antiochus Epiphanes came to the city, having with him a considerable number of other armed men, and a band called the Macedonian band about him, all of the same age, tall, and just past their childhood ; armed, and instructed after the Macedonian manner, whence it was that they took that name. Yet were many of them unworthy of so famous a nation. For it had so happened, that the king of Commagene had flourished more than any other kings that were under the Romans, till a change happened in his condition ; and when he was an old man he declared plainly, that we ought not to call any man happy before he be dead. But this son of his, who was then come thither before his father was decaying, said, that he could not but wonder what made the Romans so tardy in making their attacks upon the wall. Now he was a warlike man, and naturally bold in exposing himself to dangers. He was also so strong a man, that his boldness seldom failed of having success. Upon this Titus smiled, and said he would share the pains of an attack with him.—However, Antiochus went, as he then was, and with his Macedonians made a sudden assault upon the wall. And, indeed, for his own part, his strength and his skill were so great, that he guarded himself from the Jewish darts, and yet shot his darts at them. While yet the young men with him were almost all sorely galled. For they had so great a regard to the promises that had been made of their courage, that they would needs persevere in their fighting ; and at length many of them retired, but not till they were wounded. And then they perceived that true Macedonians, if they were to be conquerors, must have Alexander’s good fortune also.

Now as the Romans began to raise their banks on the twelfth

* Hegesippus, the old epitomizer of Josephus, informs us, Book V. that this later Antiochus Epiphanes was the son of Antiochus, king of Commagene. He had been mentioned before, II. 18. as bringing royal auxiliary troops to the assistance of Vespasian, against the Jews. The same names continuing in that family long after that first Antiochus Epiphanes. Antiq. XIX. 5, and 9.

day of the month Artemisius, or Jyar,* so had they much ado to finish them by the twenty-ninth day of the same month, after they had laboured hard for seventeen days continually. For there were now four great banks raised: one of which was at the tower Antonia. This was raised by the fifth legion, over against that pool which was called Struthius. Another was cast up by the twelfth legion, at a distance of about twenty cubits from the other. But the labours of the tenth legion, which lay a great way off these, was on the north quarter, and at the pool called Amygdalon: as was that of the fifteenth legion about thirty cubits from it, and at the high-priest's monument. And now, when the engines were brought, John had from within undermined the space that was over against the tower of Antonia, as far as the banks themselves: and had supported the ground over the mine with beams laid across one another, whereby the Roman works stood upon an uncertain foundation. Then did he order such materials to be brought in, as were daubed over with pitch and bitumen, and set them on fire. And as the cross beams that supported the banks were burning, the ditch yielded on the sudden, and the banks were shaken down, and fell into the ditch, with a prodigious noise. Now at the first bank there arose a very thick smoke and dust, as the fire was choked with the fall of the bank. But as the suffocated materials were now gradually consumed, a plain flame brake out. On which sudden appearance of the flame a consternation fell upon the Romans, and the shrewdness of the contrivance discouraged them. And, indeed, this accident coming upon them at a time when they thought they had already gained their point, cooled their hopes for the time to come.— They also thought it would be to no purpose to take the pains to extinguish the fire, since, if it were extinguished, the banks were swallowed up already, and become utterly useless.

Two days after this, Simon and his party made an attempt to destroy the other banks: for the Romans had brought their engines to bear there, and began already to make the wall shake. And here one Tephtheus, of Garsis, a city of Galilee, and Megassar, one who was derived from some of queen Mariamne's

servants, and with them one from Adiabene, (he was the son of Nabateus, and called by the name of Chagiras, from the ill fortune he had: the word signifying a lame man :) snatched some torches, and ran suddenly upon the engines. Nor were there during this war any men that ever sallied out of the city who were their superiors, either in their own boldness, or in the terror they struck into their enemies: for they ran out upon the Romans, not as if they were enemies, but friends, without fear or delay. Nor did they leave their enemies till they had rushed violently through the midst of them, and set their machines on fire. And though they had darts thrown at them on every side, and were on every side assaulted with their enemies' swords, yet did they not withdraw themselves out of the dangers they were in, till the fire had caught hold of the instruments. But when the flame went up, the Romans came running from their camp to save their engines. Then did the Jews hinder their succours from the wall, and fought with those that endeavoured to quench the fire, without any regard to the danger their bodies were in. So the Romans pulled the engines out of the fire, while the hurdles that covered them were on fire. But the Jews caught hold of the battering rams through the flame itself, and held them fast, although the iron upon them was become red hot. And now the fire spread itself from the engines to the banks, and prevented those that came to defend them. And all this while the Romans were encompassed round about with the flame; and, despairing of saving their works from it, they retired to their camp. Then did the Jews become still more numerous, by the coming of those that were within the city to their assistance. And as they were very bold upon the good success they had had, their assaults were almost irresistible. Nay, they proceeded as far as the fortifications of the enemies' camp, and fought with their guards. Now there stood a body of soldiers in array before that camp, which succeeded one another by turns in their armour: and as to those, the law of the Romans was terrible; that he who left his post there, let the occasion be whatsoever it might, was to die for it. So that body of soldiers preferring rather to die in fighting courageously, than as a punishment for their cowardice, stood firm. And at the necessity these men were *in of standing* to it, many of the others, that had run away, out of

shame turned back again. And when they had set the engines against the wall, they kept the multitude from coming more of them out of the city; which they could the more easily do, because they had made no provision for preserving or guarding their bodies at this time. For the Jews now fought hand to hand with all that came in their way: and without any caution fell against the points of their enemies' spears: and attacked them bodies against bodies. For they were now too hard for the Romans; not so much by their other warlike actions, as by these courageous assaults they made upon them. And the Romans gave way more to their boldness, than they did to the sense of the harm they had received from them.

Now Titus was come from the tower of Antonia, whither he was gone to look out for a place for raising other banks, and reproached the soldiers greatly for permitting their own walls to be in danger, when they had taken the walls of their enemies: and sustained the fortune of men besieged, while the Jews were allowed to sally out against them, though they were already in a sort of prison. He then went round about the enemy with some chosen troops, and fell upon their flank himself. So the Jews, who had been before assaulted in their faces, wheeled about to Titus, and continued the fight. The armies also were now mixed one among another: and the dust that was raised so far hindered them from seeing one another, and the noise that was made so far hindered them from hearing one another, that neither side could discern an enemy from a friend. However, the Jews did not flinch, though not so much from their real strength, as from their despair of deliverance. The Romans also would not yield, by reason of the regard they had to glory, and to their reputation in war; and because Cæsar himself went into the danger before them. Inso-much that I cannot but think the Romans would in the conclusion have now taken even the whole multitude of the Jews; so very angry were they at them; had these not prevented the result of the battle, and retired into the city. However, seeing the banks of the Romans were demolished, these Romans were very much cast down upon the loss of what had cost them so long pains; and this in one hour's time. And many, indeed, despaired of taking the city with their usual engines of war only.

CHAP. XII.

TITUS CAUSES THE CITY TO BE ENCOMPASSED WITH A WALL ; AFTER WHICH THE FAMINE CONSUMES THE PEOPLE BY WHOLE HOUSES AND FAMILIES TOGETHER.

NOW did Titus consult with his commanders what was to be done. Those that were of the warmest tempers thought he should bring the whole army against the city, and storm the wall. For that hitherto no more than a part of their army had fought with the Jews : but that in case the entire army were to come at once, they would not be able to sustain their attacks, but would be overwhelmed by their darts. But of those that were for the more cautious management, some were for raising their banks again, and others advised to let the banks alone, but to lie still before the city, to guard against the coming out of the Jews, and against their carrying provisions into the city, and so to leave the enemy to the famine : and this without direct fighting with them. For that despair was not to be conquered : especially as to those who are desirous to die by the sword ; while a more terrible misery than that is reserved for them. However, Titus did not think fit for so great an army to lie entirely idle : and that yet it was in vain to fight with those that would be destroyed one by another. He also showed them how impracticable it was to cast up any more banks, for want of materials ; and to guard against the Jews' coming out still more impracticable. As also that to encompass the whole city round with his army, was not very easy, by reason of its magnitude, and the difficulty of the situation : and on other accounts dangerous, upon the sallies the Jews might make out of the city. For although they might guard the known passages out of the place, yet would they, when they found themselves under the greatest distress, contrive secret passages, as being well acquainted with all such places. And if any provisions were carried in by stealth, the siege would thereby be longer delayed. He also owned that he was afraid the length of time thus to be spent would diminish the glory of his success. For though it be true, that length of time will perfect every thing ; yet to do

what is to be done in a little time is still necessary to the gaining reputation. That, therefore, his opinion was, that if they aimed at quickness, joined with security, they must build a wall round about the whole city : which was, he thought, the only way to prevent the Jews from coming out any way. And that then they would either entirely despair of saving the city, and so would surrender it up to him ; or be still the more easily conquered when the famine had farther weakened them. For that besides this wall, he would not lie entirely at rest afterward, but would take care to have banks raised again, when those that would oppose them were become weaker. But that if any one should think such a work to be too great, and not to be finished without much difficulty, he ought to consider, that it was not fit for Romans to undertake any small work : and that none but God himself could accomplish any great thing with facility.

These arguments prevailed with the commanders. So Titus gave orders that the army should be distributed to their several shares of this work. And, indeed, there now came upon the soldiers a certain divine fury ; so that they did not only part the whole wall that was to be built among them, nor did only one legion strive with another ; but the lesser divisions of the army did the same. Insomuch that each soldier was ambitious to please his decurion ; each decurion his centurion ; each centurion his tribune ; and the ambition of the tribunes was to please their superior commanders ; while Caesar himself noticed and rewarded the like contention in those commanders. For he went round about the works many times every day, and took a view of what was done. Titus began the wall from the camp of the Assyrians, where his own camp was pitched, and drew it down to the lower parts of Cenopolis. Thence it went along the valley of Cedron, to the mount of Olives. It then bent towards the south ; and encompassed the mountain as far as the rock called Peristereon, and that other hill which lies next it, and is over the valley which reaches to Siloam. Whence it bended again to the west, and went down to the valley of the fountain. Beyond which it went up again at the monument of Ananus, the high-priest ; and encompassing that mountain where Pompey had formerly pitched his camp, it returned back to the north side of the city, and was

carried on as far as a certain village called the house of the Erebinthi. After which it encompassed Herod's monument; and there, on the east, was joined to Titus's own camp, where it began. Now its length was thirty-nine furlongs; and at this wall without were erected thirteen places to keep garrisons in; whose circumferences, put together, amounted to ten furlongs. The whole was completed in three days. So that what would naturally have required some months was done in so short an interval as is incredible. When Titus had, therefore, encompassed the city with this wall, and put garrisons into proper places, he went round the wall, at the first watch of the night, and observed how the guard was kept; the second watch he allotted to *Alexander; and the commanders of legions took the third watch. They also cast lots among themselves who should be upon the watch in the night time; and who should go all night long round the spaces that were interposed between the garrisons.

All hope of escaping being now cut off from the Jews, together with their liberty of going out of the city, the famine began to extend its progress, and devour the people by whole houses and families. The upper rooms were full of women and children that were dying by famine; and the lanes of the city were full of the dead bodies of the aged. The children also, and the young men, wandered about the market-places like shadows, all swelled with famine, and fell down dead, wheresoever their misery seized them. As for burying them, those that were sick were not able, and those that were well were deterred from doing it by the great multitude of those dead bodies, and by the uncertainty there was how soon they should die themselves. For many died as they were burying others; and many went to their coffins before that fatal hour was come. Nor was there any lamentation made under these calamities; nor were heard any mournful complaints. But the famine confounded all natural passions. For those who were just going to die looked upon those that were gone to their rest

* This must be Tiberius Alexander, mentioned by Tacitus, as now governor of Egypt; an early friend of Vespasian's, and one whom Vespasian had made lieutenant-general of the army under him: as Josephus elsewhere informs us. See II. 15. IV. 10, and V. 1.

before them with dry eyes, and open mouths. A deep silence also, and a kind of deadly gloom, had seized upon the city. While yet the robbers were still more terrible than these miseries themselves. For they break open those houses which were no other than graves of dead bodies, and plundered them of what they had; and carrying off the coverings of their bodies, went out laughing, and tried the points of their swords in their dead bodies; and in order to prove what mettle they were made of, they thrust some of those through that still lay alive upon the ground. But for those that entreated them to lend them their right hand, and their swords to despatch them, they would not grant their requests, but left them to be consumed by the famine. Every one of these died with their eyes fixed upon the temple; and left the seditious alive behind them. Now the seditious at first gave orders that the dead should be buried out of the public treasury; as not enduring the stench of the bodies: but afterward, when they could not do that, they had them cast down from the walls into the valleys beneath.

However, when Titus, in going his rounds along those valleys, saw them full of dead and putrescent bodies, he uttered a groan; and spreading out his hands to heaven, called God to witness, that this was not his doing. And such was the sad case of the city itself. But the Romans were very joyful: since none of the seditious could make sallies out of the city, because they were themselves disconsolate, and the famine already touched them also. These Romans besides had great plenty of corn, and other necessities, out of Syria, and the neighbouring provinces. Many of them, therefore, would stand near to the wall of the city, and showed the people what great quantities of provisions they had, and so make the enemy more sensible of their famine, by the great plenty, even to satiety, which they had themselves. However, when the seditious still showed no inclinations of yielding, Titus, out of his commiseration of the people that remained, and out of his earnest desire of rescuing what was still left out of these miseries, began to raise his banks again; although materials for them were hard to be come at. For all the trees that were about the city had been already cut down, for the erection of the former banks. Yet did the soldiers bring with them other materials

from the distance of ninety furlongs, and thereby raised banks, in four parts, much greater than the former ; though this was done only at the tower of Antonia. So Cæsar went his rounds through the legions, and hastened on the works ; and showed the robbers that they were now in his hands. But these men, and these only, were incapable of repenting of the wickednesses they had been guilty of ; and separating their souls from their bodies, they used them both as if they had belonged to other persons, and not to themselves. For no gentle affection could touch their souls, nor could any pain affect their bodies ; since they could tear the dead bodies of the people like dogs, and fill the prisons with those that were sick.

CHAP. XIII.

OF THE GREAT SLAUGHTERS AND SACRILEGE THAT WERE IN JERUSALEM.

ACCORDINGLY Simon would not suffer Matthias, by whose means he got possession of the city, to go off without torment. This Matthias was the son of Boethus, and was one of the high-priests ; one that had been very faithful to the people, and in great esteem with them. He, when the multitude were distressed by the zealots, among whom John was now numbered,* persuaded the people to admit Simon to come in to assist them ; while he had made no terms with him, nor expected any thing that was evil from him. But when Simon was come in, and had gotten the city under his power, he esteemed him that had advised them to admit him, as his enemy, equally with the rest ; as looking upon that advice as a proof of his simplicity only. So he had him brought before him, and condemned him to die, for being on the side of the Romans, without giving him leave to make his defence. He also condemned three of his sons to die with him : but the fourth prevented him, by running away to Titus. And when he begged that he might be slain before his sons, and that as a favour, on account that he had procured the gates of the city to be

* See Book IV. chap. 9.

opened to him, he gave order that he should be slain the last of them all. So he was not slain, till he had seen his sons murdered before his eyes: and that by being produced over against the Romans. For such a charge had Simon given to Ananus, the son of Bamadus, who was the most barbarous of all his guards. He also jested upon him, and told him, that he might now see whether those to whom he intended to go over would send him any succours or not. But still he forbade their dead bodies should be buried. After the slaughter of these, a certain priest, Ananias, the son of Masambalus, a person of eminence: as also Aristeus, the scribe of the Sanhedrim, and born at Emmaus; and with them fifteen men of figure among the people were slain. They also kept Josephus's father in prison, and made public proclamation, that no citizen whatsoever should either speak to him himself, or go into his company among others, for fear he should betray them. And they even slew such as joined in lamenting these men, without any farther examination.

Now when Judas, the son of Judas, who was one of Simon's under-officers, and a person intrusted by him to keep one of the towers, saw this procedure of Simon's, he called together ten of those under him, that were the most faithful to him; and partly out of pity to those that had so barbarously been put to death, but principally in order to provide for his own safety, he spake thus to them: "How long shall we bear these miseries? Or what hopes have we of deliverance, by thus continuing faithful to such wicked wretches? Is not the famine already come against us? Are not the Romans in a manner gotten within the city? Is not Simon become unfaithful to his benefactors? And is there not reason to fear he will very soon bring us to the like punishment? while the security the Romans offer us is sure. Let us surrender up this wall, and save ourselves, and the city. Nor will Simon be very much hurt, if, now he despair of deliverance, he be brought to justice a little sooner than he expects." Now these ten were prevailed upon by those arguments. So he sent the rest of those that were under him, some one way, and some another, that no difficulty might be made of what they had resolved upon.

Accordingly he called to the Romans, from the tower, about the third hour. But they, some of them out of pride, despised

what he said, and others did not believe him to be in earnest; though the greater number delayed the matter, as believing they should get possession of the city in a little time, without any hazard. But when Titus was just coming thither with his armed men, Simon was acquainted with the matter, and presently took the tower into his own custody, before it was surrendered; and seized upon these men, and put them to death, in the sight of the Romans: and when he had mangled their dead bodies, he threw them down before the wall of the city.

In the mean time Josephus, as he was going round the city, had his head wounded by a stone that was thrown at him, and fell down as giddy. Upon which fall of his the Jews made a sally; and he had been hurried away into the city, if Cæsar had not sent men to protect him immediately. And as these men were fighting, Josephus was taken up: though he heard little of what was done. So the seditious supposed they had now slain that man whom they were the most desirous of killing, and made thereupon a great noise, in way of rejoicing. This accident was told in the city; and the multitude that remained became very disconsolate at the news, as being persuaded that he was really dead, on whose account alone they could venture to desert to the Romans. But when Josephus's mother heard in prison that her son was dead, she said to those that watched about her; that she had always been of opinion, since the siege of Jotapata, that he would be slain: and she should never enjoy him alive any more. She also made a great lamentation privately to the maid servants that were about her, and said, that this was all the advantage she had of bringing so extraordinary a person as this son into the world, that she should not be able even to bury that son of hers, by whom she expected to have been buried herself. However, this false report did not put his mother to pain, nor afford merriment to the robbers long. For Josephus soon recovered of his wound, and came out, and cried out aloud, that it would not be long ere they should be punished for this wound they had given him. He also made a fresh exhortation to the people, to come out upon the security that would be given them: by which means the people were greatly encouraged, and a great consternation was brought upon the seditious.

Hereupon some of the deserters, having no other way, leaped down from the wall immediately ; while others of them went out of the city, with stones, as if they would fight them : but thereupon they fled away to the Romans. But here a worse fate accompanied these, than what they had found within the city : and met with a quicker despatch from the too great abundance they had among the Romans, than they could have done from the famine among the Jews. For when they came first to the Romans, they were puffed up by the famine, and swelled like men in a dropsy : after which, they suddenly overfilled those bodies that were before empty, and so burst asunder, excepting such only as were skilful enough to restrain their appetites, and by degrees took in their food. Yet did another plague seize upon those that were thus preserved. For there was among the Syrian deserters a certain person, who was caught gathering pieces of gold out of the excrements of the Jews. For the deserters used to swallow such pieces of gold, as we said *before, when they came out : and for these did the seditious search them all. For there was a great quantity of gold in the city. Insomuch that as much was now sold in the Roman camp for twelve Attic drachmæ as was sold before for twenty-five. But when this contrivance was discovered in one instance, the fame of it filled their several camps, that the deserters came to them full of gold. So the multitude of the Arabians, with the Syrians, cut up those that came as supplicants, and searched their bellies. Nor does it seem to me, that any misery befell the Jews that was more terrible than this : since, in one night, about two thousand of these deserters were thus dissected.

When Titus came to the knowledge of this wicked practice, he had like to have surrounded those that had been guilty of it with his cavalry, and to have put them to death ; and he had done it, had not their number been so very great ; and those that were liable to this punishment would have been manifold more than those whom they had slain. However, he called together the commanders of the auxiliary troops he had with him, as well as the commanders of the Roman legions : (for some of his own soldiers had

* See Chap. 10.

been also guilty herein, as he had been informed :) and had great indignation against both of them, and said, "What! Have any of my own soldiers done such things as this, out of the uncertain hope of gain, without regarding their own weapons, which are made of silver and gold? Moreover, do the Arabians and Syrians now first of all begin to govern themselves as they please, and to indulge their appetites in a foreign war? and then out of their barbarity in murdering men, and out of their hatred to the Jews, get it ascribed to the Romans?" For this infamous practice was said to be spread among some of his own soldiers also. Titus then threatened, that he would put such men to death, if any of them were discovered to be so insolent as to do so again. He gave it also in charge to the legions, that they should make a search after such as were suspected, and should bring them to him. But it appeared that the love of money was too hard for all their dread of punishment;* and a vehement desire of gain is natural to men, and no passion is so venturesome as covetousness. Otherwise such passions have certain bounds, and are subordinate to fear. But in reality it was God who condemned the whole nation and turned every course that was taken for their preservation to their destruction. This, therefore, which was forbidden by Cæsar under such a threatening, was ventured upon privately against the deserters; and these barbarians would go out still, and meet those that ran away, before any saw them; and looking about them to see that no Roman spied them, they dissected them, and pulled this polluted money out of their bowels. Which money was still found in a few of them; while yet a great many were destroyed by the bare hope there was of thus getting by them. Which miserable treatment made many that were deserting to return back again into the city.

But as for John, when he could no longer plunder the people, he betook himself to sacrilege, and melted down many of the sacred utensils, which had been given to the temple; as also many of those vessels which were necessary for such as ministered about

* It is justly said to be the root of all evil. In such circumstances it could be of little service to the Jews; and the manner in which they endeavoured to preserve it might even destroy them. Yet they were not deterred from the practice. Avarice is insatiable and incurable. B.

holy things: the caldrons, the dishes, and the tables. Nay, he did not abstain from those pouring vessels that were sent them by Augustus, and his wife. For the Roman emperors did ever both honour and adorn this temple: whereas this man, who was a Jew, seized upon what were the donations of foreigners; and said to those that were with him, that it was proper for them to use divine things, while they were fighting for the Divinity, without fear: and that such whose warfare was for the temple should live of the temple. On which account he emptied the vessels of that sacred wine and oil, which the priests kept to be poured on the burnt-offerings, and which lay in the *inner court of the temple; and distributed it among the multitude; who, in their anointing themselves, and drinking, used each of them above a hin of them. And here I cannot but speak my mind, and what the concern I am under dictates to me: I suppose, that had the Romans made any longer delay in coming against these villains, that the city would either have been swallowed up by the ground opening under them; or been overflowed by water; or else been destroyed by such thunder as the country of †Sodom perished by. For it had brought forth a generation of men much more atheistical than were those that suffered such punishment. For by their madness it was that all the people came to be destroyed.

And indeed, why do I relate these particular calamities? While Manneus, the son of Lazarus, came running to Titus at this very time, and told him, that there had been carried out through that one gate, which was intrusted to his care, no fewer than a hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies, in the interval between the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, or Nisan, when the Romans pitched their camp by the city, and the first day of the month Panemus, or Tamuz.‡ This was itself a prodigious multitude. And though this man was not himself set

* The court of the priests.

† Josephus, both here, and before, IV. 8. esteems the land of Sodom, not as part of the lake Asphaltites, or under its waters, but near it only; as Tacitus also took the same notion from him, Hist. V. 6, 7. which the great Reland takes to be the truth, both in his note on this place, and in his Palestine, Tom. I. pages 254—258. Though I rather suppose part of that region of Pentapolis to be now under the waters of the south part of that sea, but perhaps not the whole country.

‡ A. D. 70.

as a governor at that gate, yet was he appointed to pay the public stipend for carrying these bodies out, and so was obliged of necessity to number them : while the rest were buried by their relations. Though all their burial was but this, to bring them away, and cast them out of the city. After this man there ran away to Titus many eminent citizens, and told him the entire number of the poor that were dead, and that no fewer than six hundred thousand were thrown out at the gates : though still the number of the rest could not be discovered. And they told him further, that when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the poor, they laid the corpses on heaps in very large houses, and shut them up therein. As also that a medimnus of wheat was sold for a talent : and that when, a while afterward, it was not possible to gather herbs, by reason the city was all walled about, some persons were driven to that terrible distress, as to search the common shores, and old dunghills of cattle, and to eat the dung which they found there : and what they of old could not endure so much as to see, they now used for food. When the Romans heard all this, they commiserated their case ; while the seditious, who saw it also, did not repent ; but suffered the same distress to come upon themselves. For they were blinded by that fate, which was already coming upon that city, and upon themselves.

THE
JEWISH WAR.

BOOK VI.

Containing an Interval of about one Month.

FROM THE EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED,
TO THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS.

CHAP. I.

OF THE AUGMENTATION OF THE MISERIES SUSTAINED BY THE
JEWS; AND OF AN ASSAULT WHICH THE ROMANS MADE UPON
THE TOWER OF ANTONIA.

THUS did the miseries of Jerusalem grow worse and worse every day; and the seditious were still more irritated by the calamities they were under, even while the famine preyed upon themselves, after it had preyed upon the people.—And indeed the multitude of carcasses that lay in heaps one upon another was a horrible sight, and produced a pestilential stench, which was a hinderance to those that would make sallies out of the city, and fight the enemy. But as those were to go in battle array, who had been already used to ten thousand murders, and must tread upon those dead bodies as they marched along, so were not they terrified, nor did they pity men as they marched over them. Nor did they deem this affront offered to the deceased to be any ill omen to themselves. But as they had their right hands already polluted with the murders of their own countrymen, and in that condition ran out to fight with foreigners, they seem to me to have cast a reproach upon God himself, as if he were too slow in punishing them. For the war was not now gone on with, as if they had any hope of victory;

for they gloried after a brutish manner in that despair of deliverance they were already in. And now the Romans, although they were greatly distressed in getting together their materials, raised their banks in twenty-one days; after they had cut down all the trees that were in the country that adjoined to the city, and for ninety furlongs round about; as I have *already related. And indeed the very view of the country was a melancholy thing.—For those places which were before adorned with trees, and pleasant gardens, were now become desolate every way; and their trees were all cut down. Nor could any foreigner that had formerly seen Judea, and the most beautiful suburbs of the city, and now saw it as a desert, but lament and mourn sadly at so great a change. For the war had laid all the signs of beauty quite waste. Nor if any one that had known the place before, had come on a sudden to it now, would he have known it again: but though he were at the city itself, yet would he have inquired for it notwithstanding.

And now the banks were finished, they afforded a foundation for fear, both to the Romans and to the Jews. For the Jews expected that the city would be taken, unless they could burn those banks; as did the Romans expect that if these were once burnt down, they should never be able to take it. For there was a great scarcity of materials, and the bodies of the soldiers began to fail with such hard labours, as did their souls faint with so many instances of ill success. Nay, the very calamities themselves that were in the city proved a greater discouragement to the Romans than to those within the city. For they found the fighting men of the Jews to be not at all mollified among their sore afflictions; *while they had themselves perpetually less and less hopes of success, and their banks were forced to yield to the stratagems of the enemy, their engines to the firmness of their wall, and their closest fights to the boldness of their attacks. And, what was their greatest discouragement of all, they found the courageous souls of the

* See Chap. 12.

† The obduracy of the Jews was judicial. God had given them up to hardness and insensibility of heart. It is not, therefore, to be expected, that outward danger or difficulties would make any impression upon them: but rather, as was actually the case, render them desperate. B.

Jews to be superior to the multitude of the miseries they were under by their sedition, their famine, and the war itself. Insomuch that they were ready to imagine, that the violence of their attacks was invincible; and that the alacrity they showed would not be discouraged by their calamities. For what would not those be able to bear, if they should be fortunate, who turned their very misfortunes to the improvement of their valour? These considerations made the Romans to keep a stronger guard about their banks than they formerly had done.

But now, John and his party took care for securing themselves afterward, even in case this wall should be thrown down: and fell to work before the battering rams were brought against them.—Yed did they not compass what they endeavoured to do; but, as they were gone out with their torches, they came back under great discouragement, before they came near to the banks. And the reasons were these: that, in the first place, their conduct did not seem to be unanimous; but they went out in distinct parties, and at distinct intervals, and after a slow manner, and timorously; and to say all in a word, without a Jewish courage. For they were now defective in what is peculiar to our nation, that is, in boldness, in violence of assault, in running upon the enemy all together, and in persevering in what they go about, though they do not at first succeed in it. But they now went out in a more languid manner than usual; and, at the same time, found the Romans set in array, and more courageous than ordinary; and that they guarded their banks both with their bodies, and their entire armour; and this to such a degree on all sides, that they left no room for the fire to get among them; and that every one of their men were in such good courage, that they would sooner die than desert their ranks. For besides their notion that all their hopes were cut off, in case these works were once burnt, the soldiers were greatly ashamed that subtilty should be too hard for courage, madness for armour, multitude for skill, and Jews for Romans. The Romans had now also another advantage, in that their engines for sieges co-operated with them in throwing darts and stones, as far as the Jews, when they were coming out of the city. Whereby the man that fell became an impediment to him that was next to him; as did the danger of going farther make

them less zealous in their attempts. And for those that had run under the darts, some of them were terrified by the good order and closeness of the enemies' ranks, before they came to a close fight; and others were pricked with their spears, and turned back again. At length they reproached one another for their cowardice, and retired, without doing any thing. This attack was made upon the first day of the month Pauemus, or Tamuz. So when the Jews were retreated, the Romans brought their engines, although they had all the while thrown stones at them from the tower of Antonia, and were assaulted by fire and sword, and by all sorts of darts which necessity afforded the Jews to make use of. For although these had great dependence on their own wall, and a contempt of the Roman engines, yet did they endeavour to hinder the Romans from bringing them. Now these Romans struggled hard, on the contrary, to bring them: as deeming that this zeal of the Jews was in order to avoid any impression to be made on the tower of Antonia; because its walls were but weak, and its foundations rotten. However, that tower did not yield to the blows given it from the engines. Yet did the Romans bear the impressions made by the enemies' darts, which were perpetually cast at them, and did not give way to any of those dangers that came upon them from above; and so they brought their engines to bear. But then, as they were beneath the other, and were sadly wounded by the stones thrown down upon them, some of them threw their shields over their bodies, and partly with their hands, partly with their bodies, and partly with crows, they undermined its foundations: and with great pains they removed four of its stones. Then night came upon both sides, and put an end to this struggle for the present. However, that night, the wall was so shaken by the battering rams, in that place where John had used his stratagem before, and had undermined their banks, that the ground then gave way, and the wall fell down suddenly.

When this accident had unexpectedly happened, the minds of both parties were variously affected. For though one would expect that the Jews would be discouraged, because this fall of their wall was unexpected by them, and they had made no provision in *that case*; yet did they raise their courage, because the tower of

Antonia itself was still standing : as was the unexpected joy of the Romans at this fall of the wall soon quenched by the sight they had of another wall, which John and his party had built within it. However, the attack of this second wall appeared to be easier than that of the former. Because it seemed a thing of greater facility to get up to it through the parts of the former wall that were now thrown down. This new wall appeared also to be much weaker than the tower of Antonia : and accordingly the Romans imagined that it had been erected so much on the sudden, that they should soon overthrow it. Yet did not any body venture now to go up to this wall : as seeing that such as first ventured so to do must certainly be killed.

Now Titus, upon consideration that the alacrity of soldiers in war is chiefly excited by hopes, and by good words ; and that exhortations and promises frequently make men forget the hazards they run ; nay, sometimes induce them to despise death itself ; got together the most courageous part of his army, and tried what he could do with his men by these methods. “ O fellow soldiers,” said he, “ to make an exhortation to men to do what hath no peril in it, is on that very account inglorious to those to whom that exhortation is made : and indeed so it is in him that makes the exhortation an argument of his own cowardice also. I therefore think that such exhortations ought then only to be made use of, when affairs are in a dangerous condition, and yet are worthy of being attempted by every one themselves. Accordingly I am fully of the same opinion with you, that it is a difficult task to go up this wall. But that it is proper for those that desire reputation for their valour, to struggle with difficulties in such cases, will then appear, when I have particularly shown, that it is a brave thing to die with glory : and that the courage necessary shall not go unrewarded in those that first begin the attempt. And let my first argument to move you to it, be taken from what probably some would think reasonable to dissuade you, I mean the constancy and patience of these Jews, even under their ill successes. For it is unbecoming you who are Romans, and my soldiers, who have in peace been taught how to make wars, and who have also been used to conquer in those wars, to be inferior to Jews, either in action of the hand, or in courage of the soul : and this especially

when you are at the conclusion of your victory, and are assisted by God himself. For as to our misfortunes, they have been owing to the madness of the Jews : while their sufferings have been owing to your valour, and to the assistance God hath afforded you. For as to the seditions they have been in, the famine they are under, the siege they now endure, and the fall of their walls without our engines, what can they all be but demonstrations of God's anger against them, and of his assistance afforded us ? It will not, therefore, be proper for you either to show yourselves inferior to those to whom you are really superior ; or to betray that divine assistance which is afforded you. And, indeed, how can it be esteemed otherwise than a base and unworthy thing, that while the Jews, who need not be much ashamed if they be deserted, because they have long learned to be slaves to others, do yet despise death, that they may be so no longer ; and do make sallies into the very midst of us frequently, not in hopes of conquering us, but merely for a demonstration of their courage ? We, who have gotten possession of almost all the world that belongs to either land or sea, to whom it would be a great shame if we do not conquer them, do not once undertake any attempt against our enemies wherein there is much danger ; but sit idle, with such brave arms as we have, and only wait till the famine and fortune do our business themselves : and this when we have it in our power, with some small hazard, to gain all that we desire. For if we go up to this tower of Antonia, we gain the city. For if there should be any more occasion for fighting against those within the city, which I do not suppose there will, since we shall then be upon the *top of the hill, and be upon our enemies before they can have taken breath ; these advantages promise us no less than a certain and sudden victory. As for myself, I shall at present wave any commendations of those †who die in war ; and omit to speak of the immortality

* Reland notes here, very pertinently, that the tower of Antonia stood higher than the floor of the temple, or court adjoining to it : and that accordingly they descended thence into the temple : as Josephus elsewhere speaks also. See VI. 2.

† In this speech of Titus's we may clearly see the notions which the Romans then had of death, and of the happy state of those who died bravely in war : and the contrary of those who died ignobly in their beds by sickness. Reland here also produces parallel passages : the one out of Ammianus Marcellinus, concerning the Alani, two *lib.* xxxi. that "They judged that man happy, who laid down his life in battle." The

of those men who are slain in the midst of their martial bravery. Yet cannot I forbear to imprecate upon those who are of a contrary disposition, that they may die in time of peace, by some distemper or other; since their souls are condemned to the grave, together with their bodies. For what man of virtue is there who does not know, that those souls which are severed from their fleshly bodies in battle by the sword, are received by the æther, that purest of elements, and joined to that company which are placed among the stars; that they become good dæmons, and propitious heroes; and show themselves as such to their posterity afterward. While upon those souls that wear away in and with their distempered bodies, comes a subterranean night, to dissolve them to nothing, and a deep oblivion to take away all remembrance of them: and this notwithstanding they be clean from all spots and defilements of this world. So that, in this case, the soul at the same time comes to the utmost bounds of its life, and of its body, and of its memorial also. But since fate hath determined that death is to come of necessity upon all men, a sword is a better instrument for that purpose than any disease whatsoever. Why is it not then a very mean thing for us not to yield up that to the public benefit, which we must yield up to fate? And this discourse I have made upon the supposition that those who first attempt to go up this wall, must needs be killed in the attempt: though still men of true courage have a chance to escape, even in the most hazardous undertakings. For, in the first place, that part of the former wall that is thrown down is easily to be ascended: and for the new built wall, it is easily destroyed. Do you therefore, many of you, exert yourselves, and set about this work; and do you mutually encourage and assist one another: and this your bravery will soon break the hearts of your enemies. And perhaps such a glorious undertaking as yours may be accomplished without bloodshed. For although it be justly to be supposed that the Jews will try to hinder you at your first beginning to go up to them; yet when you have once concealed yourselves from them, and driven them

other of Valerius Maximus, lib. xi. c. 6. who says, that, "The Cimbri and Celta-beri exulted for joy in the army, as being to go out of the world gloriously and happily."

away by force, they will not be able to sustain your efforts against them any longer; though but a few of you prevent them, and get over the wall. As for that person who first mounts the wall, I should blush for shame if I did not make him to be envied of others, by those rewards I would bestow upon him. If such a one escape with his life, he shall have the command of others that are now but his equals: although it be true also, that the greatest rewards will accrue to such as die in the attempt."

Upon this speech of Titus's, the rest of the multitude were affrighted at so great a danger. But there was one, whose name was Sabinus, a soldier that served among the cohorts, and a Syrian by birth, who appeared to be of very great fortitude both in the actions he had done, and the mental courage he had exhibited. Although any body would have thought, before he came to his work, that he was of such a weak constitution of body, that he was not fit to be a soldier; for his colour was black, his flesh was lean, and thin, and lay close together. But there was a certain heroic soul that dwelt in this small body. Accordingly he rose up, and spake to this effect:—"I readily surrender up myself to thee, O Cæsar. I first ascend the wall. And I heartily wish that thy fortune may follow my courage and resolution. And if some ill fortune grudge me the success of my undertaking, take notice, that my ill success will not be unexpected; but that I choose death voluntarily for thy sake." When he had said this, and had spread out his shield over his head, with his left hand; and had, with his right hand, drawn his sword, he marched up to the wall just about the sixth hour of the day. There followed him eleven others, and no more, that resolved to imitate his bravery. But still this man was the principal person of them all; and went first, as excited by a divine fury. Now those that guarded the wall shot at them from thence, and cast innumerable darts upon them from every side. They also rolled very large stones upon them; which overthrew some of those eleven that were with him. But as for Sabinus himself, he met the darts that were cast at him: and though he were overwhelmed with them, yet did he not leave off the violence of his attack before he had gotten upon the top of the wall, and put the enemy to flight. For as the Jews were astonished at his great strength, and the bravery of his soul: and as

they imagined more of the Romans had gotten upon the wall than really had, they were put to flight. And now one cannot but complain here of fortune, as still envious at virtue; and always hindering the performance of glorious achievements. This was the case of the man before us, when he had just obtained his purpose: for he then stumbled at a certain large stone, and fell down upon it headlong, with a very great noise. Upon this the Jews turned back; and when they saw him to be alone, and fallen down, they threw darts at him from every side. However, he got upon his knee, and covered himself with his shield; and at the first defended himself against them, and wounded many of those that came near him. But he was soon forced to relax his right hand, by the multitude of the wounds that had been given, till at length he was quite covered over with darts, before he expired. He was one who deserved a better fate, by reason of his bravery: but, as might be expected, he fell under so vast an attempt. As for the rest of his partners, the Jews dashed three of them to pieces with stones; and slew them, as they were gotten up to the top of the wall. The other eight being wounded, were pulled down, and carried back to the camp. These things were done upon the third day of the month Panemus, or Tamuz.

Two days afterward, twelve of those men that were on the forefront, and kept watch upon the banks, got together; and called to them the standard-bearer of the fifth legion, and two others of a troop of horsemen, and one trumpeter: these went without noise, about the ninth hour of the night, through the ruins, to the tower of Antonia. And when they had cut the throats of the first guards of the place, as they were asleep, they got possession of the wall; and ordered the trumpeter to sound his trumpet. Upon this the rest of the guard got up on the sudden, and ran away, before any body could see how many they were that were gotten up. For, partly from the fear they were in, and partly from the sound of the trumpet which they heard, they imagined a great number of the enemy were gotten up. But as soon as Caesar heard the signal,* he ordered the army to put on their armour immediately,

* Signals of various kinds have ever been in use among soldiers. They serve to direct an army in circumstances which render it impossible for the instructions of the commander to be otherwise conveyed to the soldiers. B.

and came thither with his commanders, and first of all ascended : as did the chosen men that were with him. And as the Jews were fleeing away to the temple, they fell into that mine which John had †dug under the Roman banks. Then did the seditious of both the bodies of the Jewish army, as well that belonging to John, as that belonging to Simon, drive them away ; and indeed were no way wanting as to the highest degree of force and alacrity. For they esteemed themselves entirely ruined, if once the Romans got into the temple : as did the Romans look upon the same thing as the beginning of their entire conquest. So a terrible battle was fought at the entrance of the temple : while the Romans were forcing their way, in order to get possession of that temple ; and the Jews were driving them back to the tower of Antonia. In which battle the darts were on both sides useless, as well as the spears : and both sides drew their swords, and fought it out hand to hand. Now during this struggle, the positions of the men were undistinguished on both sides, and they fought at random : being intermixed one with another, and confounded, by reason of the narrowness of the place ; while the noise that was made fell on the ear after an indistinct manner, because it was so very loud. Great slaughter was now made on both sides ; and the combatants trod upon the bodies, and the armour of those that were dead, and dashed them to pieces. Accordingly, to which side soever the battle inclined, those that had the advantage exhorted one another to go on ; as did those that were beaten make great lamentation. But still there was no room for flight, nor for pursuit, but disorderly evolutions and retreats : while the armies were intermixed one with another. But those that were in the first ranks were under the necessity of killing or being killed, without any way for escaping. For those on both sides that came behind, forced those before them to go on ; without leaving any space between the armies. At length the Jews' violent zeal was too hard for the Roman skill : and the battle already inclined entirely that way. For the fight had lasted from the ninth hour of the night, till the seventh hour of the day : while the Jews came on in crowds, and had the danger the temple was in for their motive ;

† See Book V. chap. 11.

the Romans having no more here than a part of their army. For those legions, on which the soldiers on that side depended, were not come up to them. So it was at present thought sufficient by the Romans to take possession of the tower of Antonia.

But there was one Julian, a centurion, that came from Bithynia, a man of great reputation, whom I had formerly seen in that war, and one of the highest fame, both for his skill in war, his strength of body, and the courage of his soul. This man, seeing the Romans giving ground, and in a sad condition; (for he stood by Titus at the tower of Antonia,) leaped out, and of himself alone put the Jews to flight, when they were already conquerors: and made them retire as far as the inner court of the temple. From him the multitude fled away in crowds; as supposing that neither his strength nor his violent attacks could be those of a mere man. Accordingly he rushed through the midst of the Jews, as they were dispersed abroad, and killed those that he caught. Nor indeed was there any sight that appeared more wonderful in the eyes of Cæsar, or more terrible to others, than this. However, he was himself pursued by fate; which it was not possible that he, who was but a mortal man, should escape. For as he had *shoes full of thick and sharp nails, as had every one of the other soldiers; so when he ran on the pavement of the temple, he slipped, and fell down upon his back, with a very great noise, which was made by his armour. This made those that were running away to turn back. Whereupon those Romans that were in the tower of Antonia set up a great shout, as they were in fear for the man. But the Jews got about him in crowds, and struck at him with their spears, and with their swords, on all sides. Now he received a great many of the strokes of these iron weapons upon his shield, and often attempted to get up again: but was thrown by those that struck at him. Yet did he, as he lay along, stab many of them with his sword. Nor was he soon killed; as being covered with his helmet, and his breast-plate, in all those parts of his body where he might be mortally wounded: he also pulled his neck

* No wonder that this Julian, who had so many nails in his shoes, slipped upon the pavement of the temple, which was smooth, and laid with marble of different colours.

close to his body, till all his other limbs were shattered, and nobody durst come to defend him; and then he yielded to his fate. Cæsar was deeply affected on account of this man of so great fortitude; and especially as he was killed in the sight of so many people. He was desirous himself to come to his assistance; but the place would not give him leave; while such as could have done it were too much terrified to attempt it. Thus, when Julian had struggled with death a great while, and let but few of those that had given him his mortal wound go off unhurt, he had at last his throat cut, though not without some difficulty: and left behind him a very great fame; not only among the Romans, and with Cæsar himself, but among his enemies also. Then did the Jews catch up his dead body, and put the Romans to flight again, and shut them up in the tower of Antonia. Now those that most signalized themselves, and fought most zealously in this battle on the Jewish side, were one Alexas and Gyptheus of John's party; and of Simon's party were Malachias, and Judas the son of Merto, and James the son of Sosas, the commander of the Idumeans. And of the zealots, two brethren, Simon and Judas, the sons of Jairus.

CHAP. II.

TITUS GIVES ORDERS TO DEMOLISH THE TOWER OF ANTONIA;
AND THEN PERSUADES JOSEPHUS TO EXHORT THE JEWS
AGAIN TO A SURRENDER.

NOW Titus gave orders to his soldiers that were with him to dig up the foundations of the tower of Antonia, and make him a ready passage for his army to come up. While he himself had Josephus brought to him; (for he had been informed that on that very day,* which was the seventeenth day of Panemus, or Ta-

* This was a remarkable day indeed, the 17th of Panemus, or Tamuz, A. D. 70, when, according to Daniel's prediction, 606 years before, the Romans, "in half a week, caused the sacrifice and oblation to cease." Dan. ix. 27. For from the month of February, A. D. 66, about which time Vespasian entered on this war, to this very time, was just three years and a half. See Bishop Lloyd's *Tables of Chronology* on this year. Nor is it to be omitted, what very nearly confirms this duration of the war, that four years before the war begun, was somewhat above seven years and five months before the destruction of Jerusalem. chap. 5.

muz, the sacrifice, called the daily sacrifice, had failed, and had not been offered to God, for the want of men to offer it ; and that the people were grievously troubled at it :) and commanded him to say the same things to John, that he had said before : that if he had any malicious inclination for fighting, he might come out, with as many of his men as he pleased, in order to fight, without danger of destroying either his city or temple ; but that he desired he would not defile the temple, nor thereby offend against God. That he might, if he pleased, offer the sacrifices which were now discontinued, by any of the Jews whom he should appoint. Upon this Josephus stood in a place where he might be heard, not by John only, but by many more ; and then declared to them what Cæsar had given him in charge : and this in the Hebrew* language. So he earnestly prayed them, to spare their own city : and to prevent that fire, which was just ready to seize upon the temple ; and to offer their usual sacrifices therein. At these words of his, a great sadness and silence were observed among the people. But the tyrant himself cast many reproaches upon Josephus, with imprecations besides : and at last added, that he did never fear the taking of the city ; because it was God's own city. In answer to which, Josephus said thus, with a loud voice : " To be sure thou hast kept this city wonderful pure for God's sake : the temple also continues entirely unpolluted ! Nor hast thou been guilty of any impiety against him for whose assistance thou hopest ! He still receives his accustomed sacrifices ! Vile wretch that thou art ! If any one should deprive thee of thy daily food, thou wouldst esteem him to be an enemy to thee : but still thou hopest to have that God for thy supporter in this war, whom thou hast deprived of his worship : and thou imputest those sins to the Romans, who to this very time take care to have our laws observed ; and almost compel these sacrifices to be still offered to God, which have by thy means been intermitted. Who is there that can avoid groans and lamentations at the amazing change that is made in this city ? since even foreigners and enemies do now correct that impiety which thou hast occasioned : while thou, who art a Jew, and wast

* The same that is always so called in the New Testament, and was the common language of the Jews in Judea ; which was the Syrian dialect.

educated in our laws, are become a greater enemy to them than the others. But still, John, it is never dishonourable to repent, and amend what hath been done amiss, even at the last extremity. Thou hast an instance before thee in *Jechoniah, the king of the Jews, if thou hast a mind to save thy city : who, when the king of Babylon made war against him, did, of his own accord, go out of this city, before it was taken ; and did undergo a voluntary captivity, with his family, that the sanctuary might not be delivered up to the enemy : and that he might not see the house of God set on fire. On which account he is celebrated among all the Jews, in their sacred memorials ; and his memory is become immortal ; and will be conveyed down to our posterity through all ages. This is an excellent example in such a time of danger. And I dare venture to promise, that the Romans shall still forgive thee. And take notice that I who make this exhortation to thee, am one of thine own nation : I, who am a Jew, make this promise to thee. And it will become thee to consider, who I am that give thee this counsel ; and whence I am derived. For while I am alive, I shall never be in such slavery, as to forego my own kindred, or forget the laws of our forefathers. Thou hast indignation at me again, and makest a clamour at me, and reproachest me. Indeed I cannot deny but I am worthy of worse treatment than all this amounts to, because, in opposition to fate, I make this kind invitation to thee ; and endeavour to force deliverance upon those whom God hath condemned. And who is there that does not know what the writings of the ancient prophets contain in them ? and particularly that oracle which is just now going to be fulfilled upon this miserable city. For they foretold, that this city should be then taken, when somebody should begin the slaughter of his own countrymen. And are not both the city and the entire temple now full of the dead bodies of your countrymen ? It is †God therefore, it is God himself that is bringing on this fire to purge

* Our present copies of the Old Testament want this encomium upon king Jechoniah, or Jehoiachim : which, it seems, was in Josephus's copy.

† Of this oracle, see the note on Book IV. chap. 6.

‡ Josephus, both here, and in many places elsewhere, speaks so, that it is evident he was fully satisfied, that God was on the Romans' side ; and made use of them now for the destruction of that wicked nation of the Jews : which was, for certain.

lengthways. This work of theirs was like a real edifice. And when the machines were applied, the blows were weakened by its yielding : and as the materials, by such concussion, were shaken closer together, the pile by that means became firmer than before. When Silva saw this, he thought it best to destroy this wall by setting fire to it. So he gave order that the soldiers should throw a great number of burning torches upon it. Accordingly, as it was chiefly made of wood, it soon took fire : and its hollowness made the fire spread to a mighty flame. Now at the very beginning of this fire, a north wind that then blew proved terrible to the Romans. For by bringing the flame downward, it drove it upon them : and they were almost in despair of success ; as fearing their machines would be burnt. But after this, the wind changed suddenly into the south ; as if it were done by divine providence : and blew strongly the contrary way, and carried the flame against the wall, which was now on fire through its entire thickness. So the Romans, having now assistance from God, returned to their camp with joy ; and resolved to attack their enemies the very next day. On which occasion they set their watch more carefully that night lest any of the Jews should run away from them, without being discovered.

Eleazar, however, neither thought of flying away, nor would he permit any one else to do so. But when he saw their wall burned down by the fire, and could devise no other way of escaping, or room for their farther courage : and setting before their eyes what the Romans would do to them, and their children, and their wives, if they got them into their power : he consulted about having them all slain. Now, as he judged this to be the best thing they could do in their present circumstances, he gathered the most courageous of his companions together, and encouraged them to take that course, by a speech which he made to the following effect : " Since* we long ago, my generous friends, resolved never to be servants to the Romans, nor to any other than to God him-

* This and the following speech, as introduced under the person of Eleazar, are exceedingly remarkable, and on the noblest subjects ; the contempt of death, and the dignity and immortality of the soul : and that not only among the Jews, but among the Indians themselves also : and are well deserving the perusal of all the curious. It seems as if that philosophic lady who survived. chap. 9, remembered
VOL. IV.

self, who alone is the true and just Lord of mankind ; the time is now come that obliges us to put that resolution in practice. And let us not at this time bring a reproach upon ourselves for self-contradiction ; while we formerly would not undergo slavery, though it were then without danger ; but must now, together with slavery, submit to such punishments also as are intolerable. I mean this upon the supposition that the Romans once reduce us under their power while we are alive. We were the very first that revolted from them ; and we are the last that fight against them. And I cannot but esteem it as a favour, that God hath granted us, that it is still in our power to die bravely, and in a state of freedom ; which hath not been the case of others, who were conquered unexpectedly. It is very plain that we shall be taken within a day's time : but it is still an eligible thing to die, after a glorious manner, together with our dearest friends. This is what our enemies themselves cannot by any means hinder : although they be very desirous to take us alive. Nor can we propose to ourselves any more to fight them, and beat them. It had been proper, indeed, for us to have conjectured the purpose of God much sooner ; and at the very first ; when we were so desirous of defending our liberty ; and when we received such sore treatment from one another, and worse treatment from our enemies : and to have been sensible that the same God, who had of old took the Jewish nation into his favour, had now condemned them to destruction. For had he either continued favourable, or been but in a lesser degree displeased with us, he had not overlooked the destruction of so many men, or delivered his most holy city to be burnt, and demolished by our enemies. To be sure we weakly hoped to have preserved ourselves, and ourselves alone, still in a state of freedom ; as if we had been guilty of no sins against God ; nor been partners with those of others. We also taught other men to preserve their liberty. Wherefore, consider how God hath convinced us that our hopes were in vain, by bringing such distress upon us, in

the substance of these discourses, as spoken by Eleazar ; and so Josephus clothed them in his own words. At the lowest they contain the Jewish notions on these heads, as understood then by our historians ; and cannot but deserve a suitable regard from us.

the desperate state we are now in, and which is beyond all our expectations. For the nature of this fortress, which was in itself unconquerable, hath not proved a means of our deliverance. And even while we have still great abundance of food, and a great quantity of arms, and other necessities more than we want, we are openly deprived by God himself of all hope of deliverance. For that fire which was driven upon our enemies, did not, of its own accord, turn back upon the wall which we had built. This was the effect of God's anger against us, for our manifold sins which we have been guilty of in a most insolent and extravagant manner, with regard to our own countrymen. Let us not, therefore, receive our punishment from the Romans, but from God himself, as executed by our own hands. For this will be more moderate than the other. Let our wives die before they are abused; and our children before they have tasted of slavery. And after we have slain them, let us bestow that glorious benefit upon one another mutually; and preserve ourselves in freedom as an excellent funeral monument for us. But first let us destroy our money, and the fortress, by fire. For I am well assured that this will be a grief to the Romans; that they shall not be able to seize upon our bodies, and shall also fail of our wealth. And let us spare nothing but our provisions. For they will be a testimonial, when we are dead, that we are not subdued for want of necessities; but that, according to our original resolution, we have preferred death before slavery."

This was Eleazar's speech to them. Yet did not the opinions of all the auditors acquiesce therein: but although some of them were very zealous to put his advice in practice, and were in a manner filled with pleasure at it, and thought death to be a good thing; yet had those that were most effeminate a commiseration for their wives and families. And when these men were especially moved by the prospect of their own certain death, they looked wistfully at one another; and by the tears that were in their eyes declared their dissent from his opinion. When Eleazar saw these people in such fear; and that their souls were dismayed at so prodigious a proposal; he was afraid lest, perhaps, these effeminate persons should, by their lamentations and tears, enfeeble those that were more courageous. So he did not leave off ex-

horting them ; but stirred up himself ; and, recollecting proper arguments for raising their courage, he undertook to speak more briskly and fully to them, and that concerning the immortality of the soul. So he uttered a lamentable groan ; and fixing his eyes attentively on those that wept, he spake thus : " Truly I was greatly mistaken, when I thought to be assisting to brave men, who struggled hard for their liberty, and to such as were resolved either to live with honour, or else to die. But I find that you are such people as are no better than others, either in virtue, or in courage : and are afraid of dying ; though you be delivered thereby from the greatest miseries. While you ought to make no delay in this matter, nor to await any one to give you good advice. For the laws of our country, and of God himself, have from ancient times, and as soon as ever we could use our reason, continually taught us, and our forefathers have corroborated the same doctrine by their actions, and by their bravery of mind ; that it is life that is a calamity to men, and not death. For this last affords our souls their liberty, and sends them by a removal into their own place of purity ; where they are to be insensible of all sorts of misery. For while souls are tied down to a mortal body, they are partakers of its miseries ; and, to speak the truth, they are themselves dead. For the union of what is divine to what is mortal, is disagreeable. It is true, the power of the soul is great, even when it is imprisoned in a mortal body. For by moving it, after a way that is invisible, it makes the body a sensible instrument ; and causes it to advance farther in its actions than mortal nature could otherwise do. However, when it is freed from that weight which draws it down to the earth, and is connected with it, it obtains its own proper place, and does then become a partaker of that blessed power, and those abilities which are then every way incapable of being hindered in their operations. It continues invisible, indeed, to the eyes of men, as does God himself. For certainly it is not itself seen, while it is in the body : for it is there after an invisible manner ; and when it is freed from it, it is still not seen. It is this soul which hath one nature, and that an incorruptible one. But yet is it the cause of the change that is made in the body : for whatsoever it be which the soul touches, that lives, and flourishes ; and from whatsoever it is removed, that withers away, and dies.

Such a degree is there in it of immortality. Let me produce the state of sleep, as a most evident demonstration of the truth of what I say : wherein souls, when the body does not distract them, have the sweetest rest depending on themselves, and conversing with God, by their alliance to him. They then go every where ; and foretell many futurities beforehand. And why are we afraid of death, while we are pleased with the rest that we have in sleep ? And how absurd a thing is it to pursue after liberty while we are alive ; and yet to envy it to ourselves where it will be eternal ! We, therefore, who have been brought up in a discipline of our own, ought to become an example to others of our own readiness to die. Yet if we do stand in need of foreigners to support us in this matter, let us regard those Indians who profess the exercise of philosophy. For these good men do but unwillingly undergo the time of life, and look upon it as a necessary servitude ; and make haste to let their souls loose from their bodies. Nay, when no misfortune presses them to it, nor drives them upon it, these have such a desire of a life of immortality, that they tell other men beforehand that they are about to depart. And nobody hinders them : but every one thinks them happy men, and gives them letters to be carried to their familiar friends that are dead : so firmly and certainly do they believe that souls converse with one another in the other world. So when these men have heard all such commands that were to be given them, they deliver their body to the fire : and, in order to their getting their soul a separation from the body in the greatest purity, they die in the midst of hymns of commendations made to them. For their dearest friends conduct them to their death, more readily than do any of the rest of mankind conduct their fellow citizens when they are going a very long journey. Who at the same weep on their own account ; but look upon the others as happy persons : as so soon to be made partakers of the immortal order of beings. Are not we, therefore, ashamed to have lower notions than the Indians ? and by our own cowardice to lay a base reproach upon the laws of our country, which are so much desired and imitated by all mankind ? But put the case that we had been brought up under another persuasion, and taught that life is the greatest good which men are capable of, and that death is a calamity : even then the circumstances

we are now in ought to be an inducement to us to bear such calamity courageously: since it is by the will of God, and by necessity, that we are to die. * For it now appears that God hath made such a decree against the whole Jewish nation, that we are to be deprived of this life, which he knew we would not make a due use of. For do not you ascribe the occasion of our present condition to yourselves; nor think the Romans are the true occasion that this war we have had with them is become so destructive to us all. These things have not come to pass by their power; but a more powerful cause hath intervened, and made us afford them an occasion of their appearing to be conquerors over us. What Roman weapons, I pray you, were those by which the *Jews of Cæsarea were slain? On the contrary, when they were no way disposed to rebel, but were all the while keeping their seventh day festival, and did not so much as lift up their hands against the citizens of Cæsarea; yet did those citizens run upon them in great crowds, and cut their throats, and the throats of their wives and children: and this without any regard to the Romans themselves, who never took us for their enemies till we revolted from them. But some may be ready to say, that the people of Cæsarea had always a quarrel against those that lived among them; and that when an opportunity offered, they only satisfied the old rancour they had against them. What then shall we say to those of Scythopolis, who ventured to wage war with us on account of the Greeks? Nor did they do it by way of revenge upon the Romans, when they acted in concert with our countrymen. Wherefore, you see how little our good will and fidelity to them profited us, while they were slain, they and their whole families, after the most inhuman manner: which was all the requital that was made them for the assistance they had afforded the others. For that very same destruction which they had prevented from falling upon the others, did they suffer themselves from them: as if they had been ready to be the actors against them. It would be too long for me to speak at this time of every destruction brought upon us. For you cannot but know,

* See Book II. chap. 18.

that there was not any one *Syrian city, which did not slay their Jewish inhabitants; and were not more bitter enemies to us than were the Romans themselves. Nay, even those of Damascus, when they were able to allege no tolerable pretence against us, filled their city with the most barbarous slaughters of our people; and cut the throats of †eighteen thousand Jews, with their wives and children. And as to the multitude of those that were slain in Egypt, and that with torments also, we have been informed they were more than sixty thousand. Those, indeed, being in a foreign country, and so naturally meeting with nothing to oppose against their enemies, were killed in the aforementioned manner. As for all those of us who have waged war against the Romans, in our own country; had we not sufficient reason to have sure hopes of victory? For we had arms, and walls, and fortresses, so prepared as not to be easily taken, and courage not to be moved by any dangers in the cause of liberty, which encouraged us all to revolt from the Romans. But then these advantages sufficed us but a short time; and only raised our hopes: while they really appeared to be the origin of our miseries. For all we had hath been taken from us, and all hath fallen under our enemies: as if these advantages were only to render their victory over us the more glorious; and were not disposed for the preservation of those by whom those preparations were made. And as for those that are already dead in the war, it is reasonable we should esteem them blessed, for they are dead in defending, and not in betraying, their liberty. But as to the multitude of those that are now under the Romans, who would not make haste to die, before he would suffer the same miseries with them? Some of them have been put upon the rack, and tortured with fire and whippings: and so died. Some have been half devoured by wild beasts, and yet have been reserved alive to be devoured by them a second time; in order to afford laughter and sport to our enemies. And such of those as are alive, still are to be looked on as the most miserable; who, being so desirous of death, could not come at it. And where is

* See Book II. chap. 18. where those of Antioch, Sidon, and Apamia, are excepted.

† See II. 20. where the number of the slain is but ten thousand.

now that great city, the metropolis of the Jewish nation ; which was fortified by so many walls round about ; which had so many fortresses and large towers to defend it ; which could hardly contain the instruments prepared for the war ; and which had so many thousands of men to fight for it ? Where is this city that was believed to have God himself inhabiting therein ? It is now demolished to the very foundations : and hath nothing but that monument of it preserved ; I mean the camp of those that have destroyed it ; which still stands upon its ruins. Some unfortunate old men also lie upon the ashes of the temple ; and a few women are there preserved alive by the enemy, for our bitter shame and reproach. Now who is there that revolves these things in his mind, and yet is able to bear the sight of the sun, though he might live out of danger ? Who is there so much his country's enemy, or so unmanly, and so desirous of living, as not to repent that he is still alive ? And I cannot but wish that we had all died before we had seen that holy city demolished by the hands of our enemies ; or the foundations of our holy temple dug up after so profane a manner. But since we had a generous hope that deluded us ; as if we might perhaps have been able to avenge ourselves on our enemies on that account ; though it be now become vanity, and hath left us alone in this distress, let us make haste to die bravely. Let us pity ourselves, our children, and our wives, while it is in our power to show pity to them. For *we were born to die ; as well as those were whom we have begotten. Nor is it in the power of the most happy of our race to avoid it. But for abuses, and slavery, and the sight of our wives led away after an ignominious manner, with their children, these are not such evils as are natural and necessary among men. Although such as do not prefer death before those miseries, when it is in their power so to do, must undergo even them, on account of their own cowardice. We revolted from the Romans with great pretensions to courage : and when, at the very last, they invited us to preserve ourselves, we would not comply with them. Who will not, therefore, believe

* Roland here sets down a parallel aphorism of one of the Jewish Rabbins, "We are born that we may die ; and die that we may live."

both by the Jews and the Romans, though on different accounts. So Jonathan grew giddy by the pain of his wounds, and fell down upon the body of his adversary; as a plain instance how suddenly vengeance may come upon men that have success in war, without any just deserving the same.

CHAP. III.

CONCERNING A STRATAGEM BY WHICH THE JEWS BURNT MANY OF THE ROMANS; WITH A FARTHER DESCRIPTION OF THE TERRIBLE FAMINE THAT WAS IN THE CITY.

NOW the seditious that were in the temple did every day openly endeavour to beat off the soldiers that were upon the banks; and on the twenty-seventh day of the month Panemus, or Tamuz, contrived the following stratagem. They filled that part of the western cloister which was between the beams, and the roof under them, with dry materials, as also with bitumen and pitch: and then retired from that place, as though they were tired with the pains they had taken. At which procedure of theirs, many of the most inconsiderate among the Romans, as carried away with violent passions, followed hard after them, as they were retiring, and applied ladders to the cloister, and got up to it suddenly. But the more prudent part of them, when they understood this unaccountable retreat of the Jews, stood still where they were before. However, the cloister was full of those that were gone up the ladders. At which time the Jews set it all on fire. And as the flame burst out every where on the sudden, the Romans that were out of the danger were seized with a very great consternation; as were those that were in the midst of the danger in the utmost distress. So when they perceived themselves surrounded with the flames, some threw themselves down backwards into the city, and some among their enemies in the temple: as did many leap down to their own men, and break their limbs to pieces. But a great number of those that were going to take these violent methods were prevented by the fire; while others prevented the fire by their own swords. However, the fire was on the sudden carried so far, as to surround those which would have otherwise perished. As for Cæsar himself, he could not but commiserate those that

thus perished, although they got up thither without any order for so doing, since there was no way of giving them any relief. Yet was this some comfort to those that were destroyed, that every person might see that person grieve, for whose sake they came to their end. For he cried out openly to them, and leaped up, and exhorted those that were about him to do their utmost to relieve them. So every one of them died cheerfully : as carrying along with him these words, and this intention of Cæsar, as a sepulchral monument. Some there were indeed who retired into the wall of the cloister, which was broad, and were preserved out of the fire, but were then surrounded by the Jews ; and although they made resistance against the Jews for a long time, yet were they wounded by them ; and at length they all fell down dead.

At last a young man among them, whose name was Longus, became a decoration to this sad affair ; and while every one of them that perished were worthy of a memorial, this man appeared to deserve it beyond all the rest. The Jews admired this man for his courage, and were farther desirous of having him slain.— So they persuaded him to come down to them, upon security given him for his life. But Cornelius his brother persuaded him, on the contrary, not to tarnish their own glory, nor that of the Roman army. He complied with this last advice ; and lifting up his sword before both armies, he slew himself. Yet was there one Artorius among those surrounded by the fire, who escaped by his subtlety. For he with a loud voice called to him Lucius, one of his fellow soldiers, that lay with him in the same tent, and said to him, “I will leave thee heir of all I have, if thou wilt come, and receive me.” Upon this the man came running to receive him readily. Artorius then threw himself down upon him, and saved his own life : while he that received him was dashed so vehemently against the stone pavement by the other’s weight, that he died immediately. This melancholy accident made the Romans sad for a while ; but still it made them more upon their guard for the future ; and was of advantage to them against the delusions of the Jews : by which they were greatly damaged, through their ignorance of the places, and of the nature of the inhabitants.— Now this cloister was burnt down as far as John’s tower, which he built, in the war he made against Simon, over the gates that led

to the Xystus. The Jews also cut off the rest of that cloister from the temple, after they had destroyed those that got up to it. But the next day the Romans burnt down the northern cloister entirely, as far as the east cloister; whose common angle joined to the valley of Cedron; and was built over it. On which account the depth was frightful. And this was the state of the temple at that time.

Now of those that perished by famine in the city the number was prodigious; and the miseries they underwent were unspeakable. For if so much as the shadow of any kind of food did any where appear, a war was presently commenced; and the dearest friends began fighting about it: snatching from each other the most miserable supports of life. Nor would men believe that those who were dying had no food; but the robbers would search them when they were expiring; lest any one should have concealed food in their bosoms, and counterfeited dying. Nay, these robbers gaped for want, and ran about stumbling and staggering along, like mad dogs; and reeling against the doors of the houses, like drunken men.] They would also, in the great distress they were in, rush into the very same houses, two or three times in the same day. [Moreover, their hunger was so intolerable, that it obliged them to chew every thing; while they gathered and ate such things as the most sordid animals would not touch: nor did they at length abstain from girdles, and shoes; and the very leather which belonged to their shields they pulled off and gnawed. Even whips of old hay became food to some, and some gathered up fibres, and sold a very small weight of them for *four Attic drachmæ. But why do I describe the shameless impudence that the famine brought on men in their eating inanimate things? While I am going to relate a fact, which has no parallel in history,† either among the Greeks or Barbarians. I had, indeed, willingly omitted this calamity of ours, that I might not seem to deliver what is so portentous to posterity: but that I have innume-

* One shekel.

† What Josephus observes here, that no parallel examples had been recorded before his time of such sieges, wherein mothers were forced, by extremity of famine, to eat their own children, as had been threatened to the Jews, in the law of Moses, upon obstinate disobedience, and more than once fulfilled; is by Dr. Hudson sup-

rable witnesses to it in my own age. And besides, my country would have had little reason to thank me, for suppressing the miseries that she underwent at this time.

There was a certain woman named Mary, that dwelt beyond Jordan; her father was Eleazar, of the village Bethzob; which signifies the house of Hyssop. She was eminent for her family, and her wealth; and had fled away to Jerusalem with the rest of the multitude, and was with them besieged therein at this time. The other effects of this woman had been already seized upon; such I mean as she had brought with her out of Perea, and removed to the city. What she had treasured up besides, as also what food she had contrived to save, had been also carried off by the rapacious guards, who came every day running into her house for that purpose. This put the poor woman into a very great passion; and by the frequent reproaches and imprecations she cast at these rapacious villains, she had provoked them to anger against her. But none of them, either out of the indignation she had raised against herself, or out of commiseration of her case, would take away her life. And if she found any food, she perceived her labours were for others, and not for herself: and it was now become impossible for her any way to find any more food, while the famine pierced through her very bowels, and marrow. When also her passion was fired to a degree beyond the famine itself, she consulted with nothing but with her passion, and the necessity she was in. She then attempted a most unnatural thing: and snatching up her son, which was sucking at her breast, she said, "O thou miserable infant! for whom shall I preserve thee, in this war, this famine, and this sedition? As to the war with the Ro-

posed to have had two or three parallel examples in later ages. He might have had more examples, I suppose, of persons on ship-board, or in a desert island, casting lots for each other's bodies. But all this was only in cases where they knew of no possible way to avoid death themselves, but by killing and eating others.—Whether such examples come up to the present case may be doubted. The Romans were not only willing, but very desirous, to grant these Jews in Jerusalem both their lives, and their liberties, and to save both their city, and their temple.—But the zealots, the robbers, and the seditious, would hearken to no terms of submission. They voluntarily chose to reduce the citizens to that extremity, as to force mothers to this unnatural barbarity; which, in all its circumstances, has not, I still suppose, been hitherto paralleled among the rest of mankind.





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FAMINE at JERUSALEM.

mans, if they preserve our lives, we must be slaves. This famine also will destroy us, even before that slavery comes upon us. Yet are these seditious rogues more terrible than both the other. Therefore, be thou my food ; and be thou a fury to these seditious varlets, and a by-word to the world ; which is all that is now wanting to complete the calamities of us Jews." As soon as she had said this, she slew her son, and roasted him, and ate the one half of him, and kept the other half concealed. Upon this the seditious came in presently ; and smelling the scent of this food, they threatened that they would cut her throat immediately, if she did not show them what food she had gotten ready. She replied, that she had saved a very fine portion of it for them : and at the same time uncovered what was left of her son. Hereupon they were seized with horror, and amazement ; and stood astonished at the sight : when she said to them, " This is my own son : and what hath been done was my own doing. Come, eat of this food ; for I have eaten of it myself. Do not you pretend to be either more tender than a woman, or more compassionate than a mother. But if you be so scrupulous, and abominate this my sacrifice ; as I have eaten one half, let the rest be reserved for me also." At these words the men went out trembling ; being never so much affrighted at any thing as they were at this ; and with some difficulty they left the rest of that meat to the mother. Upon which the whole city was full of this horrid action immediately ; and while every body laid this miserable case before their own eyes, they trembled, as if this unheard-of action had been done by themselves. So those that were thus distressed by the famine, were very desirous to die : and those already dead were esteemed happy ; because they had not lived long enough either to hear, or to see such miseries.

This sad story was quickly told to the Romans, some of whom could not believe it ; and others pitied the distress the Jews were under. But there were many of them who were hereby induced to a more bitter hatred than ordinary against our nation. But for Cæsar, he excused himself before God, as to this matter, and said, " I have proposed peace and liberty to the Jews, as well as an oblivion of all their former insolent practices : but they, instead of concord, have chosen sedition ; instead of peace, war ;

and before satiety and abundance, a famine. They have begun with their own hands to burn down that temple which I have preserved hitherto : and, therefore, they have deserved to eat such food as this was. However, this horrid action of eating an own child ought to be covered with the overthrow of their country itself ; and men ought not to leave such a city upon the habitable earth, to be seen by the sun, wherein mothers are thus fed, although such food be fitter for the fathers than for the mothers to eat of ; since it is they that continue still in a state of war against us, after they have undergone such miseries as these." And at the same time that he said this, he reflected on the desperate condition these men must be in. Nor could he expect that such men could be recovered to sobriety of mind, after they had endured those very sufferings, for the avoiding of which it only was probable they might have repented.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE, AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE HOLY HOUSE BY FIRE.

NOW two of the legions had completed their banks, on the eighth day of the month Lous, or Ab. Whereupon Titus gave orders that the battering rams should be brought, and set over against the western edifice of the inner temple. For before these were brought, the firmest of all the other engines had battered the wall* for six days together, without making any impression upon it. But the vast largeness and strong connexion of the stones were superior to that engine, and to the other battering rams also. Other Romans did, indeed, undermine the foundations of the northern gate : and, after immense pains, removed the outermost stones ; yet was the gate still upheld by the inner stones, and stood still unhurt : till the workmen despairing of all such attempts by engines and crows, brought their ladders to the

* Machines or engines were constructed for this purpose. Some in the form of a ram's head, from which circumstance they were called battering rams, were used to make breaches in the walls of fortified places. B.

cloisters. Now the Jews did not interrupt them in so doing : but when they were gotten up, they fell upon them, and fought with them. Some of them they thrust down, and threw them backwards headlong. Others of them they met, and slew. They also beat many of those that went down the ladders again, and slew them with their swords, before they could bring their shields to protect them. Nay, some of the ladders they threw down from above, when they were full of armed men. A great slaughter was made of the Jews also at the same time : while those that bore the ensigns fought hard for them : as deeming it a terrible thing, and what would tend to their great shame, if they permitted them to be stolen away. Yet did the Jews, at length get possession of these engines ; and destroyed those that had gone up the ladders : while the rest were so intimidated by what those suffered who were slain, that they retired. Although none of the Romans died without having done good service before their death. Of the seditious, those that had fought bravely in the former battles did the like now : as besides them did Eleazar, the brother's son of Simon the tyrant. But when Titus perceived that his endeavours to spare a foreign temple turned to the damage of his own soldiers, and made them be killed, he gave order to set the gates on fire.

In the mean time there deserted to him Ananus, who came from Emmaus, the most sanguinary of all Simon's guards ; and Archelaus, the son of Magadatus ; they hoping to be still forgiven, because they left the Jews at a time when they were the conquerors. Titus objected this to these men, as a cunning trick of theirs.— And as he had been informed of their other barbarities towards the Jews, he was going, in all haste, to have them both slain. He told them, that “They were only driven to this desertion because of the extreme distress they were in : and did not come away of their own good disposition. And that those did not deserve to be preserved, by whom their own city was already set on fire : out of which fire they now hurried themselves away.” However, the security he had promised deserters overcame his resentment ; and he dismissed them accordingly ; though he did not give them the same privileges that he had afforded to others. And now the soldiers had already put fires to the gates ; and the silver that was over them quickly carried the flames to the wood that was within

it : whence it spread itself all on the sudden, and caught hold of the cloisters. Upon seeing this fire all about them, the spirits of the Jews sunk, together with their bodies : and they were under such astonishment, that not one of them made any haste either to defend himself, or to quench the fire : but they stood as mute spectators. However, they did not so grieve at the loss of what was now burning, as to grow wiser thereby for the time to come. But as though the holy house itself had been on fire already, they whetted their passions against the Romans. This fire prevailed during that day, and the next also. For the soldiers were not able to burn all the cloisters that were round about, together at one time, but only by parts.

On the next day, Titus commanded part of his army to quench the fire, and to make a road for the more easy marching up of the legions : while he himself gathered the commanders together. Of those were assembled the six principal persons, Tiberius Alexander, the commander, under the general of the whole army, with Sextus Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion ; Larcus Lepidus, the commander of the tenth legion ; and Titus Frigius, the commander of the fifteenth legion. There was also with them Eternius, the leader of the two legions that came from Alexandria, and Marcus Antonius Julianus, procurator of Judea. After these came together also the rest of the procurators, and tribunes. Titus proposed to these, that they should give him their advice what should be done about the holy house. Now some of these thought, it would be the best way to act according to the rules of war, and demolish it : because the Jews would never leave off rebelling, while that house was standing : at which house it was that they used to assemble together. Others were of opinion, that in case the Jews would leave it, and none of them would lay their arms up in it, he might save it : but that in case they got upon it, and fought any more, he might burn it ; because it must then be looked upon not as a holy house, but as a citadel ; and that the impiety of burning it would then belong to those that forced this to be done, and not to them. But Titus said, " Although the Jews should get upon that holy house, and fight us thence, yet ought we not to revenge ourselves on things that are inanimate, instead of the men themselves." And he added, that he was not

in any case for burning down so vast a work as that was : because this would be a mischief to the Romans themselves : as it would be an ornament to their government while it continued. So Fronto, Alexander, and Cerealis, grew bold upon that declaration ; and agreed to the opinion of Titus. Then was this assembly dissolved ; when Titus had given order to the commanders, that the rest of their forces should lie still ; but that they should make use of such as were most courageous in this attack. So he commanded that the chosen men taken out of the cohorts should make their way through the ruins, and quench the fire.

On this day the Jews were so weary, and under such consternation, that they refrained from any attacks. But on the next day they gathered their whole force together, and ran upon those that guarded the outward court of the temple, very boldly, through the east gate ; and this about the second hour of the day. These guards received their attack with great bravery ; and by covering themselves with their shields before, as if it were with a wall, they drew their squadron close together. Yet was it evident that they could not abide there very long ; but would be overborne by the multitude of those that sallied out upon them, and by the heat of their passion. However, Cæsar seeing, from the tower of Antonia, that this squadron was likely to give way, sent some chosen horsemen to support them. Hereupon the Jews found themselves unable to sustain their onset : and upon the slaughter of those in the forefront, many of the rest were put to flight. But as the Romans were going off, the Jews turned upon them, and fought them. And as those Romans came back upon them, they retreated again, until about the fifth hour of the day they were overborne, and shut themselves up in the inner court of the temple.

So Titus retired into the tower of Antonia : and resolved to storm the temple, the next morning, with his whole army : and to encamp round about the holy house. But as for that house, God had, for certain, long ago doomed it to fire. And now that fatal day was come according to the revolution of ages ; it was the *tenth day of the month Lous, or Ab : upon which it was formerly burnt by the king of Babylon. Although these flames

* See Antiquities, X. 8, and Constitut. Apost. V. 20.

took their rise from the Jews themselves, and were occasioned by them. For upon Titus's retiring, the seditious lay still for a little while, and then attacked the Romans again; when those that guarded the holy house fought with those that quenched the fire that was burning the inner court of the temple. But these Romans put the Jews to flight; and proceeded as far as the holy house itself. At which time one of the soldiers, without staying for any orders, and without any concern or dread upon him at so great an undertaking, and being hurried on by a certain divine fury, snatched somewhat out of the materials that were on fire; and being lifted up by another soldier, he set fire to a golden window, through which there was a passage to the rooms that were round about the holy house, on the north side of it. As the flames went upward, the Jews made a great clamour, such as so mighty an affliction required; and ran together to prevent it. And now they spared not their lives any longer; nor suffered any thing to restrain their force, since that holy house was perishing, for whose sake it was that they kept such a guard about it.

Now a certain person came running to Titus, and told him of this fire, as he was reposing in his tent, after the last battle: upon which he arose in great haste, and ran to the holy house; in order to have a stop put to the fire. After him went all his commanders, and after them followed the several legions, in great astonishment. So there was a great clamour and tumult raised, as was natural upon the disorderly motion of so great an army. Then did Cæsar, both by calling to the soldiers that were fighting, with a loud voice; and by giving a signal to them with his right hand, order them to quench the fire. But they did not hear what he said; though he spake so loud: having their ears already dinned by a greater noise another way. Nor did they attend to the signal he made with his hand: some of them being distracted with fighting, and others with passion. But as for the legions that came running thither, neither any persuasion, nor threatenings could restrain their violence: but each one's own passion was his commander at this time. And as they were crowding into the temple together, many of them were trampled on by one another while a great number fell among the ruins of the cloisters which were still hot, and smoking; and were destroyed in the same

miserable way with those whom they had conquered. And when they were come near the holy house, they made as if they did not so much as hear Cæsar's orders to the contrary: but they encouraged those that were before them to set it on fire. As for the seditious, they were in too great distress already to afford their assistance towards quenching the fire. They were every where slain, and every where beaten. And as for a great part of the people, they were weak, and without arms, and had their throats cut wherever they were caught. Now round about the altar lay dead bodies, heaped one upon another: as at the *steps going up to it, ran a great quantity of their blood: whither also the dead bodies that were slain above on the altar fell down.

Now, since Cæsar was no way able to restrain the enthusiastical fury of the soldiers, and the fire proceeded on more and more, he went into the holy place of the temple, with his commanders; and saw it, with what was in it: which he found to be far superior to what had been related by foreigners; and not inferior to what we ourselves boasted of, and believed about it. But as the flame had not as yet reached to its inward parts, but was still consuming the rooms that were about the holy house only; and Titus supposing, that the house itself might yet be saved, he came up in haste, and endeavoured to persuade the soldiers to quench the fire; and gave order to Liberalius the centurion, and one of those spearmen that were about him, to beat the soldiers that were refractory with their staves, and to restrain them. Yet were their passions too strong for the regards they had for Cæsar, and the dread they had of him, who forbade them: as was their hatred of the Jews, and a certain vehement inclination to fight them too hard for them also. Moreover, the hope of plunder induced many to go on; as supposing that all the places within were full of money: and as seeing that all round about it was made of gold. And besides, one of those that went into the place prevented Cæsar, when he ran so

* These steps to the altar of burnt-offering, seems here either an improper and inaccurate expression of Josephus's; since it was unlawful to make ladder steps (see Description of the Temple, Chap. xiii. and note on Antiq. IV. 8.) or else those steps, or stairs we now use, were invented before the days of Herod the Great; and had been here built by him. Though the later Jews always deny it; and say, that even Herod's altar was ascended to by an acclivity only.

hastily out to restrain the soldiers : and threw the fire upon the hinges of the gate, in the dark. The flame now burst out from within the holy house itself : when the commanders retired, and Cæsar with them : and when nobody any longer forbade those that were without to set fire to it. And thus was the holy house burnt down, without Cæsar's approbation.

Now, although any one would justly lament the destruction of such an edifice as this was ; since it was the most admirable of all the buildings that we have seen, or heard ; both for its curious structure, and its magnitude, and also for the vast wealth bestowed upon it, as well as for the glorious reputation it had for its holiness : yet might such an one comfort himself with this thought, that it was *fate that so decreed it to be : which is inevitable, both as to living creatures, and as to works and places also. However, one cannot but wonder at the accuracy of this period thereto relating. For the †same month and day were now observed, as I said before, wherein the holy house was burnt formerly by the Babylonians. Now the number of years that elapsed from its first foundation by king Solomon, till this destruction, which happened in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, are computed to be one thousand, one hundred and thirty ; besides seven months, and fifteen days. And from the second building of it, which was performed by Haggai, in the second year of Cyrus, the king, till its destruction under Vespasian, there were six hundred and thirty-nine years, and forty-five days.

CHAP. V.

OF THE GREAT DISTRESS THE JEWS WERE IN UPON THE CONFLAGRATION OF THEIR HOLY HOUSE.—ALSO CONCERNING A FALSE PROPHET ; AND THE SIGNS THAT PRECEDED THIS DESTRUCTION.

WHILE the holy house was on fire, every thing was plundered that came to hand ; and ten thousand of those that were caught were slain. Nor was there a commiseration of any age, or any

* Or, Providence. † The 10th of the month Ab, A. D. 70.

reverence of gravity : but children and old men, priests and profane persons, were all slain in the same manner. So that this war affected all sorts of men, and brought them to destruction : as well those that made supplication for their lives, as those that defended themselves by fighting. The flame was also carried a long way, and made an echo, together with the groans of those that were slain. And because this hill was high, and the works at the temple were very great, one would have thought the whole city had been on fire. Nor can one imagine any thing either greater or more terrible, than this noise. For there was at once a shout of the Roman legions, who were marching all together ; and a sad clamour of the seditious, who were now surrounded with fire and sword. The people also that were left above were beaten back upon the enemy, and under a great consternation ; and made sad moans at the calamity they were under. The multitude that was in the city joined in this outcry with those that were upon the hill. And besides, many of those that were worn away by the famine, and their mouths almost closed, when they saw the fire of the holy house, exerted their utmost strength, and brake out into groans and outcries again. *Perea did also return the echo : as well as the mountains round about the city : and augmented the force of the general noise. Yet was the misery itself more terrible than this disorder. For one would have thought that the very hill on which the temple stood, was red hot ; as full of fire on every part of it, that the blood was larger in quantity than the fire, and those that were slain more in number than those that slew them. For the ground did nowhere appear visible, for the dead bodies that lay on it ; but the soldiers went over heaps of those bodies, as they ran upon such as fled from them. And now it was that the multitude of the robbers were thrust out of the inner court of the temple by the Romans ; and had much ado to

* This Perea, if the word be not mistaken in the copies, cannot well be that Perea which was beyond Jordan ; whose mountains were at a considerable distance from Jordan, and much too remote from Jerusalem, to join in this echo at the conflagration of the temple ; but Perea must be rather some mountain beyond the brook Cedron ; as was the mount of Olives, or some others, about such a distance from Jerusalem : which observation is so obvious, that it is a wonder our commentators here take no notice of it.

get into the outer court, and from thence into the city. While the remainder of the populace fled into the cloister of that outer court. As for the priests, some of them plucked up from the holy house the spikes* that were upon it; with their bases, which were made of lead; and shot them at the Romans, instead of darts. But then as they gained nothing by so doing; and as the fire burst out upon them; they retired to the †wall, that was eight cubits broad; and there they tarried. Yet did two of those of eminence among them, who might have saved themselves by going over to the Romans, or have borne up with courage, and taken their fortune with the others, throw themselves into the fire, and were burnt, together with the holy house. Their names were Meirus, the son of Belgas; and Joseph the son of Daleus.

Now the Romans, judging that it was in vain to spare what was round about the holy house, burnt all those places: as also the remains of the cloisters, and the gates; two excepted: the one on the east side, and the other on the south. Both of which, however, they burnt afterward. They also burnt down the treasury chambers: in which was an immense quantity of money, and a great number of garments, and other precious goods. And, in a word, there it was that the entire riches of the Jews were heaped up together; while the rich people had there built themselves chambers to contain such furniture. The soldiers also came to the rest of the cloisters that were in the outer court of the temple: whither the women, and children, and a mixed multitude of the people fled, in number about six thousand. But before Cæsar had determined any thing about these people, or given the commanders any orders relating to them, the soldiers were in such a rage, that they set that cloister on fire. By which means some of these were destroyed by throwing themselves down headlong: and some were burnt in the cloisters themselves. Nor did any of them escape with their lives. A false prophet was the occasion *of

* Reland, I think, here judges well; when he interprets these spikes, of those that stood on the top of the holy house, with sharp points: they were fixed into lead to prevent the birds from sitting there, and defiling the holy house. For such spikes there were now upon it; as Josephus himself has already assured us: V. 5.

† See Chap. 3.

‡ Reland here justly takes notice, that those Jews, who had despised the true Prophet, were deservedly abused and deluded by their false ones.

these people's destruction : who had made a public proclamation in the city, that very day, that " God commanded them to get upon the temple ; and that there they should receive miraculous signs of their deliverance." Now there was then a great number of false prophets suborned by the tyrants to impose on the people : who told them, that they should wait for deliverance from God ; and this was in order to keep them from deserting ; and that they might be buoyed up above fear and care by such hopes. Now a man that is in adversity does easily comply with such promises. For when such a seducer makes him believe that he shall be delivered from those miseries which oppress him, then is it that the patient is full of hopes of such a deliverance.

Thus were the miserable people persuaded by these deceivers, and such as belied God himself. While they did not attend, nor give credit to the signs that were so evident, and which plainly foretold their future desolation. But like men infatuated, without either eyes to see, or minds to consider, they did not regard the denunciations that God made to them. Thus there was a *star, resembling a sword, which stood over the city : and a comet that continued a whole year. Thus also before the Jews' rebellion, and before those commotions which preceded the war, when the people were come in great crowds to the feast of unleavened bread, on the †eighth day of the month Xanthicus, Nisan, and the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone round the altar, and the holy house, that it appeared to be bright day, for the space of half an hour. This light seemed to be a good sign to the unskilful ; but was so interpreted by the sacred scribes, as to portend those events that followed immediately upon it. At the same festival also a heifer, as she was led by the high-priest to be sacri-

* Whether Josephus means that this star was different from that comet which lasted a whole year, I cannot certainly determine. His words most favour their being different one from another.

† Since Josephus still uses the Syro-Macedonian month Xanthicus, for the Jewish month Nisan, this 8th, or, as Nicephorus reads it, this 9th of Xanthicus, or Nisan, was almost a week before the Passover, on the 14th. About which time we learn, from St. John, that many used to go " out of the country to Jerusalem, to purify themselves," John xi. 55. with xii. 1. in agreement with Josephus also : V. 3. And it might well be, that in the sight of these this extraordinary light might appear.

ficed, brought forth a lamb, in the midst of the temple. Moreover the eastern gate of the *inner court of the temple, which was of brass, and vastly heavy, and had been with difficulty shut by twenty men, and rested upon a basis armed with iron, and had bolts fastened very deep into the firm floor; which was there made of one entire stone, was seen to open of its own accord, about the sixth hour of the night. Now those that kept watch in the temple came hereupon running to the captain of the temple, and told him of it: who then came up thither: and, not without great difficulty, was able to shut the gate again. This also appeared to the vulgar to be a very happy prodigy: as if God did thereby open them the gate of happiness. But the men of learning understood it, that the security of their holy house was dissolved of its own accord: and that the gate was opened for the advantage of their enemies. So these publicly declared that this signal foreshowed the desolation that was coming upon them. Besides these, a few days after that feast, on the one and twentieth day of the month Artemisius, or Jyar, a certain prodigious and incredible phenomenon appeared: I suppose the account of it would seem incredible, were it not related by those that saw it; and were not the events that followed of so considerable a nature as to deserve such signals. For before sunsetting, chariots, and troops of soldiers in their armour, were seen running about among the clouds, and surrounding of cities. Moreover, at that feast which we call Pentecost, as the priests were going by night into the inner court of the temple, as their custom was, to perform their sacred ministrations, they said, that in the first place they felt a quaking, and heard a great noise; and after that they heard a sound, as of a multitude, saying, "Let us remove hence." But what is still more terrible; there was one Jesus, the son of Ananus, a plebeian, and a husbandman, who, four years before the war began, and at a time when the city was in very great peace and prosperity, came to that feast whereon it is our custom for every one to make tabernacles to God †in the temple; and began on a sudden to cry

* The court of Israel.

† Both Reland and Havercamp, in this place, altar the natural punctuation and sense of Josephus; and this contrary to the opinion of Valesius, and Dr. Hudson:

aloud "A voice from the east ; a voice from the west ; a voice from the four winds ; a voice against Jerusalem and the holy house ; a voice against the bridegrooms, and the brides ; and a voice against this whole people." This was his cry, as he went about by day and by night in all the lanes of the city. However, certain of the most eminent among the populace had great indignation at this cry of his ; and took up the man, and gave him a great number of severe stripes. Yet did not he either say any thing for himself, or any thing peculiar to those that chastised him : but still went on with the same words he had uttered before. Hereupon our rulers, supposing that this was a sort of divine fury in the man, brought him to the Roman procurator, where he was whipped till his bones were laid bare. Yet did not he make any supplication for himself, nor shed any tears ; but turning his voice to the most lamentable tone possible, at every stroke of the whip his answer was, "Wo, wo to Jerusalem." And when Albinus, (for he was then our procurator,) asked him who he was, whence he came, and why he uttered such words ? he made no manner of reply to what he said ; but still continued his exclamations ; till Albinus took him to be a madman, and dismissed him. Now during all the time that passed before the war began, this man did not go near any of the citizens ; nor was seen by them while he said so. But he every day uttered these lamentable words, as if it were his premeditated vow : "Wo, wo to Jerusalem." Nor did he give ill words to any of those that beat him every day, nor good words to those that gave him food : but this was his reply to all men ; and, indeed, no other than a melancholy presage of what was to come. This cry of his was the loudest at the festivals ; and he continued this practice for seven years, and five months ; without growing hoarse, or being tired. Until the very time that he saw his presage

lest Josephus should say, that the Jews built booths or tents within the temple, at the feast of Tabernacles : which the later Rabbins will not allow to have been the ancient practice. But then, since it is expressly told us in Nehemiah, viii. 16. that in still elder times, "the Jews made booths in the courts of the house of God," at that festival ; Josephus may well be permitted to say the same. And, indeed, the modern Rabbins are of very small authority in all such matters of remote antiquity.


in earnest fulfilled in our siege ; when it ceased. For as he was going round upon the wall, he cried out with his utmost force, "Wo, wo to the city again, and to the people, and to the holy house." And just as he added at the last, "Wo, wo to myself also," there came a stone out of one of the engines, and smote him, and killed him immediately. And as he was uttering the very same presages he expired.

Now if any one consider these things, he will find that God takes care of mankind ; and by all ways possible foreshows to our race what is for their preservation ; but that men perish by those miseries which they madly and voluntarily bring upon themselves. For the Jews, by demolishing the tower of Antonia, had made their temple four square : while at the same time they had it written in their sacred oracles, that then should their city be taken, as well as their holy house, when once their temple should become four square. But now what did the most elevate them in undertaking this war, was an ambiguous oracle, that was also found in their sacred writings ; importing that about this time one, from their country, should become governor of the habitable earth. The Jews took this prediction to belong to themselves in particular : and many of the wise men were thereby deceived in their determination. Now this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor in Judea. However, it is not possible for men to avoid fate ; although they see it beforehand. But these men interpreted some of these signals according to their own pleasure, and some of them they utterly despised : until their madness was demonstrated, both by the taking of their city, and their own destruction.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE ACCLAMATIONS OF THE SOLDIERY TO TITUS, ON THEIR SUCCESS.—THE SPEECH THAT TITUS MADE TO THE JEWS, WHEN THEY SUPPLICATED HIS MERCY ; AND THEIR REPLY.

NOW the Romans, upon the flight of the seditious into the city, and upon the burning of the holy house itself, and of all the build-



ings round about it, brought their *ensigns to the temple, and set them over against the eastern gate. And there did they offer sacrifices to them; and there did they make Titus imperator,† with the greatest acclamations of joy. And now all the soldiers had such vast quantities of the spoils, which they had gotten by plunder, that in Syria a pound weight of gold was sold for half its former value. But as for those priests that kept themselves still upon the ‡wall of the holy house, there was a boy that, out of the thirst he was in, desired some of the Roman guards to give him their right hands, as a security for his life; and confessed he was very thirsty. These guards commiserated his age, and the distress he was in: and gave him their right hands accordingly. So he came down himself, and drank some water: and filled the vessel he had with him when he came to them with water, and then went off, and fled away to his own friends. Nor could any of those guards overtake him: but still they reproached him, for his perfidiousness. To which he made this answer, "I have not broken the agreement; for the security I had given me was not in order to my staying with you, but only in order to my coming down safely, and taking up some water: both which things I have performed, and thereupon think myself to have been faithful to my engagement." Hereupon those whom the child had imposed upon admired his cunning; and that on account of his age. On the fifth day after, the priests that were pined with the famine came down; and when they were brought to Titus by the guards, they begged for their lives. But he replied, "that the time of pardon was over, as to them: and that this very holy house, on whose account only they could justly hope to be preserved, was

* Take Havercamp's note here. "This," says he, "is a remarkable place." And Tertullian truly says in his *Apologetic*, chap. xvi. p. 162, that "The entire religion of the Roman camp almost consisted in worshipping the ensigns; in swearing by the ensigns; and in preferring the ensigns before all the other gods." See what Havercamp says upon that place of Tertullian.

† This declaring Titus imperator by the soldiers, upon such signal success, and the slaughter of such a vast number of enemies, was according to the usual practice of the Romans in like cases, as Reland assures us on this place.

‡ The Jews of later times agree with Josephus, that there were hiding places, or secret chambers about the holy house, as Reland here informs us: where he thinks he has found these very walls described by them.

destroyed : and that it was agreeable to their office that priests should perish with the house to which they belonged." So he ordered them to be put to death.

But as for the tyrants, and those that were with them, when they found that they were encompassed on every side ; and, as it were, walled round, without any method of escaping, they desired to treat with Titus by word of mouth. Accordingly, such was the kindness of his nature, and his desire of preserving the city from destruction, joined to the advice of his friends, who now thought the robbers were come to a temper, that he placed himself on the western side of the outer court of the temple. For there were gates on that side, above the Xystus ; and a bridge that connected the upper city to the temple. This bridge it was that lay between the tyrants, and Cæsar, and parted them. While the multitude stood on each side : those of the Jewish nation about Simon and John, with hopes of pardon ; and the Romans about Cæsar, in great expectation how Titus would receive their supplication. So Titus charged his soldiers to restrain their rage, and to let their darts alone : and appointed an interpreter between them, which was a sign that he was the conqueror : and first began the discourse, and said, "I hope you, Sirs, are now satiated with the miseries of your country ; who have not had any just notions either of our great power, or of your own weakness ; but have, like madmen, after a violent and inconsiderate manner, made such attempts, as have brought your people, your city, and your holy house, to destruction. You have been the men that have never left off rebelling since Pompey first conquered you. And have since that time made open war with the Romans. Have you depended on your multitude, while a very small part of the Roman soldiery have been strong enough for you ? Have you relied on the fidelity of your confederates ? And what nations are there, out of the limits of our dominion, that would choose to assist the Jews before the Romans ? Are your bodies stronger than ours ? Nay, you know that the strong Germans themselves are our servants. Have you stronger walls than we have ? What greater obstacle is there than the wall of the ocean, with which the Britons are encompassed ? and yet they venerate the arms of the Romans. Do you exceed us in courage of soul, and in the sagacity of your

commanders? Nay, indeed, you cannot but know, that the very Carthagenians have been conquered by us. It can, therefore, be nothing certainly but the kindness of us Romans which hath excited you against us. We in the first place have given you this land to possess; in the next place we have set over you kings of your nation; and in the third place we have preserved the laws of your forefathers to you; and have withal permitted you to live either by yourselves, or among others, as it should please you. And, what is our chief favour of all, we have given you leave to gather up that *tribute which is paid to God; with such other gifts that are dedicated to him. Nor have we called those that carried these donations to account: nor prohibited them. Till at length you became richer than ourselves, even when you were our enemies: and you made preparations for war against us with our own money. Nay, after all, when you were in the enjoyment of all these advantages, you turned your too great plenty against those that gave it you; and, like merciless serpents, have thrown out your poison against those that treated you kindly. I suppose, therefore, that you might despise the slothfulness of Nero, and, like limbs of the body that are broken or dislocated, you did then lie quiet, waiting for some other time; though still with a malicious intention: and have now showed your distemper to be greater than ever, and have extended your desires as far as your impudent and immense hopes would enable you to do it. At this time my father came into this country; not with a design to punish you for what you had done under Cestius, but to admonish you. For had he come to overthrow your nation, he had hastened directly to your fountain head; and had immediately laid this city waste. Whereas he went and burnt Galilee, and the neighbouring parts; and thereby gave you time for repentance: but this instance of humanity you took for an argument of his weakness; and nourished up your impudence by our mildness. On the decease of Nero you did as the wickedest wretches would have done, and encouraged your-

* Spanheim notes here, that the Romans used to permit the Jews to collect their sacred tribute, and send it to Jerusalem. Of which we have had abundant evidences in Josephus already, on other occasions.

selves to act against us by our civil dissensions : and abused that time when both I and my father were gone away for Egypt, to make preparations for this war. Nor were you ashamed to raise disturbances against us when we were made emperors : and this while you had experienced how mild we had been, when we were no more than generals of the army. But when the government had devolved upon us, and all other people did thereupon lie quiet ; and even foreign nations sent embassies, and congratulated our access to the government, then did you show yourselves to be our enemies. You sent embassies to those of your nation that are beyond Euphrates, to assist you in raising disturbances. New walls were built round your city ; seditions arose ; one tyrant contended against another ; and a civil war brake out among you : such, indeed, as became none but so wicked a people as you are. I then came to this city, as unwillingly sent by my father, and received melancholy injunctions from him. When I heard that the people were disposed to peace, I rejoiced at it. I exhorted you to leave off your proceedings before I began this war. I spared you, even when you had fought against me a great while. I gave my right hand, as security to the deserters. I observed what I had promised faithfully. When they fled to me, I had compassion on many of those I had taken captive. I tortured those that were eager for war, in order to restrain them. It was unwillingly that I brought my engines of war against your walls. I always prohibited my soldiers when they were set upon your slaughter, from their severity against you. After every victory I persuaded you to peace, as though I had been myself conquered. When I came near your temple, I again departed from the laws of war, and exhorted you to spare your own sanctuary, and to preserve your holy house to yourselves. I allowed you a quiet exit out of it ; and security for your preservation. Nay, if you had a mind, I gave you leave to fight in another place. Yet have you still despised every one of my proposals ; and have set fire to your holy house with your own hands. And now, vile wretches, do you desire to treat with me by word of mouth ? To what purpose is it, that you would save such a holy house as this was, which is now destroyed ? What preservation can you now desire after the destruction of your temple ? Yet do you stand still at this very time

in your armour. Nor can you bring yourselves so much as to pretend to be supplicants, even in this your utmost extremity. O miserable creatures! what is it you depend on? Are not your people dead? Is not your holy house gone? Is not your city in my power? And are not your own lives in my hands? And do you still deem it a part of valour to die? However, I will not imitate your madness. If you will throw down your arms, and deliver up your bodies to me, I grant you your lives. And I will act like a mild master of a family: what cannot be healed shall be punished; and the rest I will preserve for my own use."

To this offer of Titus's they replied, that they could not accept of it, because they had sworn never to do so. But they desired they might have leave to go through the wall that had been made about them, with their wives and children. For that they would go into the desert, and leave the city to him. At this Titus had great indignation: that when they were in the case of men already taken captives, they should pretend to make their own terms, as if they had been conquerors. So he ordered proclamation to be made to them: that they should no more come out to him as deserters; nor hope for any farther security. For that he would henceforth spare nobody; but fight them with his whole army: and that they must save themselves as well as they could. For that he would from henceforth treat them according to the laws of war.*

Accordingly he gave orders to the soldiers both to burn, and to plunder the city: and on the next day, set fire to the repository of the archives, to Acra, to the council house, and to the place called Opblas: at which time the fire proceeded as far as the palace of queen Helena, which was in the middle of Acra. The lapas also were burnt down; as were also those houses that were full of the dead bodies of such as were destroyed by famine.

On the same day the sons and brethren of Izates the king, together with many others of the eminent men of the populace, got

* The laws of war have, at least in modern times, been made to vary too much according to the circumstances of the hostile parties. But when such principles and regulations as are common to all are respected, even the rigour of war may be softened. B.

under ground : whither, if they could once flee, they did not expect to be searched for : but hoped, that after the whole city should be destroyed, and the Romans gone away, they might come out again, and escape from them. This, however, was no better than a dream of theirs. For they were not able to lie hid either from God, or from the Romans. However, they depended on these subterraneous retreats, and set more places on fire than did the Romans themselves. And those that fled out of their houses, thus set on fire, into the ditches, they pillaged and killed without mercy. And if they discovered food belonging to any one, they seized upon it, and swallowed it down, together with their blood also. Nay, they were now come to fight one with another about their plunder. And I cannot but think that had not their destruction prevented it, their barbarity would have made them taste of even the dead bodies themselves.

CHAP. VIII.

CÆSAR CAUSES BANKS TO BE RAISED ROUND ABOUT THE UPPER CITY ; AND BY THE AID OF HIS MACHINES MAKES HIMSELF MASTER OF THE WHOLE PLACE.

WHEN Cæsar perceived that the upper *city was so steep, that it could not possibly be taken without raising banks against it, he distributed the several parts of that work among his army : and this on the twentieth day of the month Lous, or Ab. Now the carriage of the materials was a difficult task : since all the trees that were about the city, within the distance of a hundred furlongs, had their branches cut off already, in order to make the former banks. The works that belonged to the four legions were erected on the west side of the city ; over against the royal palace. But the whole body of the auxiliary troops, with the rest of the multitude that were with them, erected their banks at the Xystus : whence they reached to the bridge, and that tower of Simon which he had built, as a citadel for himself, against John, when they were at war one with another.

* Mount Sion.

It was at this time that the commanders of the Idumeans got together privately, and took counsel about surrendering up themselves to the Romans. Accordingly they sent five men to Titus; and entreated him to give them his right hand for their security. So Titus thinking that the tyrants would yield, if the Idumeans, upon whom a great part of the war depended, were once withdrawn, after some reluctance and delay, complied with them; and gave them security for their lives; and sent the five men back.— But as these Idumeans were preparing to march out, Simon perceived it, and immediately slew the five men that had gone to Titus; and took their commanders, and put them in prison: of whom the most eminent was Jacob, the son of Sosas. But as for the multitude of the Idumeans, who did not know what to do now their commanders were taken, he had them watched; and secured the walls by a more numerous garrison. Yet could not that garrison resist those that were deserting. For although a great number of them were slain, yet were the deserters many more in number. These were all received by the Romans; because Titus himself grew negligent as to his former orders, and because the very soldiers grew weary of killing them: and because they hoped to get some money by sparing them. For they left only the populace: and *sold the rest of the multitude, with their wives and children; and every one of them for a very low price: and that because such as were sold were very numerous, and the buyers very few. And although Titus had previously made proclamation that no deserter should come by himself; that so they might bring out their families with them; yet did he receive such as these also. However, he set over them such as were

* This innumerable multitude of Jews that were sold by the Romans, were an eminent completion of God's ancient threatening by Moses; that if they apostatized from their obedience to his laws, they should be sold unto their enemies for bondmen and bondwomen: Deut. xxviii. 68. See more especially the note on Chap. 9. But one thing is here peculiarly remarkable, that Moses adds, though they should be sold for slaves, yet no man should buy them: i. e. either they should have none to redeem them from this sale into slavery: or rather that the slaves to be sold should be more than were the purchasers for them: and so they should be sold for little or nothing. Which is what Josephus here affirms to have been the case at this time.

to distinguish some from others : in order to see if any of them deserved to be punished. And indeed the number of those that were sold was immense. But of the populace above forty thousand were saved ; whom Cæsar permitted to go whither every one of them pleased.

At this time it was, that one of the priests, the son of Thebutus, whose name was Jesus ; upon having security given him by the oath of Cæsar that he should be preserved, upon condition that he should deliver to him certain of the *precious things that had been deposited in the temple, came out of it, and delivered him from the wall of the holy house two candlesticks ; like to those that lay in the holy house : with tables, cisterns, and vials, all made of solid gold, and very heavy. He also delivered to him the veils, and the garments ; with the precious stones, and a great number of other precious vessels that belonged to their sacred worship. The treasurer of the temple also, whose name was Phineas, was seized on, and showed Titus the coats, and girdles of the priests : with a great quantity of purple, and scarlet, which were there deposited for the uses of the veil : as also a great quantity of †cinnamon, cassia, and other sweet spices, which used to be mixed together, and offered as incense to God every day. A great many other treasures were also delivered to him ; with sacred ornaments of the temple, not a few. Which things thus delivered to Titus, obtained of him for this man the same pardon that he had allowed to such as deserted of their own accord.

Now the banks were finished, on the seventh day of the month Gorpheus, or Elul, in eighteen days' time : when the Romans brought their machines against the wall. But for the seditious, some of them, as despairing of saving the city, retired from the wall to the citadel ; and others went down into the subterranean

* What became of these spoils of the temple, that escaped the fire, see Josephus himself hereafter, VII. 5. and Reland, *De Spoliis Templi*, page 129—138.

† These various sorts of spices, even more than those four which Moses prescribed, Exod. xxxi. 34. we see were used in the public worship under Herod's temple, particularly cinnamon, and cassia ; which Reland takes particular notice of, as agreeing with the later testimony of the Talmudists.

vaults : though still a great many defended themselves against those that brought the engines for the battery. Yet did the Romans overcome them, by their number, and by their strength : and what was the principal thing of all, by going cheerfully about their work, while the Jews were quite dejected, and become weak.— Now as soon as a part of the wall was battered down, and certain of the towers yielded to the impression of the battering rams, those that opposed themselves fled away ; and such a terror fell upon the tyrants, as was much greater than the occasion required. For before the enemy got over the breach they were quite stunned, and were immediately for fleeing away. And now one might see these men, who had hitherto been so insolent and arrogant in their wicked practices, to be cast down, and to tremble : insomuch that it was affecting to observe the change that was made in those vile persons. Accordingly they ran with great violence upon the *Roman wall that encompassed them ; in order to force away those that guarded it ; and to break through it, and get away. But when they saw that those who had formerly been faithful to them were gone away : (as, indeed, they were fled whithersoever the great distress they were in persuaded them to flee :) as also when those that came running before the rest told them, that the western wall was entirely overthrown : while others said the Romans were gotten in ; and others that they were near, and looking out for them ; which were only the dictates of their fear, which imposed upon their sight : they fell upon their face, and greatly lamented their own mad conduct : and their nerves were so terribly loosened, that they could not flee away. And here one may reflect on the power of God exercised upon these wicked wretches ; and on the good fortune of the Romans. For these tyrants did not wholly deprive themselves of the security they had in their own power ; and came down from those very towers of their own accord, wherein they could have never been taken by force ; nor, indeed, any other way than by famine. And thus did the Romans, when they had taken such great pains about weaker walls, get by good fortune what they could never have gotten by their engines.

* See Book V. chap. 12.

For three of these towers were too strong for all mechanical engines whatever.

So they now left these towers of themselves, or rather they were ejected out of them by God himself, and fled immediately to that valley which was under Siloam. Where they again recovered themselves out of the dread they were in for a while, and ran violently against that part of the Roman wall which lay on that side. But as their courage was too much depressed to make their attacks with sufficient force, and their power was now broken with fear and affliction; they were repulsed by the guards; and dispersing themselves at distances from each other, went down into the subterranean caverns. So the Romans being now become masters of the walls, they both placed their ensigns upon the towers, and made joyful acclamations for the victory they had gained: as having found the end of this war much lighter than its beginning. For when they had gotten upon the last wall, without any bloodshed, they could hardly believe what they found to be true; but seeing nobody to oppose them, they stood in doubt what such an unusual solitude could mean. But when they went in numbers into the lanes of the city, with their swords drawn, they slew those whom they overtook without mercy; and set fire to the houses whither the Jews were fled, and burnt every person in them, and laid waste a great many of the rest: and when they were come to the houses to plunder them, they found in them entire families of dead men; and the upper rooms full of corpses, of such as died by the famine. They then stood in horror at this sight; and went out, without touching any thing. But although they had this commiseration for such as were destroyed in that manner, yet had they not the same for those that were still alive: but they ran every one through whom they met with; and obstructed the very lanes with their dead bodies; and made the whole city run down with blood, to such a degree, indeed, that the fire of many of the houses was quenched with these men's blood.] And so it happened, that though the slayers left off at the evening: yet did the fire greatly prevail in the night. And as all was burning, came that eighth day of the month Gorpheus, or

Elul,* upon Jerusalem; a city that had been liable to so many miseries during this siege, that had it always enjoyed as much happiness from its first foundation, it would certainly have been the envy of the world. Nor did it on any other account so much deserve these sore misfortunes, as by producing such a generation of men as were the occasions of this its overthrow.

CHAP. IX.

OF CÆSAR'S CONDUCT ON THE REDUCTION OF THE CITY; THE NUMBER OF THE CAPTIVES, AND OF THOSE THAT PERISHED IN THE SIEGE; ALSO CONCERNING THOSE THAT HAD ESCAPED INTO THE SUBTERRANEAN CAVERNS; AMONG WHOM WERE THE TYRANTS, SIMON AND JOHN.

NOW when Titus was come into the upper city, he admired several places of strength in it, and particularly those strong towers which the tyrants in their mad conduct, had relinquished. For when he saw their †solid altitude, and the largeness of their several stones, and the exactness of their joints; as also how great was their breadth, and how extensive their length, he expressed himself after the manner following: "We have certainly had God for our assistant in this war: and it was no other than God who ejected the Jews out of these fortifications. For what could the hands of men, or any machines, do towards overthrowing these towers?" At which time he had many such discourses to his friends. He also let such go free, as had been bound by the tyrants, and were left in prison. To conclude, when he entirely demolished the rest of the city, and overthrew its walls, he left these towers as a monument of his good fortune; which had proved his auxiliaries; and enabled him to take what could not otherwise have been taken by him.

And now, since the soldiers were already tired with killing men, and yet there appeared to be a vast multitude still remaining alive; Cæsar gave orders, that they should kill none but those

* A. D. 70. Thirty seven-years and a half after the crucifixion of the Messiah.

† See Book V. chap. 4.

that were in arms, but should take the rest alive. But, together with those whom they had orders to slay, they slew the aged, and the infirm. But for those that were in their flourishing age; and who might be useful to them, they drove them together into the temple; and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women. Over which Cæsar set one of his freed-men; as also Fronto, one of his own friends: which last was to determine every one's fate according to his merits. So this Fronto slew all those that had been seditious, and robbers, who were impeached one by another. But of the young men, he chose out the tallest, and most beautiful; and reserved them for the triumph. And as for the rest of the multitude, that were above seventeen years old, he put them into bonds, and sent them to the *Egyptian mines. Titus also sent a great number into the provinces, as a present to them: that they might be destroyed upon their theatres by the sword, and by the wild beasts. But those that were under seventeen years of age, were sold for slaves. Now during the days wherein Fronto was distinguishing these men, there perished, for want of food, eleven thousand. Some of whom did not taste any food through the hatred their guards bore to them: and others would not take any when it was given them. The multitude also was so very great, that they were in want even of corn for their sustenance.

Now the †number of those that were carried captive, during this whole war, was computed to be ninety-seven thousand: as was the number of those that perished during the whole siege eleven

* See the several predictions, that the Jews, if they became obstinate in their idolatry and wickedness, should be sent again, or sold into Egypt, for their punishment; Deut. xxviii. 68; Jer. xlv. 7; Hos. viii. 13; ix. 3; xi. 5. Ead. xv. 10—13, with Authentic Records, Part I. page 49, 121, and Reland, Palestina, Tom. II. page 715.

† The whole multitude of Jews that were destroyed during the entire seven years before this time, in all the countries of, and bordering on, Judea, is summed up by archbishop Usher, from Lypsius, out of Josephus, at the year of Christ 70, and amounts to 1,337,390. Nor could there have been that number of Jews in Jerusalem to be destroyed in this siege, as will be presently set down by Josephus, but that both Jews and proselytes of justice were just then come up out of the other countries of Galilee, Samaria, Judea, and Perea, and other remoter regions to the Passover, in vast numbers: and therein cooped up, as in prison, by the Roman army: as Josephus himself well observes elsewhere, V. 3.

hundred thousand. The greater part of whom were, indeed, of the same nation with the citizens of Jerusalem : but not belonging to the city itself. For they were come up from all the country to the feast of unleavened bread ; and were on a sudden shut up by an army ; which at the very first occasioned so great a straitness among them, that there came a pestilential destruction upon them ; and soon afterward such a famine as destroyed them more suddenly. And that this city could contain so many people in it, is manifest by that number of them, which was taken under Cestius. Who being desirous of informing Nero of the flower of the city, who otherwise was disposed to condemn that nation, entreated the high-priests, if the thing were possible, to take the number of their whole multitude. So these high-priests did so upon the coming of that feast which is called the Passover, when they slay their sacrifices, from the ninth hour till the eleventh ; but so that a company not less than *ten, belonging to every sacrifice : (for it is not lawful for them to feast singly by themselves.) And many of us are twenty in a company. Now, the number of sacrifices was two hundred and fifty-six thousand, and five hundred : which, upon the allowance of no more than ten that feasted together, amounts to †two millions, seven hundred thousand, and two hundred persons that were pure and holy. For as to those that have the leprosy, or the gonorrhœa ; or such as are otherwise polluted, it is not lawful for them to be partakers of this sacrifice. Nor, indeed, for any foreigners who come hither to worship.

* This number of a company for one paschal lamb, between 10 and 20, agrees exactly with the number 13, at our Saviour's last Passover. As to the whole number of the Jews, that used to come up to the Passover, and eat of it at Jerusalem, see the note on II. 14. This number ought to be here, indeed, just ten times the number of the lambs, or just 2,565,000, by Josephus's own reasoning. Whereas it is, in his present copies, no less than 2,700,000, which last number, is however, nearest the other number in the place now cited, which is 3,000,000. But what is here chiefly remarkable is this, that no foreign nation ever came thus to destroy the Jews at any of their solemn festivals, from the days of Moses till this time ; but came now upon their apostasy from God, and from obedience to him. See the note on II. 19. Nor is it possible, in the nature of things, that in any other nation such vast numbers should be gotten together, and perish in the siege of any one city whatsoever, as now happened in Jerusalem.

† Two millions, five hundred and sixty-five thousand.

Now this vast multitude is, indeed, collected out of remote places. But the entire nation was now shut up by fate, as in a prison ; and the Roman army encompassed the city when it was crowded with inhabitants. Accordingly the multitude of those that therein perished exceeded all the destructions that either men or God ever brought upon the world. For, to speak only of what was publicly known, the Romans slew some of them ; some they carried captives ; and others they made a search for under ground : and when they found where they were they broke up the ground, and slew all they met with. There were also found slain there above two thousand persons : partly by their own hands, and partly by one another : but chiefly destroyed by the famine. But then, the stench of the dead bodies was so offensive to those that found them, that some were obliged to get away immediately : while others were so greedy of gain, that they would go in among the corpses that lay on heaps, and tread upon them. For a great deal of treasure was found in these caverns : and the hope of gain made every way of getting it to be esteemed lawful. Many also of those that had been put in prison by the tyrants were now brought out. For they did not leave off their barbarous cruelty at the very last. Yet did God avenge himself upon them both, in a manner agreeable to justice. As for John, he wanted food, together with his brethren, in these caverns ; and begged that the Romans would now give him their right hand for his security, which he had often proudly rejected before. But as for Simon, he struggled hard with the distress he was in, till he was forced to surrender himself, as we shall relate hereafter. So he was reserved for the triumph, and to be then slain : as was John condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And now the Romans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and burnt them down, and entirely demolished its walls.

CHAP. X.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY OF JERUSALEM.

THUS was Jerusalem taken, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month Gorpheus, or Elul.* It had been taken †five times before; though this was the second time of its desolation. For Shishak, king of Egypt, and after him Antiochus, and after him Pompey, and after them Sosius and Herod, took the city: but still preserved it. But before all these, the king of Babylon conquered it, and made it desolate: one thousand, four hundred, sixty-eight years, and six months, after it was first built. But he who ‡first built it was a potent man among the Canaanites; and is in our own tongue called Melchisedeck, the Righteous King. For such he really was. On which account he was there the first priest of God; and first built a temple there, and called the city Jerusalem: which was formerly called Salem. However, David, king of the Jews, ejected the Canaanites, and settled his own people therein. It was demolished entirely by the Babylonians, four hundred, seventy-seven years, and six months after him. And from king David, who was the first of the ||Jews who reigned therein, to this destruction under Titus, were one thousand, one hundred, and seventy-nine years. But

* A. D. 70.

† Besides these five here enumerated, who had taken Jerusalem of old, Josephus, upon farther recollection, reckons a sixth, Antiq. XII. 1, who should have been here inserted in the second place: I mean Ptolemy, the son of Lagus.

‡ Why the great Bochart should say, De Pœnic. Colon. II. 4, that "There are in this clause of Josephus as many mistakes as words," I by no means understand. Josephus thought Melchisedeck first built, or rebuilt, and adorned this city, and that it was then called Salem: as Psal. lxxvi. 2, that it afterward came to be called Jerusalem; and that Melchisedeck, being a priest as well as a king, built to the true God therein a temple, or place for public divine worship and sacrifice. All which things may be very true, for aught we know to the contrary. And for the word *ἱερὸν*, or temple, as if it must needs belong to the great temple built by Solomon long afterward; Josephus himself uses *ναὸς* for the small tabernacle of Moses, Antiq. III. 6. He also here presently uses *ἱερὸν* for a large splendid synagogue of the Jews at Antioch only, VII. 3.

|| Of the tribe of Judah.

from its first building till this last destruction, were two thousand, one hundred, and seventy-seven years. Yet hath not its great antiquity, nor its vast riches, nor the diffusion of its *nation over all the habitable earth ; nor the greatness of the veneration paid to it on a religious account, been sufficient to preserve it from being destroyed. And thus ended the siege of Jerusalem.

* Or, Glory.

N. B. This is the proper place for such as have closely attended to these latter books of the war, to peruse, and that with equal attention, those distinct and plain predictions of Jesus of Nazareth, in the Gospels thereto relating, as compared with their exact completions in Josephus's History. Upon which completions, as Dr. Whitby well observes, Annot. on Matt. xxiv. 2, no small part of the evidence for the truth of the Christian religion depends.

THE
JEWISH WAR.

BOOK VII.

Containing an Interval of about three Years.

FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS, TO THE SEDITION
OF THE JEWS AT CYRENE.

CHAP. I.

OF THE DEMOLITION OF THE ENTIRE CITY OF JERUSALEM EX-
CEPTING THREE TOWERS.—ALSO OF THE COMMENDATIONS
WHICH TITUS BESTOWED ON HIS SOLDIERS, AND HIS LIBE-
RAL DISTRIBUTION OF REWARDS.

NOW as soon as the army had no more people to slay, or to plunder, because there remained none to be the objects of their fury; (for they would not have spared any, had there remained any other such work to be done :) Cæsar gave orders that they should demolish the entire city and temple: but should leave as many of the towers standing as were of the greatest eminency, viz. Phasaelus, Hippicus, and Mariamne: and so much of the wall as inclosed the city on the west side. This wall was spared, in order to afford a camp for such as were to lie in garrison: as were the towers also spared in order to denominate to posterity what kind of city it was, and how well fortified, which the Roman valour had subdued. But for all the rest of the wall, it was so completely levelled with the ground, by those that dug it up to the foundation, that there was left nothing to make those who came thither believe it had ever been inhabited. This was the end which Jerusalem came to, by the madness of those that were for

innovations : *a city otherwise of great magnificence, and of mighty fame among all mankind.

Cæsar now resolved to leave there, as a guard, the tenth legion ; with certain troops of horsemen, and companies of footmen. So having entirely completed this war, he was desirous to commend his whole army, on account of the great exploits they had performed ; and to bestow proper rewards on such as had signalized themselves therein. He had, therefore an elevated tribunal made for him in the midst of the place where he had formerly encamped, and stood upon it with his principal commanders about him ; and spake so as to be heard by the whole army in the manner following : “ That he returned them abundance of thanks for their good will, which they had showed to him. He commended them for that ready obedience they had exhibited in this whole war : which obedience had appeared in the many and great dangers which they had undergone ; as also for that courage they had shown, and had thereby augmented of themselves their country’s power ; and had made it evident to all men, that neither the multitude of their enemies, the strength of their places, the largeness of their cities, nor their rash boldness and brutish rage, were sufficient at any time to get clear of the Roman valour : although some of them might have fortune in many respects on their side. He said farther, that it was but reasonable for them to put an end to this war, now it had lasted so long : for that they had nothing better to wish for when they entered into it. And that this happened more favourably for them, and more for their glory, that all the Romans had willingly accepted of those for their governors, and the curators of their dominions, whom they had chosen for them, and had sent into their own country for that purpose ; which still continued under the management of those whom they had chosen, and were thankful to them for electing them. That accordingly, although he did both admire, and tenderly regard them all, because he knew that every one of them had gone as cheerfully about their work, as their abilities and opportunities would give them

* This was the immediate cause of the ruin of the Jewish capital. But it was only the effect of their long existing and provoking obduracy. God punished them by rendering their stubbornness the principal instrument of their destruction. B.

leave ; yet he said he would immediately bestow rewards and dignities on those that fought the most bravely and with greater force, and had signalized their conduct in the most glorious manner, and had made his army more famous by their noble exploits : and that no one who had been willing to take more pains than another, should miss of a just retribution for the same. For that he had been exceeding careful about this matter : and that the more, because he had much rather reward the virtues of his fellow soldiers, than punish such as offended."

Hereupon Titus ordered those, whose business it was, to read the list of all that had performed great exploits in this war. He then called them to him by their names, and commended them before the company ; and rejoiced in them in the same manner as a man would have rejoiced in his own exploits. He also put on their heads crowns of gold, and golden ornaments about their necks, and gave them long spears of gold, and ensigns that were made of silver, and removed every one of them to a higher rank. And besides this, he plentifully distributed among them, out of the spoils and the other prey they had taken, silver and gold, and garments. So when they had all these honours bestowed on them, according to his own appointment made to every one, and he had wished all sorts of happiness to the whole army, he came down, among the great acclamations which were made to him : and then betook himself to offer thank offerings to the gods, and at once sacrificed a vast number of oxen, that stood ready at the altars ; and distributed them among the army to feast on. And when he had staid three days among the principal commanders, and so long feasted with them, he sent away the rest of his army to the several places where they would be every one best situate : but permitted the tenth legion to remain, as a guard at Jerusalem ; and did not send them away beyond Euphrates, where they had been before. And as he remembered that the twelfth legion had given way to the Jews, under Cestius their general, he expected them out of all Syria : for they had lain formerly at *Raphanea : and sent them away to a place called Meletine, near Euphrates ; which is in the limits of Armenia and Cappadocia. He also

* See Chap. 5.

thought fit that two of the legions should stay with him, till he should go into Egypt. He then went down with his army to that Cæsarea which lay by the sea-side ; and there laid up the rest of his spoils in great quantities ; and gave order that the captives should be kept there : for the winter season hindered him then from sailing into Italy.

CHAP. II.

**TITUS EXHIBITS ALL SORTS OF SHOWS AT CÆSAREA PHILIPPI.—
ALSO CONCERNING THE SEIZURE OF SIMON THE TYRANT.**

NOW at the same time that Titus Cæsar lay at the siege of Jerusalem, Vespasian went on board a merchant ship, and sailed from Alexandria to Rhodes. Whence he sailed away in ships with three rows of oars ; and as he touched at several cities that lay in his road, he was joyfully received by them all ; and so passed over from Ionia into Greece. He then set sail from Corcyra, to the promontory of Iapyx ; whence he took his journey by land. But as for Titus, he marched from that Cæsarea which lay by the sea-side, and came to that which is named Cæsarea Philippi, and staid there a considerable time, and exhibited all sorts of shows there. And here a great number of the captives were destroyed : some being thrown to wild beasts ; and others in multitudes forced to kill one another, as if they were their enemies. And here it was that Titus was informed of the seizure of Simon, the son of Gioras : which was made after the following manner :

This Simon, during the siege of Jerusalem, was in the †upper city. But when the Roman army was gotten within the walls, and were laying the city waste, he then took the most faithful of his friends with him, and among them some that were stone-cutters, with those iron tools which belonged to their occupation ; and as great a quantity of provisions as would suffice them for a long time, and let himself and all of them down into a certain subterraneous cavern, that was not visible above ground. Now so

* Mount Sion.

far as had been dug of old, they went onward along it, without disturbance; but where they met with solid earth, they dug a mine under ground: and this in hopes that they should be able to proceed so far, as to rise from under ground in a safe place, and by that means escape. But when they came to make the experiment, they were disappointed of their hope. For the miners could make but small progress, and that with difficulty also. In-somuch that their provisions, though they distributed them by measure, began to fail. And now Simon thinking he might be able to astonish and delude the Romans, put on a white frock, and buttoned upon him a purple cloak, and appeared out of the ground, in the place where the temple had formerly been. At the first indeed, those that saw him were greatly astonished, and stood still where they were. But afterward they came nearer to him, and asked who he was? Now Simon would not tell them, but bade them call for their captain. And when they ran to call him, *Terentius Rufus, who was left to command the army there, came to Simon, and learned of him the whole truth, and kept him in bonds: and let Cæsar know that he was taken. Thus did God bring this man to be punished, for what bitter and savage tyranny he had exercised against his countrymen, by those who were his worst enemies; and this while he was not subdued by violence, but voluntarily delivered himself up to them to be punished; and that on the very same account that he had laid false accusations against many Jews, as if they were falling away to the Romans, and had barbarously slain them. For wicked actions do not escape the divine anger, nor is justice too weak to punish offenders: but in time overtakes those that transgress its laws, and inflicts its punishments upon the wicked in a manner so much more severe, as they expected to escape it, on account of their †not being punished immediately. Simon was made sensible of this, by falling under the indignation of the Romans. This

* This Terentius Rufus, as Reland in part observes here, is the same person whom the Talmudists call Turnus Rufus; of whom they relate, that "He ploughed up Sion as a field; and made Jerusalem become as heaps; and the mountain of the house as the high places of a forest." Which was long before foretold by the prophet Micah, iii. 12, and quoted from him in the prophecies of Jeremiah, xxvi. 18.

† See Eccles. viii. 11.

rise of his out of the ground did also occasion the discovery of a great number of others of the seditious at that time, who had hid-den themselves under ground. But Simon was brought to Cæsar in bonds, when he was come back to that Cæsarea which was on the sea-side ; who gave order that he should be kept against that triumph which he was to celebrate at Rome upon this occasion.

CHAP. III.

OF THE DESTRUCTION OF MANY OF THE JEWS UPON THE CELEBRATION OF DOMITIAN'S AND VESPASIAN'S BIRTH-DAYS.—ALSO CONCERNING THE DANGER THE JEWS WERE IN AT ANTIOCH, BY MEANS OF THE TRANSGRESSIONS AND IMPIETY OF ONE ANTIOCHUS.

WHILE Titus was at Cæsarea he solemnized the *birth-day of his brother Domitian, after a splendid manner ; and inflicted a great deal of the punishment intended for the Jews in honour of him : for the number of those that were now slain in fighting with the beasts, and were burnt, and fought with one another, exceeded two thousand five hundred. Yet did all this seem to the Romans, when they were thus destroyed ten thousand several ways, to be a punishment beneath their deserts. After this Cæsar came to †Berytus, which is a city of Phœnicia, and a Roman colony ; and staid there a long time, and exhibited a still more pompous solemnity about his father's ‡birth-day, both in the magnificence of

* This birth-day of Domitian fell upon December 30, as says Archbishop Usher at A. D. 70, and from him Dr. Hudson. How the archbishop and the doctor came to think so I cannot devise : since Suetonius says he was born on the 9th of the calends of November, i. e. on October 24.

† This Berytus was certainly a Roman colony : and has coins extant that witness the same : as Hudson and Spanheim inform us. See the note on Antiq. XVI. 11.

‡ This birth-day of Vespasian's is here changed out of Archbishop Usher, on the year 71, from his real birth-day, which Suetonius says fell on the 16th of the calends of December, i. e. the 17th of November, to the day of his proclamation or inauguration : which indeed both Tacitus and Suetonius place on the calends of July. So I suppose that the doctor and the archbishop mean no more by this birth-day of Vespasian, than that of his government, or inauguration. Though in the former case about Domitian this interpretation can have no place : because he was not now inaugurated into any government, nor in several years afterward.

the shows, and in the other vast expenses he was at in his devices thereto belonging. So that a great multitude of the captives were here destroyed after the same manner as before.

It happened also about this time, that the Jews who remained at Antioch, were under accusations, and in danger of perishing, from the disturbances that were raised against them by the Antiochians; and this both on account of the slanders spread abroad at this time against them; and on account of what pranks they had played not long before: which I am obliged to describe without fail, though briefly: that I may the better connect my narration of future actions with those that went before.

For as the Jewish nation is widely dispersed over all the habitable earth, among its inhabitants; so it is very much intermingled with Syria, by reason of its neighbourhood; and had the greatest multitudes in Antioch, by reason of the largeness of the city; wherein the kings, after Antiochus, had afforded them a habitation, with the most undisturbed tranquillity. For though Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, laid Jerusalem waste, and spoiled the temple; yet did those that succeeded him in the kingdom restore all the donations that were made of brass to the Jews of Antioch, and dedicated them to their synagogue, and granted them the enjoyment of equal privileges of citizens with the Greeks themselves. And as the succeeding kings treated them after the same manner, they both multiplied to a great number, and adorned their *temple gloriously by fine ornaments, and with great magnificence, in the use of what had been given them. They also made proselytes of a great many of the Greeks perpetually; and thereby, after a sort, brought them to be a portion of their own body. But about this time when the present war began, and Vespasian was recently sailed to Syria, and all men had taken up a great hatred against the Jews; then it was that a certain person, whose name was Antiochus, being one of the Jewish nation, and greatly respected on account of his father, who was †governor of the Jews

* Their synagogue. See the note on VI. 10.

† The Jews at Antioch and Alexandria, the two principal cities in all the east, had allowed them, both by the Macedonians, and afterward by the Romans, a governor of their own; who was exempt from the jurisdiction of the other civil governors. He was called sometimes barely governor, sometimes ethnarch, and at

at Antioch, came upon the theatre at a time when the people of Antioch were assembled together ; and became an informer against his father, and accused both him and others, that they had resolved to burn the whole city in one night : he also delivered up to them some Jews that were foreigners, as partners in their resolutions. When the people heard this, they could not restrain their passion, but commanded that those who were delivered up to them should have fire brought to burn them : who were accordingly all burnt upon the theatre immediately. They also fell violently upon the multitude of the Jews ; as supposing that by punishing them suddenly they should save their own city. As for Antiochus, he aggravated the rage they were in ; and thought to give them a demonstration of his own conversion, and of his hatred of the Jewish customs, by sacrificing after the manner of the Greeks. He persuaded the rest also to compel them to do the same ; because they would by that means discover who they were that had plotted against them ; since they would not do so. And when the people of Antioch tried the experiment, some few complied : but those that would not do so were slain. As for Antiochus himself, he obtained soldiers from the Roman commander, and became a severe master over his own citizens ; not permitting them to rest on the seventh day ; but forcing them to do all that they usually did on other days. And to that degree of distress did he reduce them in this matter, that the rest of the seventh day was dissolved, not only at Antioch ; but the same thing, which took thence its rise, was done in other cities also for some small time.

Now after these misfortunes had happened to the Jews of Antioch, a second calamity befell them : for upon this accident, whereby the four-square market-place was burnt down, as well as the archives, and the place where the public records were preserved, and the royal palaces ; and it was not without difficulty that the fire was then put a stop to, which was likely, by the fury wherewith it was carried along, to have gone over the whole city ; Antiochus accused the Jews, as the occasion of all the mischief

Alexandria alabarch : as Dr. Hudson takes notice on this place, out of Fuller's *Miscellanies*. They had the like governor or governors allowed them at Babylon, under their captivity there : as the history of Susanna implies.

that was done. Now this induced the people of Antioch, who were under the immediate persuasion, by reason of the disorder they were in, that this calumny was true ; and would have been under the same persuasion, even though they had not borne an ill will at the Jews before, to believe this man's accusation ; especially when they considered what had been done before ; and this to such a degree, that they all fell violently upon those that were accused ; and this, like madmen, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city. Nor was it without difficulty that one Cneus Collegas, the legate, could prevail with them to permit the affairs to be laid before Cæsar.—For as to *Cesennius Petus, the president of Syria, Vespasian had already sent him away. And so it happened that he was not yet come back thither. But when Collegas had made a careful inquiry into the matter, he found out the truth : and that not one of those Jews that were accused by Antiochus had any hand in it : but that all was done by some vile persons greatly in debt ; who supposed, that if they could once set fire to the market-place, and burn the public records, they should have no farther demands made upon them. So the Jews were under great disorder, and terror, in the uncertain expectations of what would be the result of these accusations against them.

CHAP. IV.

OF VESPASIAN'S RECEPTION AT ROME: THE REVOLT AND SUBJECTION OF THE GERMANS ; AND THE IRRUPTION OF THE SARMATIANS INTO MYSIA.

NOW Titus Cæsar, upon the news that was brought him concerning his father, that his coming was much desired by all the Italian cities ; and that Rome especially received him with great alacrity and splendour, betook himself to rejoicing and pleasures, to a great degree ; as being happily freed from his solicitude.—For all men that were in Italy showed their respect to him in their

* There is a coin still preserved of this Cesennius Petus, when he was proconsul : as Spanheim here informs us.

minds, before he came thither ; as if he were already come ; as esteeming the very expectation they had of him to be his real presence, on account of the great desire they had to see him ; and because the good will they bore him was entirely free and unconstrained. For it was a desirable thing to the senate, who well remembered the calamities they had undergone in the late changes of their governors, to receive a governor who was adorned with the gravity of old age, and with the highest skill in the actions of war, whose advancement would tend, as they knew, to the preservation of those that were to be governed. Moreover, the people had been so harassed by their civil miseries, that they were still more earnest for his coming immediately : as supposing they should then be firmly delivered from their calamities, and believing they should recover their secure tranquillity and prosperity. And for the soldiery, they had the principal regard to him ; for they were chiefly apprised of his military exploits. And since they had experienced the want of skill and courage in other commanders, they were very desirous to be freed from that great shame they had undergone by their means ; and heartily wished to receive such a prince as might be a security and an ornament to them. And as this good will to Vespasian was universal, those that enjoyed any remarkable dignities could not have patience enough to stay in Rome, but made haste to meet him at a very great distance from it. Nay, indeed, none of the rest could endure the delay of seeing him ; but did all pour out of the city in such crowds, and were so universally possessed with the opinion that it was easier and better for them to go out than to stay there, that this was the very first time that the city joyfully perceived itself almost emptied of its citizens. For those that staid within were fewer than those that went out. But as soon as the news was come that he was in the vicinity, and those that had met him at first related with what good humour he received every one that came to him ; then it was that the whole multitude that had remained in the city, with their wives and children, came into the road, and waited for him there. And those whom he passed made all sorts of acclamations, on account of the joy they had to see him, and the pleasantness of his countenance ; and styled him their benefactor, and saviour ; and the only person who was worthy to be a ruler of the

city of Rome. And now the city was like a temple, full of garlands, and sweet odours. Nor was it easy for him, on account of the multitude, to come to the royal palace, where yet at last he performed his sacrifices of thanksgiving to his household gods, for his safe return. The multitude did also betake themselves to feasting: which feasts, and drink-offerings they celebrated by their tribes, their families, and their neighbourhoods; and still prayed God to grant, that Vespasian, his sons, and all their posterity, might continue in the Roman government for a very long time: and that his dominion might be preserved from all opposition. And this was the manner in which Rome so joyfully received Vespasian; and thence grew immediately into a state of great prosperity.

But before this time, and while Vespasian was about Alexandria, and Titus was lying at the siege of Jerusalem, a great multitude of the Germans were in commotion, and tended to rebellion. And as the Gauls in their neighbourhood joined with them, they conspired together, and had thereby great hopes that they should free themselves from the dominion of the Romans. The motives that induced the Germans to this attempt for a revolt, and for beginning the war, were these: In the first place the nature of the people, which was destitute of just reasonings, and ready to throw themselves rashly into danger upon small hopes. In the next place the hatred they bore to those that were their governors: while their nation had never been conscious of subjection to any, but to the Romans; and that by compulsion also. Besides these motives, it was the opportunity that now offered itself, which above all the rest prevailed with them so to do. For when they saw the Roman government in a great internal disorder, by the continual changes of its rulers; and understood that every part of the habitable earth under them was in an unsettled and tottering condition, they thought this the best opportunity they could offer for themselves to make a sedition, when the state of the Romans was so ill. *Classicus also, and Vitellius, two of their commanders,

* This Classicus, and Civilis, and Cerealis, are names well known in Tacitus.—The two former, as moving sedition against the Romans; and the last as sent to repress them by Vespasian: just as they are here described in Josephus. Which is the

puffed them up with such hopes. These had, for a long time, been openly desirous of such an innovation ; and were induced by the present opportunity to venture upon the declaration of their sentiments. The multitude was also ready ; and when these men told them of what they intended to attempt, that news was gladly received by them. So when a great part of the Germans had agreed to rebel, and the rest were no better disposed ; Vespasian, as guided by divine providence, sent letters to Petilius Cerealis, who had formerly had the command of Germany : whereby he declared him to have the dignity of consul, and commanded him to take upon him the government of Britain. So he went whither he was ordered to go : and when he was informed of the revolt of the Germans, he fell upon them, as soon as they were gotten together, and put his army in battle array, and slew a great multitude of them in the fight, and forced them to leave off their madness, and to grow wiser. Nay, had he not fallen thus suddenly upon them on the place, it had not been long ere they would, however, have been brought to punishment. For as soon as the news of this revolt was come to Rome, and Cæsar Domitian was made acquainted with it, he made no delay, though he was exceeding young ; but undertook this weighty affair. He had a courageous mind from his father, and had made greater improvements than belonged to such an age. Accordingly he marched against the Barbarians immediately. Whereupon their hearts failed them at the very rumour of his approach ; and they submitted themselves to him with fear ; and thought it a happy thing that they were brought under their old yoke again without suffering any farther mischiefs. When, therefore, Domitian had settled all the affairs of Gaul in such good order, that it would not be easily put into disorder any more,

case also of Fonteius Agrippa, and Rubrius Gallus in the next page. But as to the very favourable account presently given of Domitian ; particularly as to his designs in this his Gallic and German expedition ; it is not a little contrary to that in Suetonius, *Vespas.* §7. Nor are the reasons unobvious that might occasion this great diversity. Domitian was one of Josephus's patrons : and, when he published these books of the Jewish war, was very young, and had hardly begun those wicked practices, which rendered him so infamous afterward. While Suetonius seems to have been too young, and too low in life, to receive any remarkable favours from him. As Domitian was certainly very lewd, and cruel, and generally hated when Suetonius wrote about him.

he returned to Rome, with honour and glory : as having performed such exploits as were above his own age, but worthy of so great a father.

At the same time with the forementioned revolt of the Germans, did the bold attempt of the Scythians against the Romans occur. For those Scythians who are called Sarmatians, being a very numerous people, transported themselves over the Danube into Mysia, without being perceived. After which, by their violence, and unexpected assault, they slew a great many of the Romans that guarded the frontiers : and as the consular legate Fonteius Agrippa came to meet them, and fought courageously against them, he was slain by them. They then overran all the region that had been subject to him ; tearing and rending every thing that fell in their way. But when Vespasian was informed of what had happened, and Mysia was laid waste ; he sent away Rubrius Gallus to punish these Sarmatians. By whose means many of them perished in the battles he fought against them ; and that part which escaped fled with fear to their own country. So when this general had put an end to the war, he provided for the future security of the country. For he placed more and more numerous garrisons in the place ; till he made it altogether impossible for the Barbarians to pass over the river any more. And thus had this war in Mysia a sudden conclusion.

CHAP. V.

OF THE SABBATIC RIVER, WHICH TITUS SAW AS HE WAS JOURNEYING THROUGH SYRIA ; AND HIS REJECTION OF THE PETITION PREPARED AGAINST THE JEWS OF ANTIOCH.—ALSO CONCERNING TITUS'S AND VESPASIAN'S TRIUMPH.

TITUS Cæsar, having tarried some time at Berytus, removed thence, and exhibited magnificent shows in all those cities of Syria through which he went ; and made use of the captive Jews as public instances of the destruction of that nation. He then saw a river, as he went along, of such a nature as deserves to be recorded in history. It runs in the middle between Arcea, belonging to Agrippa's kingdom, and Raphanea. It hath somewhat

very peculiar in it : for when it runs, its current is strong, and has plenty of water ; after which its springs fail for six days together, and leave its channel dry, as any one may see. After these days, it runs on the seventh day as it did before, and as though it had undergone no change at all : it hath also been observed to keep this order perpetually, and exactly. Whence it is that they call it the *Sabbatic River : that name being taken from the sacred seventh day among the Jews.

When the people of Antioch were informed that Titus was approaching, they were so rejoiced that they could not keep within their walls ; but hastened to give him the meeting : nay, they proceeded as far as thirty furlongs, and more, with that intention. These were not the men only ; but a multitude of women also, with their children, did the same. And when they saw him coming up to them, they stood on both sides of the way, and stretched out their right hands, saluting him, and making all sorts of acclamations, and turned back together with him. They also, among all the acclamations they made to him, besought him all the way he went to eject the Jews out of their city. Yet did not Titus at all yield to this petition ; but gave them the bare hearing of it quietly. However, the Jews were in a great deal of fear, under the uncertainty they were in, what his opinion was, and what he would do to them. For Titus did not stay at Antioch, but continued his progress immediately to Zeugma, which lies upon Euphrates ; whither came to him messengers from Vologeses king of Parthia, and brought him a crown of gold, upon the victory he had gained over the Jews : which he accepted of, and feasted the king's messengers, and then came back to Antioch. And when the senate and people of Antioch earnestly entreated him to come upon their theatre, where their whole multitude was assembled, and expected him, he complied with great humanity. But when they

* Since in these latter ages this Sabbatic river, once so famous, which, by Josephus's account here, ran every seventh day, and rested six : but according to Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxi. 11. ran perpetually on six days, and rested every seventh : (though it no way appears by either of their accounts that the seventh day of this river was the Jewish seventh day, or sabbath ;) is quite vanished, I shall add no more about it ; only see Dr. Hudson's note. In Varenus's Geography, l. 17. the reader will find several instances of such periodical fountains and rivers ; though none of their periods were that of a just week ; as of old this appears to have been.

pressed him, with much earnestness, and continually begged of him that he would eject the Jews out of their city, he gave them this very pertinent answer: "How can this be done, since that country of theirs, whither the Jews must then be obliged to retire, is destroyed, and no place will receive them besides?" Hereupon the people of Antioch, when they had failed of success in this their first request, made him a second. For they desired that he would order those tables of brass to be removed, on which the Jews' privileges were engraven. However, Titus would not grant that neither: but permitted the Jews of Antioch to continue to enjoy the same privileges in that city which they had before: and then departed for Egypt. And as he came to Jerusalem in his progress, and compared the melancholy condition he saw it then in, with the ancient glory of the city; and called to mind the greatness of its present ruins, as well as its ancient splendour, he could not but lament its destruction: so far was he from boasting, that so great and goodly a city as that was, had been by him taken by force. Nay he frequently cursed those that had been the authors of their revolt; and had brought such a punishment upon the city. Inasmuch that it openly appeared that he did not desire that such a calamity, as this punishment of theirs amounted to, should be a demonstration of his courage. Yet was there no small quantity of the riches that had been in that city still found among its ruins; a great deal of which the Romans dug up: but the greatest part was discovered by those who were captives, and so they carried it away. I mean the gold, and the silver, and the rest of that most precious furniture which the Jews had, and which the owners had treasured up under ground,* against the uncertain fortunes of war.

So Titus took the journey he intended to Egypt; and passed over the desert very suddenly, and came to Alexandria, and took

* The Eastern people appear to have considered this as the most secure method of preserving their property. It was accordingly very generally practised; and hence is an opinion now generally prevalent in those countries that great treasures lie hid in the earth. This is the reason why it is so dangerous for travellers to dig or open the ground, because it is supposed they are influenced by covetousness, and are searching for wealth. B.

up a resolution to go to Rome by sea. And as he was accompanied by two legions, he sent each of them again to the places whence they had before come. The fifth he sent to Mysia, and the fifteenth to Pannonia. As for the leaders of the captives, Simon and John, with the other seven hundred men, whom he had selected out of the rest, as being eminently tall, and handsome of body, he gave order that they should soon be carried to Italy; as resolving to produce them in his triumph. So when he had had a prosperous voyage, to his mind, the city of Rome behaved itself in his reception, and their meeting him at a distance, as it did in the case of his father. But what made the most splendid appearance in Titus's opinion was, when his father met him, and received him. But still the multitude of the citizens conceived the greatest joy, when they saw them all *three together: as they did at this time. Nor were many days past, when they determined to have but one triumph that should be common to †both of them; on account of the glorious exploits they had performed; although the senate had decreed each of them a separate triumph by himself. So when notice had been previously given of the day appointed for this pompous solemnity on account of their victories, not one of the immense multitude was left in the city; but every body went out so far as to gain only a station where they might stand; and left only such a passage as was necessary for those that were to be seen to go along it.

Now all the soldiery marched out by companies, and in their several ranks, under their respective commanders, in the night time: and were about the gates, not of the upper palaces, but those near the temple of Isis. For there it was that the Emperors had rested the preceding night. And as soon as it was day, Vespasian and Titus came out, crowned with laurel, and clothed in those ancient purple habits which were proper to their family: and then went as far as Octavian's walks. For there it was that the senate, the principal rulers, and those that had been recorded as of the equestrian order, waited for them. Now a tribunal had been erected before the cloisters, and ivory chairs had been set up-

* Vespasian and his two sons, Titus and Domitian.

† Vespasian and Titus.

on it. And when they came and sat down upon them, the soldiery made an acclamation of joy, and all gave them attestations of their valour. While they were themselves without their arms, and only in their silk garments, and crowned with laurel. Vespasian accepted of these shouts of theirs. But while they were still disposed to go on in such acclamations, he gave them a signal of silence: and when every body held their peace, he stood up; and covering the greatest part of his head with his cloak, he put up the accustomed solemn prayers. The like prayers did Titus put up also. After which prayers Vespasian made a short speech to the people; and then sent away the soldiers to a dinner prepared for them by the emperors. Then did he retire to that gate which was called the gate of the pomp: because pompous shows always go through it. There it was that they took some refreshment; and when they had put on their triumphal garments, and had offered sacrifices to the gods that were placed at the gate, they sent the triumph forward, and marched through the theatres; that they might be the more easily seen by the multitudes.

Now it is impossible to describe the multitude of the shows, as they deserve; and the magnificence of them: such indeed as a man could not easily think of, as performed either by the labour of workmen, the variety of riches, or the rarities of nature. For almost all such curiosities as the most happy men ever get by degrees were here heaped on one another; and those both admirable, and costly in their nature: and as all brought together on that day, demonstrated the vastness of the dominions of the Romans. For here was to be seen a prodigious quantity of silver, gold, and ivory, contrived into all sorts of things; and did not appear as carried along in pompous show only, but, as a man may say, running along like a river. Some parts were composed of the rarest purple hangings, and so carried along: and others accurately represented what was embroidered by the art of the Babylonians. There were also precious stones that were transparent, some set in crowns of gold, and some in other ouches, as the workmen pleased. And of these such a vast number were brought, that we could not but thence learn how vainly we imagined any of them to be rarities. The images of the gods were also carried, being as well wonderful for their largeness, as made very artificially, and with

great skill of the workmen. Nor were any of these images of any other than very costly materials. And many species of animals were brought, every one in their own natural ornaments. The men also who brought every one of these shows were great multitudes, and adorned with purple garments, interwoven with gold. Those that were chosen for carrying these pompous shows having also about them such magnificent ornaments, as were both extraordinary and surprising. Besides these, one might see that even the great number of the captives was not unadorned : while the variety that was in their garments, and their fine texture, concealed from the sight the deformity of their bodies. But what afforded the greatest surprise of all was the structure of the pageants that were borne along. For indeed he that met them could not but be afraid that the bearers would not be able firmly to support them ; such was their magnitude. For many of them were so made, that they were on three, or even four stories, one above another. The magnificence also of their structure excited both pleasure and surprise. For upon many of them were laid carpets of gold. There were also wrought gold, and ivory, fastened about them all. And many resemblances of the war, and those in several ways, and variety of contrivances, affording a most lively portraiture of it. For there was to be seen a happy country laid waste, and entire squadrons of enemies slain ; while some of them ran away, and some were carried into captivity : with walls of great altitude and magnitude overthrown, and ruined by machines ; with the strongest fortifications taken ; and the walls of most populous cities upon the tops of hills seized on ; and an army pouring itself within the walls : as also every place full of slaughter ; and supplications of the enemies, when they were no longer able to lift up their hands in way of opposition. Fire also sent upon temples was here represented ; and houses overthrown, and falling upon their owners : rivers also, after they came out of a large and melancholy desert, ran down, not into a land cultivated, nor as drink for men, or for cattle, but through a land still on fire upon every side. For the Jews related that they had undergone such a thing during this war. Now the workmanship of these representations was so magnificent and lively, in the construction of the things, that it exhibited what had been

done to such as did not see it, as if they had been there really present. On the top of every one of these pageants was placed the commander of the city that was taken, and the manner wherein he was taken. Moreover there followed those pageants a great number of ships. And for the other spoils, they were carried in great plenty. But those that were taken in the temple of Jerusalem, made the greatest figure of them all. That is the golden table, of the weight of many talents. The candlestick also, that was made of gold : though its construction were now changed from that which we made use of. For its middle shaft was fixed upon a basis : and the small branches were produced out of it to a great length : having the likeness of a trident in their position, and had every one a socket made of brass for a lamp at the tops of them. These lamps were in number seven ; and represented the dignity of the number seven among the Jews. And the last of all the spoils was carried the law of the Jews. After these spoils passed by a great many men, carrying the images of victory : whose structure was entirely of ivory, or of gold. After which Vespasian marched in the first place, and Titus followed him. Domitian also rode along with them ; and made a magnificent appearance, and rode on a horse that was worthy of admiration.

Now the last part of this pompous show was at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus ; whither, when they were come, they stood still. For it was the Romans' ancient custom to stay till somebody brought the news, that the general of the enemy was slain. This general was Simon, the son of Gioras : who had then been led in this triumph among the captives. A rope had also been put upon his head, and he had been drawn to a proper place in the forum ; and he had been tormented by those that drew him along. And the law of the Romans required, that malefactors condemned to die should be slain there. Accordingly when it was related that there was an end of him, and all the people had set up a joyful shout, they began to offer those sacrifices which they had consecrated, in the prayers used in such solemnities : and when they had finished, they went away to the palace. And as for some of the spectators, the emperors entertained them at their own feast : and for all the rest there were noble preparations made for their feasting at home. For this was a festival day to

the city of Rome : as celebrated for the victory obtained by their army over their enemies ; for the end that was now put to their civil miseries ; and for the commencement of their hopes of future prosperity and happiness.

After these triumphs were over, and the affairs of the Romans were settled on the surest foundations, Vespasian resolved to build a temple to Peace. Which was finished in so short a time, and so glorious a manner, as was beyond all human expectation. For, having now by Providence a vast quantity of wealth ; besides what he had formerly gained in his other exploits ; he had this temple adorned with pictures and statues. For in this temple were collected and deposited all such rarities as men formerly used to wander all over the habitable world to see, when they had a desire to see one of them after another. He also laid up therein those golden vessels and instruments that were taken out of the Jewish temple, as ensigns of his glory. But still he gave order that they should lay up their law, and the purple veils of the holy place, in the royal palace ; and keep them there.

CHAP. VI.

LUCILIUS BASSUS BEING SENT INTO JUDEA, REDUCES THE CITADEL OF MACHERUS, AND OTHER PLACES.

NOW *Lucilius Bassus was sent as legate into Judea : and there he received the army from Cerealis Vitellianus ; and took that citadel which was in Herodium, together with the garrison that was in it. After this he got together all the soldiery that was there, (which was a large body, but dispersed into several parties ;) with the tenth legion, and resolved to make war upon Macherus. For it was highly necessary that this citadel should be demolished ; lest it might be a means of drawing many into a rebellion, by reason of its strength. For the nature of the place was very capable of affording the surest hopes of safety to those that possessed it ; as well as delay and fear to those that should attack it. For what was walled in was itself a very rocky hill,

* This Lucilius Bassus is mentioned by Tacitus more than once.

elevated to a great height : which circumstance alone made it very hard to be subdued. It was also so contrived by nature, that it could not be easily ascended. For it is, as it were, ditched about with such valleys on all sides, and to such a depth, that the eye cannot reach their bottoms ; and such as are not easily to be passed over ; and even such as it is impossible to fill up with earth. For that valley which cuts it on the west, extends to sixty furlongs, and did not end till it came to the lake Asphaltites. On the same side it was also, that Macherus had the tallest top of its hill elevated above the rest. But then for the valleys that lay on the north and south sides, although they be not so large as that already described, yet is it in like manner an impracticable thing to think of getting over them. And for the valley that lies on the east, its depth is not less than a hundred cubits. It extends as far as a mountain that lies over against Macherus, with which it is bounded.

Now when Alexander Janneus, the king of the Jews, observed the nature of this place, he was the first who built a citadel here : which afterward was demolished by *Gabinius, when he made war against Aristobulus. But when Herod came to be king, he thought the place to be worthy of the utmost regard, and of being built up in the firmest manner ; and this especially, because it lay so near to Arabia. For it is seated in a convenient place on that account ; and hath a prospect toward that country. He therefore surrounded a large space of ground with walls, and towers ; and built a city there. Out of which city there was a way that led up to the citadel itself, on the top of the mountain. Nay, more than this, he built a wall round that top of the hill ; and erected towers at the corners, of a hundred and sixty cubits high. In the middle of which place he built a palace, after a magnificent manner : wherein were large and beautiful edifices. He also made a great many reservoirs, for the reception of water ; that there might be plenty of it ready for all uses ; and those in the properest places. Thus did he, as it were, contend with the nature of the place, that he might exceed its natural strength and security by those fortifications which were made by the hands of men. Moreover,

* See Book I. chap. 8.

he put a large quantity of darts, and other machines of war, into it : and contrived to get every thing thither that might any way contribute to the security of its inhabitants, under the longest siege possible.

Now within this palace there grew a sort of *rue, that deserves our notice on account of its largeness. For it was no way inferior to any fig-tree, either in height or thickness. And the report is, that it had lasted ever since the times of Herod : and would probably have lasted much longer had it not been cut down by those Jews, who took possession of the place afterward. But still in that valley, which encompasses the city on the north side, there is a certain place called Baaras; which produces a †root of the same name with itself. Its colour is like that of flame; and, towards the evening, it sends out a certain ray like lightning. It is not easily taken by such as would do it, but recedes from their hands. Nay, it is certain death to those that touch it, unless any one take and bang the root itself down from his hand, and so carry it away. The usual mode of taking it is this. They dig a trench quite round about it, till the hidden part of the root be very small. They then tie a dog to it : and when the dog tries hard to follow him that tied him, this root is easily plucked up; but the dog dies immediately : as if it were instead of the man that would take the plant away. Nor after this need any one be afraid of taking it into their hands. Yet after all this pains in getting, it is only valuable on account of one virtue it hath, that, if it be only brought to the sick persons, it quickly drives away those called demons, which are no other than the spirits of the wicked, that enter into men that are alive, and kill them; unless they can obtain some help against them. Here are also fountains of hot water, that flow out of this place, which have a very differ-

* Spanheim observes here, that in Græcia Major and Sicily they had rue prodigiously great, and durable; like this rue at Macherus.

† This strange account of the place and root Baaras, seems to have been taken from the magicians; and the root to have been made use of in the days of Josephus in that superstitious way of casting out demons, supposed, by him, to have been derived from king Solomon. Of which we have already seen he had a great opinion, *Antiq. VIII. 2.* We also may hence learn the true notion Josephus had of demons and demoniacs; exactly like that of the Jews and Christians in the New Testament, and the first four centuries. See *Antiquities. VI. 8. XI. 2.*

ent taste one from the other: for some of them are bitter, and others sweet. Here are also many eruptions of cold waters: and this not only in the places that lie lower, and have their fountains near one another; but, what is still more wonderful, here is to be seen a certain cave hard by, whose cavity is not deep; but it is covered over by a rock that is prominent: above this rock there stand up two hills or breasts, as it were, but a little distant one from another: the one of which sends out a fountain that is very cold, and the other sends out one that is very hot. These waters, when they are mingled together, compose a most pleasant bath: they are medicinal indeed for other maladies; but especially good for strengthening the nerves. This place has in it also mines of sulphur, and alum.

Now when Bassus had taken a full view of this place, he resolved to besiege it, by filling up the valley that lay on the east side: so he fell to work, and took great pains to raise his banks as soon as possible; and by that means to render the siege easy. As for the Jews that were caught in the place, they separated themselves from the strangers that were with them; and they forced those strangers, as an otherwise useless multitude, to stay in the lower part of the city, and undergo the principal dangers. While they themselves seized on the upper citadel, and held it; and this both on account of its strength, and to provide for their own safety. They also supposed they might obtain their pardon, in case they should at last surrender the citadel. However, they were willing to make trial in the first place, whether the hopes they had of avoiding a siege would come to any thing: with which intention they made sallies every day, and fought with those that met them. In these conflicts there were many of them slain; as they therein slew many of the Romans: but still it was the opportunities that presented themselves, which chiefly gained both sides their victories. These were gained by the Jews, when they fell upon the Romans as they were off their guard; but by the Romans when upon the others' sallies against their banks, they foresaw their coming, and were upon their guard when they received them. But the conclusion of this siege did not depend upon these bickerings. But a certain surprising accident, relating to what was done in this siege, forced the Jews to surrender the citadel.

There was a certain young man among the besieged, of great boldness, and very active of his hand. His name was Eleazar. He greatly signalized himself in those sallies, and encouraged the Jews to go out in great numbers, in order to hinder the raising of the banks : and did the Romans a vast deal of mischief, when they came to fighting. He so managed matters, that those who sallied out, made their attacks easily, and returned back without danger ; and this by still bringing up the rear himself. Now it happened that on a certain time, when the fight was over, and both sides were parted, and retired home, he, in way of contempt of the enemy, and thinking that none of them would begin the fight again at that time, staid without the gates, and talked with those that were upon the wall. And his mind was wholly intent upon what they said. Now a certain person, belonging to the Roman camp, whose name was Rufus, by birth an Egyptian, ran upon him unexpectedly, and carried him off, with his armour, while those that saw it from the wall were under such an amazement, that Rufus prevented their assistance, and carried Eleazar to the Roman camp. So the general of the Romans ordered, that he should be taken up naked, set before the city to be seen, and severely whipped before their eyes. Upon this sad accident that befell the young man, the Jews were terribly confounded ; and the city, with one voice, sorely lamented him : and the mourning proved greater than could well be supposed upon the calamity of a single person. When Bassus perceived that, he began to think of using a stratagem against the enemy : and was desirous to aggravate their grief, in order to prevail with them to surrender the city, for the preservation of that man. Accordingly he commanded them to set up a cross, as if he were going to hang Eleazar upon it immediately. The sight of this occasioned a sore grief among those that were in the citadel : and they groaned vehemently ; and cried out, that they could not bear to see him thus destroyed. Whereupon Eleazar besought them not to disregard him, for he was going to suffer a most miserable death ; and exhorted them to save themselves by yielding to the Roman power, and good fortune : since all other people were now conquered by them. These men were greatly moved with what he said : there being also many within the city that interceded for him, because he was of an eminent and

very numerous family. So they yielded to their passion of commiseration, contrary to their usual custom. Accordingly they sent out certain messengers, and treated with the Romans, in order to a surrender of the citadel, and desired that they might be permitted to go away, and take Eleazar along with them. Then did the Romans, and their general, accept of these terms. While that multitude of strangers that were in the lower part of the city, hearing of the agreement that was made by the Jews for themselves alone, resolved to flee away privately in the night-time. But as soon as they had opened their gates, those that had come to terms with Bassus told him of it : whether it were that they envied the others' deliverance ; or whether it were done out of fear, lest an occasion should be taken against them upon their escape, is uncertain. The most courageous, therefore, of those men that went out prevented the enemy, and got away. But for those men that were caught within, they were slain, to the number of one thousand seven hundred, as were the women and the children made slaves. But as Bassus thought he must perform the covenant he had made with those that had surrendered the citadel, he let them go, and restored Eleazar to them.

When Bassus had settled these affairs, he marched hastily to the forest of Jarden, as it is called. For he had heard that a great many of those that had fled from Jerusalem and Macherus formerly were there gotten together. When he was therefore come to the place, and understood that the former news was no mistake ; he surrounded the whole place with his cavalry : that such of the Jews as had boldness enough to try to break through, might have no way possible for escaping, by reason of the situation of these horsemen. And for the footmen, he ordered them to cut down the trees that were in the wood whither they were fled. So the Jews were under a necessity of performing some glorious exploit, and of greatly exposing themselves in a battle ; since they might perhaps thereby escape. So they made a general attack : and with a great shout fell upon those that surrounded them. These, however, received them with great courage ; and while the one side fought desperately, and the others would not yield, the fight was prolonged on that account. But the event of the battle did not answer the expectation of the assailants. For it happened,

that no more than twelve fell on the Roman side, with a few that were wounded. But not one of the Jews escaped out of this battle, but they were all killed ; being in the whole not fewer in number than three thousand : together with Judas, the son of Jairus, their general ; who had been a captain of a certain band at the siege of Jerusalem ; and, by going down into a certain vault under ground, had privately made his escape.

About the same time Cæsar sent a letter to Bassus, and to Liborius Maximus, who was the procurator of Judea, and gave order that all Judea should be *exposed to sale. For he did not find any city there, but reserved the country for himself. However, he assigned a place for eight hundred men, whom he had dismissed from his army, which he gave them for their habitation. It is called †Emmaus, and is distant from Jerusalem ‡threescore furlongs : he also laid a tribute upon the Jews wheresoever they were, and enjoined every one of them to bring two drachmæ every year into the capitol, as they used to pay the same to the temple at Jerusalem. And this was the state of the Jewish affairs at this time.

* It is very remarkable that Titus did not people this now desolate country of Judea, but ordered it to be all sold. Nor indeed is it properly peopled at this day : but lies ready for its old inhabitants, the Jews, at their future restoration.

† That the city Emmaus, or Ammaus, in Josephus and others, which was the place of the government of Julius Africanus, in the beginning of the third century, and which he then procured to be rebuilt ; and after which rebuilding it was called Nicopolis, is entirely different from that Emmaus which is mentioned by St. Luke, xxiv. 17. See Reland's *Palestina*, Lib. II. page 429, and under the name Ammaus also. But he justly thinks that that in St. Luke may well be the same with this Ammaus before us. Especially since the Greek copies here usually make it 60 furlongs distant from Jerusalem ; as does St. Luke : though the Latin copies say 30. The place also allotted for these 800 soldiers, as for a Roman garrison, in this place, would most naturally be not so remote from Jerusalem, as was the other Emmaus or Nicopolis.

‡ Or thirty.

CHAP. VII.

CONCERNING THE CALAMITY THAT BEFELL ANTIOCHUS, KING OF COMMAGENE.—ALSO CONCERNING THE ALANS; AND THE INJURY THEY DID TO THE MEDES AND ARMENIANS.

NOW, in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, it came to pass, that Antiochus, king of Commagene, with all his family, fell into very great calamities, on the following occasion. Cesennius Petus, who was president of Syria at this time, either out of regard to truth, or out of hatred to Antiochus; (for which was the real motive, was never thoroughly discovered;) sent an epistle to Cæsar, and therein told him, that Antiochus, with his son Epiphanes, had resolved to rebel against the Romans: and had made a league with the king of Parthia to that purpose. That it was therefore fit to prevent them; lest they should begin such a war as might cause a general disturbance in the Roman empire. Now Cæsar was disposed to take some care about the matter, since this discovery was made. For the neighbourhood of the kingdoms made this affair worthy of a greater regard. For *Samosata, the capital of Commagene, lies upon Euphrates: and upon any such designs could afford an easy passage over to the Parthians: and could also afford them a secure reception. Petus was accordingly believed; and had authority given him of doing what he should think proper in the case. So he set about it without delay: and fell upon Commagene, before Antiochus and his people had the least expectation of his coming. He had with him the tenth legion; as also some cohorts, and troops of horsemen.—These kings also came to his assistance: Aristobulus, king of the country called Chalcidene; and Sohemus, who was called king of Emesa. Nor was there any opposition made to his forces when they entered the kingdom. For no one of that country would so much as lift up his hand against them. When Antiochus heard

* There are coins of this city Samosata, the capital of Commagene, still in being: as Spanheim informs us.

this unexpected news, he could not think of making war with the Romans ; but determined to leave his kingdom in the state wherein it now was, and to retire privately, with his wife and children ; as thinking thereby to demonstrate himself to the Romans to be innocent as to the accusation laid against him. So he went away from that city, as far as a hundred and twenty furlongs, into a plain ; and there pitched his tents.

Petus then sent some of his men to seize upon Samosata ; and by their means took possession of that city : while he went himself to attack Antiochus, with the rest of his army. However, the king was not prevailed upon by the distress he was in to do any thing in the way of war against the Romans : but bemoaned his own hard fate : and endured with patience what he was not able to prevent. But his sons, who were young, and unexperienced in war, but of strong bodies, were not easily induced to bear this calamity without fighting. Epiphanes, therefore, and Callinicus, betook themselves to military force. And as the battle was an obstinate one, and lasted all the day, they showed their own valour in a remarkable manner : and nothing but the approach of night put a period thereto ; and that without any diminution of their forces. Yet would not Antiochus, upon this conclusion of the fight, continue there by any means ; but took his wife, and his daughters, and fled away with them to Cilicia, and by so doing quite discouraged the minds of his own soldiers. Accordingly they revolted, and went over to the Romans, out of the despair they were in of his keeping the kingdom : and his case was looked upon by all, as quite desperate. It was therefore necessary that Epiphanes and his soldiers should get clear of their enemies, before they became entirely destitute of any confederates. Nor were there any more than ten horsemen with him who passed with him over Euphrates. Whence they went undisturbed to Volageses, the king of Parthia ; where they were not disregarded as fugitives ; but had the same respect paid them, as if they had retained their ancient prosperity.

Now when Antiochus was come to Tarsus, in Cilicia, Petus ordered a centurion to go to him, and send him in bonds to Rome. However, Vespasian could not endure to have a king brought to him in that manner : but thought it fit rather to have a regard to

the ancient friendship that had been between them, than to preserve an inexorable anger upon pretence of this war. Accordingly he gave orders that they should take off his bonds, while he was still upon the road ; and that he should not come to Rome, but should now go and live at Lacedæmon. He also gave him large revenues ; that he might live not only in plenty, but like a king also. When Epiphanes, who before was in great fear for his father, was informed of this, their minds were freed from that great and almost incurable concern they had been under. He also hoped that Cæsar would be reconciled to them, upon the intercession of Vologeses. For although he lived in plenty, he knew not how to bear living out of the Roman empire.* So Cæsar gave him leave, after an obliging manner ; and he came to Rome ; and as his father came quickly to him from Lacedæmon, he had all sorts of respects paid him there, and there he remained.

Now there was a nation of the Alans, which were Scythians, and resided near the Lake Meotis. This nation, about this time, laid a design of falling upon Media, and the parts beyond it ; in order to plunder them. With which intention they treated with the king of Hyrcania. For he was master of that passage, which Alexander the Great shut up with iron gates. This king gave them leave to come through them. So they came in great multitudes, and fell upon the Medes unexpectedly, and plundered their country, which they found full of people, and replenished with abundance of cattle. While nobody durst make any resistance against them. For Pacorus, the king of the country, had fled away for fear, into places where they could not easily come at him ; and had yielded up every thing he had to them ; and had only saved his wife, and his concubines, from them, and that with great difficulty also, after they had been made captives, by giving them a hundred talents for their ransom. These Alans, therefore, plundered the country, without opposition, and with great ease : and proceeded as far as Armenia : laying all waste before them.

* Local attachments operate powerfully. The great Creator has wisely implanted them in the human breast, to induce men to attach themselves to places which in general appear to have but little that is desirable. B.

Now Tiridates was king of that country ; who met them, and fought them ; but had like to have been taken alive in the battle. For a certain man threw a net over him, from a great distance ; and had soon drawn him to him, unless he had immediately cut the cord with his sword, and ran away, and prevented it. So the Alans, being still more provoked by this fight, laid waste the country, and drove a great multitude of the men, and a great quantity of the other prey they had gotten out of both kingdoms, along with them, and then retired to their own country.

CHAP. VIII.

CONCERNING MASADA, AND THOSE SICARII WHO KEPT IT.—THE SIEGE OF THAT CITADEL BY SILVA : AND ELEAZAR'S SPEECHES TO THE BESIEGED.

WHEN Bassus was dead in Judea, Flavius Silva succeeded him,* as procurator there. Who, when he saw that all the rest of the country was subdued in this war, and that there was but one strong hold that was still in rebellion, he got all his army together that lay in different places, and made an expedition against it. This fortress was called Masada. It was one Eleazar, a potent man, and the commander of these Sicarii, that had seized upon it. He was a descendant of that Judas, who had persuaded abundance of the Jews, as we have †formerly related, not to submit to the taxation, when Cyrenius was sent into Judea to make one. For then it was that the Sicarii got together against those that were willing to submit to the Romans ; and treated them, in all respects, as if they had been their enemies : both by plundering them of what they had ; by driving away their cattle ; and by setting fire to their houses. For they said, that they differed not at all from foreigners, by betraying, in so cowardly a manner, that freedom which Jews thought worthy to be contended for to the utmost : and by owning that they preferred slavery under the Romans, before such a contention. Now this was, in reality, no better than a pretence,

* About A. D. 73.

† See Book II. chap. 8, Antiq. XVIII. l.

and a cloak for the barbarity which was made use of by them, and to colour over their own avarice : which they afterward made evident by their actions. For those that were partners with them in their rebellion, joined also in the war against the Romans : and went farther lengths with them in their impudent undertakings against them. And when they were again convicted of dissembling in their pretences, they still more abused those that justly reproached them for their wickedness. And indeed that was a time most fertile in all manner of wicked practices : insomuch that no kinds of evil deeds were then left undone. Nor could any one so much as devise any bad thing that was new ; so deeply were they all infected, and strove with one another in their single capacity, and in their communities, who should run the greatest lengths in impiety towards God, and in unjust actions towards their neighbours ; the men of power oppressing the multitude, and the multitude earnestly labouring to destroy the men of power. The one part were desirous of tyrannizing over others ; and the rest of offering violence to others, and of plundering such as were richer than themselves. They were the Sicarii who first began these transgressions ; and first became barbarous towards those allied to them ; and left no words of reproach unsaid, and no works of perdition untried ; in order to destroy those whom their contrivances affected. Yet did John* demonstrate by his actions, that these Sicarii were more moderate than he was himself. For he not only slew all such as gave him good counsel to do what was right ; but treated them worst of all ; as the most bitter enemies that he had among all the citizens. Nay, he filled his entire country with ten thousand instances of wickedness : such as a man, who was already hardened sufficiently in his impiety towards God, would naturally do. For the food was unlawful that was set upon his table ; and he rejected those purifications that the law of his country had ordained. So that it was no longer a wonder if he, who was so mad in his impiety towards God, did not observe any rules of gentleness and common affection towards men. Again, therefore, what mischief was there which Simon, the son of Gioras, did not do ? Or what kind of abuses did he

* John of Gischala, Book IV. chap. 3.

abstain from as to those very free men who had set him up for a tyrant? What friendship or kindred were there that did not make him more bold in his daily murders? For they looked upon the doing of mischief to strangers only, as a work beneath their courage: but thought that their barbarity towards their nearest relations would be a glorious demonstration thereof. The Idumeans also strove with these men, which should be guilty of the greatest madness. For they all, vile wretches as they were, cut the throats of the high-priests: that so no part of a religious regard to God might be preserved. They thence proceeded to destroy utterly the least remains of a political government; and introduced the most complete scene of iniquity, in all instances that were practicable. Under which scene that sort of people that were called zealots grew up: and who indeed corresponded to their name.—For they imitated every wicked work. Nor, if their memory suggested any evil thing that had formerly been done, did they avoid zealously to pursue the same. And although they gave themselves that name from their zeal for what was good, yet did it agree to them only by way of irony: on account of those they had unjustly treated by their wild and brutish disposition; or as thinking the greatest mischiefs to be the greatest good. Accordingly they all met with such ends as God deservedly brought upon them, in way of punishment. For all such miseries have been sent upon them as man's nature is capable of undergoing, till the utmost period of their lives; and till death came upon them in various ways of torment. Yet might one say justly, that they suffered less than they had done: because it was impossible they could be punished according to their deserving. But to make a lamentation according to the deserts of those who fell under these men's barbarity, this is not a proper place for it. I therefore return to the remaining part of the present narration.

It was now that the Roman general came, and led his army against Eleazar, and those Sicarii who held the fortress *Masada together with him. And for the whole country adjoining he presently gained it, and put garrisons into the most proper places. He also built a wall quite round the fortress; that none of the be-

* See Book I. chap. 12. Antiq. XIV. 11.

sieged might easily escape: and set his men to guard the several parts of it. He also pitched his camp in such an agreeable place as he had chosen for the siege; and at which place the rock belonging to the fortress did make the nearest approach to the neighbouring mountain: which yet was a place of difficulty for getting plenty of provisions. For it was not only food that was to be brought from a great distance to the army, and this with a great deal of pain to those Jews who were appointed for that purpose; but water was also to be brought to the camp: because the place afforded no fountain that was near it. When, therefore, Silva had ordered these affairs, he began besieging the place. Which siege was likely to stand in need of a great deal of skill and pains, by reason of the strength of the fortress: the nature of which I will now describe.

There was a rock, not small in circumference, and very high. It was encompassed with valleys of such vast depth downward, that the eye could not reach their bottoms. They were abrupt; and such as no animal could walk upon; excepting at two places of the rock where it subsides, in order to afford a passage for ascent; though not without difficulty. Now of the ways that led to it, one is that from the lake Asphaltites, towards sunrising; and another on the west, where the ascent is easier. The one of these ways is called the serpent; as resembling that animal in its narrowness, and its perpetual windings. For it is broken off at the prominent precipices of the rock, and returns frequently into itself, and lengthening again by little and little, proceeds forward. And he that would walk along it must first go on one leg, and then on the other. There is also nothing but destruction in case the feet slip. For on each side there is a vastly deep chasm, and precipice; sufficient to quell the courage of every body, by the terror it infuses into the mind. When, therefore, a man hath gone along this way for thirty furlongs, the rest is the top of the hill; not ending at a small point; but a plain upon the highest part of the mountain. Upon this top of the hill Jonathan the high-priest first of all built a fortress, and called it Masada. After which the rebuilding of this place employed the care of king Herod to a great degree. He also built a wall round about the entire top of the hill, seven furlongs long. It was composed of white stone.

Its height was twelve, and its breadth eight cubits : there were also erected upon that wall thirty-eight towers, each of them fifty cubits high. Out of which you might pass into lesser edifices, which were built on the inside, round the entire wall. For the king reserved the top of the hill, which was of a rich soil, and better mould than any valley, for agriculture : that such as committed themselves to this fortress for their preservation might not even there be quite destitute of food, in case they should ever be in want of it from abroad. Moreover, he built a palace therein, at the western ascent. It was within, and beneath the walls of the citadel ; but inclined to its north side. Now the wall of this palace was very high, and strong ; and had at its four corners towers sixty cubits high. The furniture also of the edifices, and of the cloisters, and of the baths, was of great variety, and very costly : and these buildings were supported by pillars of single stones on every side. The walls also, and the floors of the edifices were paved with stones of several colours. He also had cut, many and great pits, as reservoirs for water, out of the rocks, at every one of the places that were inhabited, both above, and round about the palace, and before the wall : and by this contrivance he endeavoured to have water for several uses, as if there had been fountains there. Here was also a road dug from the palace, and leading to the very top of the mountain : which yet could not be seen by such as were without the walls. Nor, indeed, could enemies easily make use of the plain roads. For the road on the east side, as we have already taken notice, could not be walked upon, by reason of its nature. And for the western road, he built a large tower at its narrowest place ; at no less a distance from the top of the hill than a thousand cubits. Which tower could not possibly be passed by ; nor could it be easily taken. Nor, indeed, could those that walked along it without any fear, (such was its contrivance,) easily get to the end of it. And after such a manner was this citadel fortified, both by nature, and by the hands of men : in order to frustrate the attacks of enemies.

As for the furniture that was within this fortress, it was still more wonderful on account of its splendour, and long continuance. For here was laid up corn in large quantities, and such as would subsist men for a long time. Here were also wine and oil in

abundance; with all kinds of pulse and dates heaped up together. All which Eleazar found there, when he and his Sicarii got possession of the fortress by treachery. These fruits were also fresh and ripe; and no way inferior to such fruits newly laid in: although they were little short of *a hundred years from the laying in these provisions, by Herod, till the place was taken by the Romans. Nay, indeed, when the Romans got possession of those fruits that were left, they found them not corrupted all that while. Nor should we be mistaken if we suppose, that the air was here the cause of their enduring so long. This fortress being so high, and so free from the mixture of all terrene and muddy particles of matter. There was also found here a large quantity of all sorts of weapons of war; which had been treasured up by that king; and were sufficient for ten thousand men. There were cast iron, and brass, and tin. Which show that he had taken much pains to have all things here ready for the greatest occasions. For it is reported that Herod thus prepared this fortress on his own account, as a refuge against two kinds of danger. The one for fear of the multitude of the Jews; lest they should depose him, and restore their former kings to the government. The other danger was greater and more terrible; which arose from †Cleopatra, queen of Egypt: who did not conceal her intentions; but spake often to Antony, and desired him to cut off Herod; and entreated him to bestow the kingdom of Judea upon her. And certainly it is a great wonder that Antony did never comply with her commands in this point: as he was so miserably enslaved by his passion for her. Nor should any one have been surprised if she had been gratified in such her request. So the fear of these dangers made Herod rebuild Masada; and thereby leave it for the finishing stroke of the Romans, in this Jewish war.

Since, therefore, the Roman commander, Silva, had now built a wall on the outside, round about this whole place, as we have said already; and had thereby made a most accurate provision to

* Pliny, and others, confirm this strange paradox; that some provisions, laid up against sieges, will continue good a hundred years: as Spanheim notes upon this place.

† See Book I. chap. 19.

prevent any one of the besieged running away ; he undertook the siege itself ; though he found but one single place that would admit of the banks he was to raise. For behind that tower which secured the road that led to the palace, and to the top of the hill, from the west, there was a certain eminency of the rock ; very broad, and very prominent : but three hundred cubits beneath the highest part of Masada. It was called the White Promontory. Accordingly he got upon that part of the rock, and ordered the army to bring earth. And when they fell to that work with alacrity, and abundance of them together, the bank was raised, and became solid, for two hundred cubits in height. Yet was not this bank thought sufficiently high for the use of the engines that were to be set upon it ; but still another elevated work, of great stones, compacted together was raised upon that bank. This was fifty cubits both in breadth and height. The other machines that were now got ready, were like to those that had been first devised by Vespasian, and afterward by Titus, for sieges. There was also a tower made, of the height of sixty cubits ; and all over plated with iron. Out of which the Romans threw darts, and stones from the engines : and soon made those that fought from the walls of the place to retire ; and would not let them lift up their heads above the works. At the same time Silva ordered that great battering ram which he had made, to be brought thither, and to be set against the wall, and to make frequent batteries against it. By this means he, with some difficulty, brake down a part of the wall, and quite overthrew it. However, the Sicarii presently built another wall within that, which should not be liable to the same misfortune from the machines with the other. It was made soft and yielding : and so was capable of avoiding the terrible blows that affected the other. It was framed after the following manner : they laid together great beams of wood, lengthways : one close to the end of another : and the same way in which they were cut. There were two of these rows parallel to one another : and laid at such a distance from each other, as the breadth of the wall required ; and earth was put into the space between those rows. Now that the earth might not fall away upon the elevation of this bank to a greater height ; they farther laid other beams over *across them* ; and thereby bound those beams together that lay

lengthways. This work of theirs was like a real edifice. And when the machines were applied, the blows were weakened by its yielding : and as the materials, by such concussion, were shaken closer together, the pile by that means became firmer than before. When Silva saw this, he thought it best to destroy this wall by setting fire to it. So he gave order that the soldiers should throw a great number of burning torches upon it. Accordingly, as it was chiefly made of wood, it soon took fire : and its hollowness made the fire spread to a mighty flame. Now at the very beginning of this fire, a north wind that then blew proved terrible to the Romans. For by bringing the flame downward, it drove it upon them : and they were almost in despair of success ; as fearing their machines would be burnt. But after this, the wind changed suddenly into the south ; as if it were done by divine providence : and blew strongly the contrary way, and carried the flame against the wall, which was now on fire through its entire thickness. So the Romans, having now assistance from God, returned to their camp with joy ; and resolved to attack their enemies the very next day. On which occasion they set their watch more carefully that night lest any of the Jews should run away from them, without being discovered.

Eleazar, however, neither thought of flying away, nor would he permit any one else to do so. But when he saw their wall burned down by the fire, and could devise no other way of escaping, or room for their farther courage : and setting before their eyes what the Romans would do to them, and their children, and their wives, if they got them into their power : he consulted about having them all slain. Now, as he judged this to be the best thing they could do in their present circumstances, he gathered the most courageous of his companions together, and encouraged them to take that course, by a speech which he made to the following effect : “ Since* we long ago, my generous friends, resolved never to be servants to the Romans, nor to any other than to God him-

* This and the following speech, as introduced under the person of Eleazar, are exceedingly remarkable, and on the noblest subjects ; the contempt of death, and the dignity and immortality of the soul : and that not only among the Jews, but among the Indians themselves also : and are well deserving the perusal of all the curious. It seems as if that philosophic lady who survived, chap. 9, remembered
VOL. IV.

self, who alone is the true and just Lord of mankind; the time is now come that obliges us to put that resolution in practice. And let us not at this time bring a reproach upon ourselves for self-contradiction; while we formerly would not undergo slavery, though it were then without danger; but must now, together with slavery, submit to such punishments also as are intolerable. I mean this upon the supposition that the Romans once reduce us under their power while we are alive. We were the very first that revolted from them; and we are the last that fight against them. And I cannot but esteem it as a favour, that God hath granted us, that it is still in our power to die bravely, and in a state of freedom; which hath not been the case of others, who were conquered unexpectedly. It is very plain that we shall be taken within a day's time: but it is still an eligible thing to die, after a glorious manner, together with our dearest friends. This is what our enemies themselves cannot by any means hinder: although they be very desirous to take us alive. Nor can we propose to ourselves any more to fight them, and beat them. It had been proper, indeed, for us to have conjectured the purpose of God much sooner; and at the very first; when we were so desirous of defending our liberty; and when we received such sore treatment from one another, and worse treatment from our enemies: and to have been sensible that the same God, who had of old, took the Jewish nation into his favour, had now condemned them to destruction. For had he either continued favourable, or been but in a lesser degree displeased with us, he had not overlooked the destruction of so many men, or delivered his most holy city to be burnt, and demolished by our enemies. To be sure we weakly hoped to have preserved ourselves, and ourselves alone, still in a state of freedom; as if we had been guilty of no sins against God; nor been partners with those of others. We also taught other men to preserve their liberty. Wherefore, consider how God hath convinced us that our hopes were in vain, by bringing such distress upon us, in

the substance of these discourses, as spoken by Eleazar; and so Josephus clothed them in his own words. At the lowest they contain the Jewish notions on these heads, as understood then by our historians; and cannot but deserve a suitable regard from us.

the desperate state we are now in, and which is beyond all our expectations. For the nature of this fortress, which was in itself unconquerable, hath not proved a means of our deliverance. And even while we have still great abundance of food, and a great quantity of arms, and other necessities more than we want, we are openly deprived by God himself of all hope of deliverance. For that fire which was driven upon our enemies, did not, of its own accord, turn back upon the wall which we had built. This was the effect of God's anger against us, for our manifold sins which we have been guilty of in a most insolent and extravagant manner, with regard to our own countrymen. Let us not, therefore, receive our punishment from the Romans, but from God himself, as executed by our own hands. For this will be more moderate than the other. Let our wives die before they are abused; and our children before they have tasted of slavery. And after we have slain them, let us bestow that glorious benefit upon one another mutually; and preserve ourselves in freedom as an excellent funeral monument for us. But first let us destroy our money, and the fortress, by fire. For I am well assured that this will be a grief to the Romans; that they shall not be able to seize upon our bodies, and shall also fail of our wealth. And let us spare nothing but our provisions. For they will be a testimonial, when we are dead, that we are not subdued for want of necessities; but that, according to our original resolution, we have preferred death before slavery."

This was Eleazar's speech to them. Yet did not the opinions of all the auditors acquiesce therein: but although some of them were very zealous to put his advice in practice, and were in a manner filled with pleasure at it, and thought death to be a good thing; yet had those that were most effeminate a commiseration for their wives and families. And when these men were especially moved by the prospect of their own certain death, they looked wistfully at one another; and by the tears that were in their eyes declared their dissent from his opinion. When Eleazar saw these people in such fear; and that their souls were dismayed at so prodigious a proposal; he was afraid lest, perhaps, these effeminate persons should, by their lamentations and tears, enfeeble those that were more courageous. So he did not leave off ex-

horting them ; but stirred up himself ; and, recollecting proper arguments for raising their courage, he undertook to speak more briskly and fully to them, and that concerning the immortality of the soul. So he uttered a lamentable groan ; and fixing his eyes attentively on those that wept, he spake thus : " Truly I was greatly mistaken, when I thought to be assisting to brave men, who struggled hard for their liberty, and to such as were resolved either to live with honour, or else to die. But I find that you are such people as are no better than others, either in virtue, or in courage : and are afraid of dying ; though you be delivered thereby from the greatest miseries. While you ought to make no delay in this matter, nor to await any one to give you good advice. For the laws of our country, and of God himself, have from ancient times, and as soon as ever we could use our reason, continually taught us, and our forefathers have corroborated the same doctrine by their actions, and by their bravery of mind ; that it is life that is a calamity to men, and not death. For this last affords our souls their liberty, and sends them by a removal into their own place of purity ; where they are to be insensible of all sorts of misery. For while souls are tied down to a mortal body, they are partakers of its miseries ; and, to speak the truth, they are themselves dead. For the union of what is divine to what is mortal, is disagreeable. It is true, the power of the soul is great, even when it is imprisoned in a mortal body. For by moving it, after a way that is invisible, it makes the body a sensible instrument ; and causes it to advance farther in its actions than mortal nature could otherwise do. However, when it is freed from that weight which draws it down to the earth, and is connected with it, it obtains its own proper place, and does then become a partaker of that blessed power, and those abilities which are then every way incapable of being hindered in their operations. It continues invisible, indeed, to the eyes of men, as does God himself. For certainly it is not itself seen, while it is in the body : for it is there after an invisible manner ; and when it is freed from it, it is still not seen. It is this soul which hath one nature, and that an incorruptible one. But yet is it the cause of the change that is made in the body : for whatsoever it be which the soul touches, that lives, and flourishes ; and from whatsoever it is removed, that withers away, and dies.

Such a degree is there in it of immortality. Let me produce the state of sleep, as a most evident demonstration of the truth of what I say : wherein souls, when the body does not distract them, have the sweetest rest depending on themselves, and conversing with God, by their alliance to him. They then go every where ; and foretell many futurities beforehand. And why are we afraid of death, while we are pleased with the rest that we have in sleep ? And how absurd a thing is it to pursue after liberty while we are alive ; and yet to envy it to ourselves where it will be eternal ! We, therefore, who have been brought up in a discipline of our own, ought to become an example to others of our own readiness to die. Yet if we do stand in need of foreigners to support us in this matter, let us regard those Indians who profess the exercise of philosophy. For these good men do but unwillingly undergo the time of life, and look upon it as a necessary servitude ; and make haste to let their souls loose from their bodies. Nay, when no misfortune presses them to it, nor drives them upon it, these have such a desire of a life of immortality, that they tell other men beforehand that they are about to depart. And nobody hinders them : but every one thinks them happy men, and gives them letters to be carried to their familiar friends that are dead : so firmly and certainly do they believe that souls converse with one another in the other world. So when these men have heard all such commands that were to be given them, they deliver their body to the fire : and, in order to their getting their soul a separation from the body in the greatest purity, they die in the midst of hymns of commendations made to them. For their dearest friends conduct them to their death, more readily than do any of the rest of mankind conduct their fellow citizens when they are going a very long journey. Who at the same weep on their own account ; but look upon the others as happy persons : as so soon to be made partakers of the immortal order of beings. Are not we, therefore, ashamed to have lower notions than the Indians ? and by our own cowardice to lay a base reproach upon the laws of our country, which are so much desired and imitated by all mankind ? But put the case that we had been brought up under another persuasion, and taught that life is the greatest good which men are capable of, and that death is a calamity : even then the circumstances

we are now in ought to be an inducement to us to bear such calamity courageously: since it is by the will of God, and by necessity, that we are to die. For it now appears that God hath made such a decree against the whole Jewish nation, that we are to be deprived of this life, which he knew we would not make a due use of. For do not you ascribe the occasion of our present condition to yourselves; nor think the Romans are the true occasion that this war we have had with them is become so destructive to us all. These things have not come to pass by their power; but a more powerful cause hath intervened, and made us afford them an occasion of their appearing to be conquerors over us. What Roman weapons, I pray you, were those by which the *Jews of Caesarea were slain? On the contrary, when they were no way disposed to rebel, but were all the while keeping their seventh day festival, and did not so much as lift up their hands against the citizens of Caesarea; yet did those citizens run upon them in great crowds, and cut their throats, and the throats of their wives and children: and this without any regard to the Romans themselves, who never took us for their enemies till we revolted from them. But some may be ready to say, that the people of Caesarea had always a quarrel against those that lived among them; and that when an opportunity offered, they only satisfied the old rancour they had against them. What then shall we say to those of Scythopolis, who ventured to wage war with us on account of the Greeks? Nor did they do it by way of revenge upon the Romans, when they acted in concert with our countrymen. Wherefore, you see how little our good will and fidelity to them profited us, while they were slain, they and their whole families, after the most inhuman manner: which was all the requital that was made them for the assistance they had afforded the others. For that very same destruction which they had prevented from falling upon the others, did they suffer themselves from them: as if they had been ready to be the actors against them. It would be too long for me to speak at this time of every destruction brought upon us. For you cannot but know,

* See Book II. chap. 18.

that there was not any one *Syrian city, which did not slay their Jewish inhabitants; and were not more bitter enemies to us than were the Romans themselves. Nay, even those of Damascus, when they were able to allege no tolerable pretence against us, filled their city with the most barbarous slaughters of our people; and cut the throats of †eighteen thousand Jews, with their wives and children. And as to the multitude of those that were slain in Egypt, and that with torments also, we have been informed they were more than sixty thousand. Those, indeed, being in a foreign country, and so naturally meeting with nothing to oppose against their enemies, were killed in the aforementioned manner. As for all those of us who have waged war against the Romans, in our own country; had we not sufficient reason to have sure hopes of victory? For we had arms, and walls, and fortresses, so prepared as not to be easily taken, and courage not to be moved by any dangers in the cause of liberty, which encouraged us all to revolt from the Romans. But then these advantages sufficed us but a short time; and only raised our hopes: while they really appeared to be the origin of our miseries. For all we had hath been taken from us, and all hath fallen under our enemies: as if these advantages were only to render their victory over us the more glorious; and were not disposed for the preservation of those by whom those preparations were made. And as for those that are already dead in the war, it is reasonable we should esteem them blessed, for they are dead in defending, and not in betraying, their liberty. But as to the multitude of those that are now under the Romans, who would not make haste to die, before he would suffer the same miseries with them? Some of them have been put upon the rack, and tortured with fire and whippings: and so died. Some have been half devoured by wild beasts, and yet have been reserved alive to be devoured by them a second time; in order to afford laughter and sport to our enemies. And such of those as are alive, still are to be looked on as the most miserable; who, being so desirous of death, could not come at it. And where is

* See Book II. chap. 18. where those of Antioch, Sidon, and Apamia, are excepted.

† See II. 20. where the number of the slain is but ten thousand.

now that great city, the metropolis of the Jewish nation ; which was fortified by so many walls round about ; which had so many fortresses and large towers to defend it ; which could hardly contain the instruments prepared for the war ; and which had so many thousands of men to fight for it ? Where is this city that was believed to have God himself inhabiting therein ? It is now demolished to the very foundations : and hath nothing but that monument of it preserved ; I mean the camp of those that have destroyed it ; which still stands upon its ruins. Some unfortunate old men also lie upon the ashes of the temple ; and a few women are there preserved alive by the enemy, for our bitter shame and reproach. Now who is there that revolves these things in his mind, and yet is able to bear the sight of the sun, though he might live out of danger ? Who is there so much his country's enemy, or so unmanly, and so desirous of living, as not to repent that he is still alive ? And I cannot but wish that we had all died before we had seen that holy city demolished by the hands of our enemies ; or the foundations of our holy temple dug up after so profane a manner. But since we had a generous hope that deluded us ; as if we might perhaps have been able to avenge ourselves on our enemies on that account ; though it be now become vanity, and hath left us alone in this distress, let us make haste to die bravely. Let us pity ourselves, our children, and our wives, while it is in our power to show pity to them. For *we were born to die ; as well as those were whom we have begotten. Nor is it in the power of the most happy of our race to avoid it. But for abuses, and slavery, and the sight of our wives led away after an ignominious manner, with their children, these are not such evils as are natural and necessary among men. Although such as do not prefer death before those miseries, when it is in their power so to do, must undergo even them, on account of their own cowardice. We revolted from the Romans with great pretensions to courage : and when, at the very last, they invited us to preserve ourselves, we would not comply with them. Who will not, therefore, believe

* Reland here sets down a parallel aphorism of one of the Jewish Rabbins, "We are born that we may die ; and die that we may live."

that they will certainly be enraged at us, in case they can take us alive? Miserable will then be the young men, who will be strong enough in their bodies to sustain many torments. Miserable also will be those of elder years, who will not be able to bear those calamities which young men might sustain. One man will be obliged to hear the voice of his son imploring help of his father, when his hands are bound. But certainly, our hands are still at liberty, and have a sword in them; let them then be subservient to us in our glorious design. Let us die before we become slaves under our enemies: and let us go out of the world, together with our children, and our wives, in a state of freedom. This it is that our laws command us to do. This it is that our wives and children crave at our hands. Nay, God himself has brought this necessity upon us. While the Romans desire the contrary: and are afraid lest any of us should die before we are taken. Let us, therefore, make haste; and instead of affording them so much pleasure, as they expect, in getting us under their power; let us leave them an example which shall at once cause their astonishment at our death, and their admiration of our fortitude."

CHAP. IX.

THE PEOPLE OF MASADA ARE PREVAILED UPON BY THE ORATIONS OF ELEAZAR TO DESTROY EACH OTHER, TWO WOMEN AND FIVE CHILDREN ONLY EXCEPTED.

NOW as Eleazar was proceeding in his exhortation, his auditors cut him off short, and hastened to do the work; as full of an unconquerable ardour of mind, and moved with a demoniacal fury. So they went their ways, as one still endeavouring to be before another; and as thinking that this eagerness would be a demonstration of their courage and good conduct; if they could avoid appearing in the last class. So great was the zeal they were in to slay their wives, and children, and themselves also. Nor, indeed, when they came to the work itself, did their courage fail them, as one might imagine it would have done: but they persisted in the same resolution, without wavering, which they had upon the hearing of Eleazar's speech, while yet every one of them retained the

natural passion of love to themselves, and their families : because the reasoning they went upon appeared to them to be very just, even with regard to those that were dearest to them. For the husbands tenderly embraced their wives, and took their children into their arms, and gave the longest parting kisses to them, with tears in their eyes. Yet at the same time did they complete what they had resolved on ; as if they had been executed by the hands of strangers. And they had nothing else for their comfort, but the necessity they were in of doing this execution to avoid that prospect they had of the miseries they were to suffer from their enemies. Nor was there at length any one of these men found that scrupled to act their part in this terrible execution : but every one of them despatched his dearest relations.* Miserable men, indeed, were they ! whose distress forced them to slay their own wives and children with their own hands, as the lightest of those evils that were before them. So they being not able to bear the grief they were under for what they had done any longer ; and esteeming it an injury to those they had slain, to live even the shortest space of time after them, presently laid all they had upon a heap, and set fire to it. They then chose ten men by lot, out of them, to slay all the rest. Every one of which laid himself down by his wife and children on the ground, and threw his arms about them, and then offered their necks to the stroke of those who by lot executed that melancholy office. And when these ten had, without fear, slain them all, they made the same rule for casting lots for themselves ; that he whose lot it was should first kill the other nine : and after all should kill himself. Accordingly, all these had courage sufficient to be no way behind one another in doing or suffering. So, for a conclusion, the nine offered their necks to the executioner ; and he who was the last of all took a view of all the other dead bodies ; lest perchance some or other among so many that were slain should want his assistance to be quite despatched : and when

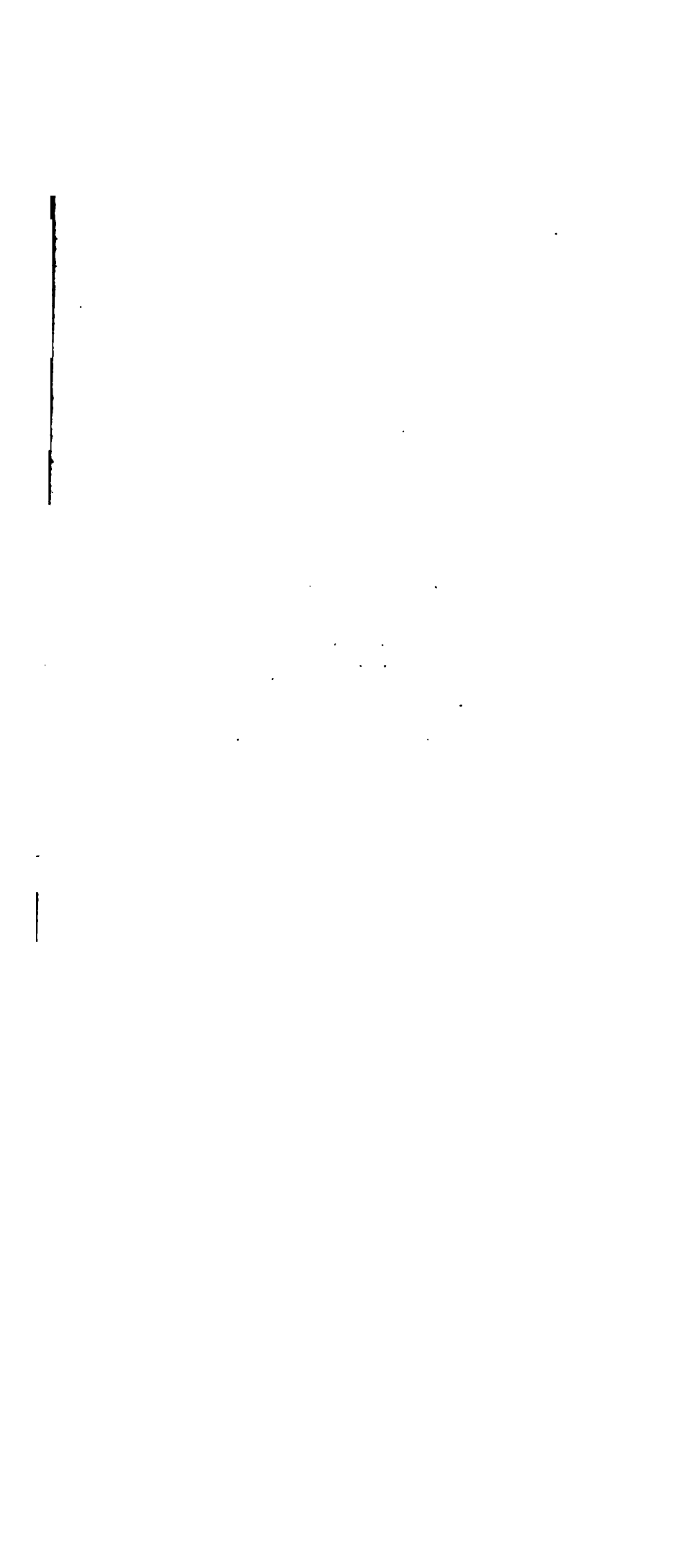
* Dreadful, indeed, must their situation have been to have reconciled them to such an action. But desperation produces the most unexpected catastrophes.— Their destruction was completed by their own as well as by the sword of the enemy. B.



Drawn by H. James.

Engraved by Peter Monnick.

PEOPLE OF MASADA.



he perceived that they were all slain, he set fire to the palace, and with the great force of his hand ran his sword entirely through himself, and fell down dead near his own relations. So these people died with this intention, that they would leave not so much as one soul among them to be subject to the Romans. Yet was there an ancient woman, and another who was of kin to Eleazar, and superior to most women in prudence and learning, with five children, who had concealed themselves in caverns under ground; and had carried water thither for their drink; and were hidden there when the rest were intent upon the slaughter of one another. Those others were nine hundred and sixty in number; the women and children being included in that computation. This calamitous slaughter was made on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus, or Nisan.*

Now the Romans expected that they should be fought in the morning. Accordingly they put on their armour, and laid bridges of planks upon their ladders from their banks, to make an assault on the fortress. But they saw nobody as an enemy, but a terrible solitude on every side, with a fire within the palace, as well as a perfect silence. So they were at a loss to guess at what had happened. At length they made a shout, as if it had been at a blow given by the battering ram, to try whether they could bring any one out that was within. The women heard this noise, and came out of their subterraneous cavern: and informed the Romans of what had been done: and the second of them clearly described all both what was said, and what was done; and the manner of it. Yet did they not easily give attention to such a desperate undertaking, and did not believe it could be as they said. They also attempted to put the fire out, and quickly cutting themselves a way through it, they came within the palace, and so met with the multitude of the slain: but could take no pleasure in the fact, though it were done to their enemies. Nor could they do other than wonder at the courage of their resolution, and the immovable contempt of death which so great a number of them had shown when they perpetrated such an action.

* A. D. 73.

CHAP. X.

OF THE FLIGHT OF THE SICARII TO ALEXANDRIA; AND THE
DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE WHICH HAD FORMERLY BEEN
BUILT BY ONIAS THE HIGH-PRIEST.

WHEN Masada was thus taken, the general left the garrison in the fortress to keep it : and he himself went away to Cæsarea. For there were now no enemies left in the country : but it was all overthrown by so long a war. Yet did this war afford disturbances and dangerous disorders even in places very remote from Judea. For still it happened that many Jews were slain at Alexandria, in Egypt. For as many of the Sicarii as were able to flee thither, out of the seditious wars in Judea, were not content to have saved themselves, but must needs undertake to make new disturbances ; and persuaded many of those that entertained them to assert their liberty ; to esteem the Romans to be no better than themselves ; and to look upon God as their only Lord and Master. But when part of the Jews of reputation opposed them, they slew some of them ; and with the others they were very pressing in their exhortations, to revolt from the Romans. But when the principal men of the senate saw what madness they were come to, they thought it no longer safe for themselves to overlook them. So they got all the Jews together to an assembly, and accused the madness of the Sicarii ; and demonstrated that they had been the authors of all the evils that had come upon them. They said also that “ These men now they have run away from Judea, having no sure hope of escaping, because as soon as ever they shall be known, they will be soon destroyed by the Romans ; they come hither, and fill us full of those calamities which belong to them, while we have not been partakers with them in any of their sins.” Accordingly, they exhorted the multitude to beware lest they should be brought to destruction by their means ; and to make an apology to the Romans for what had been done, by delivering these men up to them. Accordingly, on being thus apprised of the greatness of the danger they were in, they complied with what

was proposed ; and ran with great violence upon the Sicarii, and seized upon six hundred of them immediately : but as for all those that fled into *Egypt, and to the Egyptian Thebes, it was not long ere they were caught also, and brought back. Now the courage of these men, or whether we ought to call it madness, or hardness in their opinions, excited universal amazement. For when all sorts of torments and vexations of their bodies that could be devised were made use of to them, they could not get any one of them to comply so far as to confess, or seem to confess that Cæsar was their lord : but they preserved their own opinion, in spite of all the distress they were brought to : as if they received those torments, and the fire itself, with bodies insensible of pain, and with a soul that in a manner rejoiced under them. But what was most of all astonishing to the beholders, was the obstinacy of the children. For not one of these was so far overcome by these torments, as to name Cæsar for their lord. So far does the strength of the courage of the soul prevail over the weakness of the body.

Now Lupus, the governor of Alexandria, sent an account of this commotion to Cæsar ; who having in suspicion the restless temper of the Jews for innovation, and being afraid lest they should get together again, and persuade some others to join with them, gave orders to Lupus to demolish †that Jewish temple which was in the region called Onion, and was in Egypt, which was built, and had its denomination from the following occasion. Onias, the son of Simon, one of the Jewish high-priests, fled

* Since Josephus here informs us, that some of these Sicarii, or ruffians, went from Alexandria, (which was itself in Egypt, in a large sense,) into Egypt, and Thebes, there situate ; Reland well observes, from Vossius, that Egypt sometimes denotes proper or upper Egypt, as distinct from Delta, and the lower parts near Palestine. Accordingly, as he adds, those that say it never rains in Egypt must mean the proper or upper Egypt ; because it does sometimes rain in the other parts.— See the notes on Antiq. II. 7, and III. 1.

† Of this temple of Onias's building in Egypt, see the notes on Antiq. XIII. 3. But whereas it is elsewhere, both of the War, I. 1, and in the Antiquities as now quoted, said that this temple was like to that at Jerusalem ; and here that it was not like it, but like a tower ; there is some reason to suspect the reading here ; and that either the negative particle is here to be blotted out, or the word entirely added.

from Antiochus, king of Syria, when he made war with the Jews, and came to Alexandria. And as Ptolemy received him very kindly, on account of his hatred to Antiochus, he assured him, that if he would comply with his proposal, he would bring all the Jews to his assistance. And when the king agreed to do it, so far as he was able; he desired permission to build a temple somewhere in Egypt, and to worship God according to the customs of his own country. For that the Jews would then be so much readier to fight against Antiochus, who had laid waste the temple at Jerusalem; and that they would then come to him with greater good will: and that by granting them liberty of conscience, very many of them would come over to him.

So Ptolemy complied with his proposals; and gave him a place one hundred and eighty furlongs distant from Memphis. That nomos was called the nomos of Heliopolis: where Onias built a fortress, and a temple, not like to that at Jerusalem, but such as resembled a tower. He built it of large stones to the height of †sixty cubits. He made the structure of the altar in imitation of that in our own country; and in like manner adorned with gifts: excepting the candlestick. For he did not make a candlestick: but had a single lamp hammered out of a piece of gold: which illuminated the place with its rays, and which he hung by a chain of gold. But the entire temple was encompassed with a wall of burnt brick, though it had gates of stone. The king also gave him a large country for a revenue in money; that both the priests might have a plentiful provision made for them, and that God might have great abundance of what things were necessary for his worship. Yet did not Onias do this out of a sober disposition. But he had a mind to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem; and could not forget the indignation he had for be-

* We must observe, that Josephus here speaks of Antiochus, who profaned the temple, as now alive, when Onias had leave given him by Philometor to build his temple. Whereas it seems not to have been actually built till about fifteen years afterward. Yet because it is said in the Antiquities, that Onias went to Philometor, XII. 9. during the lifetime of that Antiochus, it is probable he petitioned, and perhaps obtained his leave then: though it were not actually built or finished till fifteen years afterward.

† This was the height of Zorobabel's temple.

ing banished thence. Accordingly he thought, that by building this temple he should draw away a great number from them to himself. There had been also a certain ancient prediction made by a prophet, whose name was Isaiah, about six hundred years before, that this temple should be built by a man that was a Jew in Egypt. And this is the history of the building of that temple.

Now Lupus, the governor of Alexandria, upon the receipt of Cæsar's *letter, came to the temple, and carried out of it some of the donations dedicated thereto, and shut up the temple itself. And as Lupus died a little afterward, Paulinus succeeded him. This man left none of these donations there : and threatened the priests severely, if they did not bring them all out. Nor did he permit any who were desirous of worshipping God there, so much as to come near the place. But when he had shut up the gates, he made it entirely inaccessible : insomuch that there remained no longer the least vestiges of any divine worship that had been in that place. Now the duration of the time from the building of this temple, till it was shut up again, was †three hundred and forty-three years.

CHAP. XI.

CONCERNING JONATHAN, ONE OF THE SICARII, WHO STIRRED UP A SEDITION IN CYRENE ; AND WAS A FALSE ACCUSER OF THE INNOCENT.

NOW did the madness of the Sicarii, like a disease, reach as far as the cities of Cyrene. For one Jonathan, a vile person, and by trade a weaver, came thither ; and prevailed with no small number of the poorer sort to hearken to him. He also led them into the desert ; upon promising them, that he would show them signs, and apparitions. And as for the other Jews of Cyrene, he concealed his knavery from them, and put tricks upon them. But those of the greatest dignity among them informed Catullus, the governor of the Libyan Pentapolis, of his march into the desert, and of the preparations he had made for it. So he sent out after

* About A. D. 75.

† Rather 223.

him both horsemen and footmen, and easily overcame them : because they were unarmed men. Of these many were slain in the fight ; but some were taken alive, and brought to Catullus. As for Jonathan, the head of this plot, he fled away at that time : but upon a diligent search which was made all over the country for him, he was at last taken. And when he was brought to Catullus, he devised a way whereby he both escaped punishment himself, and afforded an occasion to Catullus of doing much mischief. For he falsely accused the richest men among the Jews ; and said, that they had excited him to what he did.

Now Catullus easily admitted of these calumnies, and aggravated matters greatly, and made tragical exclamations ; that he might also be supposed to have had a hand in the finishing of the Jewish war. But what was still harder, he did not only give a too easy belief to his stories ; but he taught the Sicarii to accuse men falsely. He told this Jonathan, therefore, to name one Alexander, a Jew, with whom he had formerly had a quarrel, and openly professed that he hated him. He also got him to name his wife Bernice, as concerned with him. These two Catullus ordered to be slain in the first place. Nay, after them he caused all the rich and wealthy Jews to be slain : being no fewer in all than three thousand. This he thought he might do safely ; because he confiscated their effects, and added them to Cæsar's revenues.

Nay, indeed, lest any Jews that lived elsewhere should convict him of this villany, he extended his false accusations farther ; and persuaded Jonathan, and certain others that were caught with him, to bring an accusation of attempts for innovation against the Jews that were of the best character, both at Alexandria, and at Rome. One of these, against whom this treacherous accusation was laid, was Josephus, the writer of these books. However, this plot, thus contrived by Catullus, did not succeed according to his hopes. For though he came himself to Rome, and brought Jonathan and his companions along with him in bonds ; and thought he should have had no farther inquisition made as to those lies that were forged under his government, or by his means ; yet did Vespasian suspect the matter, and make an inquiry how far it was true. And when he understood that the accusation laid against the Jews was an unjust one, he cleared them of the crimes

charged upon them ; and this on account of Titus's concern about the matter : and brought a deserved punishment upon Jonathan. For he was first tormented, and then burnt alive.

But as to Catullus, the emperors were so gentle to him, that he underwent no severer condemnation at this time. Yet was it not long before he fell into a complicated and almost incurable distemper, and died miserably. He was not only afflicted in body ; but the distemper in his mind was more heavy upon him than the other. For he was terribly disturbed ; and continually cried out, that he saw the ghosts of those whom he had slain standing before him. Whereupon he was not able to contain himself ; but leaped out of his bed, as if both torments and fire were brought to him. This distemper grew worse and worse continually ; and his very entrails were so corroded, that they fell out of his body : and in that condition he died. Thus he became an awful instance of divine providence ; and demonstrated that God severely punishes wicked men.

Here I shall put an end to this history : which I formerly promised to deliver with all accuracy, to such as should be desirous of understanding after what manner this war of the Romans with the Jews was managed. The merits of the work must be left to the determination of the reader. But as for its agreement with the facts, I shall not scruple to say, and that boldly, that I have alone aimed at truth through its entire composition.

END OF THE JEWISH WAR.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
TO
EPAPHRODITUS
ON THE
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS,
IN ANSWER TO
APION.

BOOK I.

IT is presumed most excellent Epaphroditus, that I have already incontrovertibly proved the antiquity of the Jewish nation, which originated with themselves, and maintains a claim of priority to this very day. The Antiquities contain the history of five thousand years, are founded on the sacred writings, but translated by me into the Greek tongue. Since, however, this arduous, and I may add, unprejudiced, undertaking, has not been sufficient to exempt the author from illiberal censure, or his productions from fabulous imputation, (and that upon the mere presumption of the Greek historians having neglected to record the antiquity of the Jewish nation,) I am bound, in duty to myself, and my country, first, to refute the invidious assertions of opponents; secondly, to inform the ignorant; and, thirdly, to state plain facts, in terms obvious to the understanding of those who desire to investigate truth.

The authorities I shall cite will be derived from men of undeniable reputation among the Greeks; and I shall set aside the

asseverations of those who have malevolently or ignorantly traduced me or my nation, by recurring to their own writings. I shall also assign the causes for which many of the Greek historians have passed over our nation without mention in their records, and then endeavour to obviate vulgar prejudices in general.

There are many people so superstitiously attached to the Greeks, that they consider them, abstractedly from all others, as the very oracles of history, to the contempt and disparagement of the rest of the rational creation. In point of antiquity, I am convinced the reverse will appear, if mankind will not be led by vain opinions, but search for facts upon the basis of substantial evidence. They will then find little or nothing amongst them that is not novel; I mean with respect to the building of their cities, the invention of their arts, and the description of their laws. The writing of history is of very late date among them; whereas, by their own confession, the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Phœnicians, (to say nothing of ourselves,) have, from time to time, recorded and transmitted to posterity, memorials of past ages in monumental pillars and inscriptions, with the advice and directions of the wisest men, to perpetuate transactions of moment. Besides, these people living in a clear air, the very climate contributed to the preservation of these antiquities from corruption and decay; which was quite otherwise with the Greeks, respecting duration, order, and appointment.

Their bare pretence to the knowledge of letters is of late date, and their skill in that particular is at this very hour defective.—The antiquity of which they boast goes no farther back than to the Phœnicians, and they value themselves upon the reputation of having had Cadmus for their first master. But so far are they from being able to produce, either in their temples or public registries, any one authentic memorial of these times, that, when it came to be propounded as a question, whether the use of letters was so much as known at the time of the Trojan war, it was carried in the negative. It is universally acknowledged that there is no Greek manuscript in date antecedent to the poems of Homer; and it is certain that the Trojan war was over before that poem (the *Iliad*) was written. Nor has it been admitted that Homer ever committed this production to writing. The prevailing opi-

nion runs, that it passed like a kind of ballad, which the people committed to memory, till, in the end, copies were taken from oral dictation, which is assigned as the cause of the many contradictions and mistakes found in the transcripts.

With respect to Cadmus, the Milesian, Acurilaus, and other Greek historians, they lived but a short time before the inroad of the Persians into Greece. Pherecydes, Pythagoras, and Thales, who first introduced philosophy, and the investigation of subjects divine and celestial, unanimously acknowledge that they derived their information from the Egyptians and Chaldeans. Nay, it remains a doubt to this day, whether these men were the authors of the works attributed to them. From these premises it appears extremely absurd for the Greeks to claim to themselves not only the sole knowledge of antiquity, but a preference in point of historical accuracy, candour, and credit. Nay, is it not evident, from their own writings, that their histories are the result of fancy and conjecture, rather than records of substantial facts? as their authors clash one with another, and report one and the same thing in a manner totally different. It would be tedious to point out the disagreement between Hellanicus and Acusilaus respecting their genealogies; the difference between Hesiod and Acusilaus; the proofs repeatedly brought by Ephorus to demonstrate the representations of Hellanicus; thereof Timeus to the same purport against Ephorus; those of succeeding writers against Timeus; and, in fine, those of all the latter authors against Herodotus. Nor could Timeus agree with Philistrus or Callias, about the Sicilian history. The historians of Athens and Argos differ as essentially. So that doubts must arise in the minds of the readers, when they discover such palpable contradictions amongst writers. Nay, Thucydides himself is called in question upon several occasions, though the most cautious, candid, and impartial historian of his age.

Upon due consideration, many reasons might be assigned for the great differences which prevail amongst Greek authors; but I apprehend the principal parts are these. First, the neglect of the Greeks in not laying a timely foundation for history, in records and memorials, to preserve the remembrance of great achievements: for, without these monumental traditions, posterity are apt

to err, having no clue to guide them into the path of truth. This mode of recording ancient traditions was not only neglected in other parts of Greece, but even in Athens itself, which has been deemed the very seat of the polite arts. Draco's penal laws, now extant in manuscript, are the most ancient of their public records, though bearing date but a short space before the tyrant Pisistratus. As to the Arcadians, who make such pretensions to antiquity, they came later to the use of letters than any of the rest.

Now there being no authorities extant, there must naturally arise great difference amongst the writers; because such vouchers might be introduced to confirm truth, and refute error, and thereby distinguish between the authentic and groundless historian. Another cause of contradictions is the motives which induce writers to take up the pen: too many will for the applause of their cotemporaries; and prefer the reputation of being esteemed florid in style, rather than candid in narrative. Some write to gratify fancy or humour, without any regard to truth and justice; others deal in panegyric, to court the patronage of the great; and there are some that lavish their time and talents in calumniating the writings and characters of their predecessors, which are all contrary to the duty and office of a genuine historian.

The characteristic of true history is the concordance of several writers, as to subject, time, and place: but the Greeks seem to adduce their diversity as an argument of authenticity. If the matter in dispute betwixt them and us, were nice arrangements of words, and precision of periods, we would yield them the palm; but we cannot but contend for superiority in point of fact and antiquity.

That the Egyptians and Babylonians of old were precise in the date of their annals, which was committed to the care of their priests, who were punctual in the discharge of that office; that the Chaldeans followed the example of the Babylonians, and that the Phœnicians, who were intermixed with the Greeks, instructed them in the use of letters, is universally acknowledged. It therefore only remains for me to show, that our forefathers provided, at least, as well for the security of this order and regulation, if not better, than any that went before them, in charging the high-priest and prophets with this commission; and these records have been

handed down to our times with the utmost accuracy: and I dare pronounce that our future annals will bear the same stamp of authority. Care was taken, from the beginning, to make choice of men of exemplary piety and virtue for this function; and further provision was made for preserving the sacerdotal race pure and untainted, as no man is qualified for the office of a priest, whose mother was not of priestly extraction; and therefore, without any regard to wealth and honour, whoever pretends to the priesthood, must prove his descent in a right line by a multitude of witnesses. This is the practice not only in Judea, but wherever our people are dispersed over the face of the whole earth; for our priests make it a kind of conscience only to intermarry with their own tribes. In this case, they send from the father to Jerusalem the name of the woman they intend to marry, with her pedigree well and duly attested.

But in time of war, as for instance, in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, Pompey the Great, and Quintilius Varus, and principally within our own memory, the surviving priests compose new tables of genealogy out of all records, and examine the circumstance of the women that remain. The priests marry no captives, through a suspicion they might have had intercourse with foreigners; and, as an incontrovertible proof of their purity, the names of all our priests, in an uninterrupted succession, from father to son, have stood upon record throughout a space of two thousand years. If any of them prevaricate, they are forbidden the altar, and deposed from the exercise of the sacred function. And this is justly, or rather necessarily, done; because every one is not permitted to write, nor is there any disagreement in what is written. The writings of the prophets we hold of Divine original; and as to those who have written the history of their own times, their number is not great, nor are they very repugnant one to another.

We have not a multitude of books among us, disagreeing and contradicting one another, as the Greeks have, but are confined to twenty-two, that we are bound to believe, and those twenty-two books comprise the history of the world from the beginning to this day. Five of them treat of the creation of the world, and the

generation of mankind, and so to the death of Moses, in a series of little less than three thousand years.

From the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, and king of Persia, every one of our prophets wrote the history of the times in which he lived, comprehending the whole in thirteen books; the other four books containing Divine poems and moral precepts. There has, indeed, been a continuation of our history from Artaxerxes to this instant; but it is not esteemed, in point of authenticity, comparable to that of our forefathers, as there has not been an exact succession of prophets since that time. The former writings are the objects of our implicit belief; for, during many ages of the world, no attempt has been made, either to add to, or diminish from them, or even so much as to transform or disguise them. As we hold these writings Divine, we call them so; and are trained, from earliest infancy, to meditate upon, observe, and maintain them as such; nay, we are enjoined rather to suffer death than give them up.

How many are there of our captive countrymen at this day, struggling under exquisite torments, because they will not renounce the laws of their country, nor blaspheme the God of their forefathers! When did any of the Greeks undergo such trials? They would not venture such shocks to preserve all they hold most dear. They hold their writings in no other esteem than as words, and have the same opinion of ancient as of modern productions. Many have taken upon them to write our subjects, of which they were wholly ignorant, and that without applying for information to those who were acquainted with them. We have an example of this in the histories of our late wars, published by persons who were never on the spot of action, but who, nevertheless, have the confidence to usher into the world a jargon of inconsistencies as genuine histories.

But this I can aver, with respect to my history of our wars, that it is genuine and authentic; as I had ocular testimony, certain knowledge, and the means of informing myself particularly of every occurrence. I have been as faithful in my report, as I was minute in my investigation. I had a command in Galilee as long as our nation was able to oppose the Romans; and it was my fortune, in the end, to be made prisoner, and carried to Vespasian

and Titus, who, at first, ordered me to be kept bound ; but I was afterward generously released, and sent to accompany Titus, when he came from Alexandria to the siege of Jerusalem. During the whole time there was nothing done that escaped my knowledge. Whatever passed in the Roman camp was open to me ; nor was any care wanting, on my part, most faithfully to represent every circumstance. With respect to the state of the city, I had accounts of it from deserters, with an express from the emperor to take minutes of each occurrence.

Being furnished with these materials, and finding leisure at Rome, I applied to some friends to assist me in acquiring a competent knowledge of the Greek tongue, and then proceeded to the compilation of my history, in which I am so conscious of having observed the utmost candour and justice, that I dare appeal to the generals Vespasian and Titus as my vouchers. To these illustrious personages I first presented my work, and next to them to certain noble Romans, who commanded in the same war. Others I disposed of to several of our own nation, who were skilled in the Greek tongue, as Julius, Archelaus, Herod, and the most excellent king Agrippa. These bear honourable testimony, that I acquitted myself as a faithful historian ; and surely I could never have obtained such sanction and patronage, if, through ignorance or favour, I had in any instance deviated from facts. I have been exposed to the calumnies of the illiberal, who have censured my productions in a vein of irony and sarcasm : but they would do well to consider, that whoever pretends to authenticity in the relation of transactions, should first render himself minutely acquainted with them, either from his own personal observations, or the information of others : of both these advantages I have fully availed myself.

With respect to my Antiquities, I have, in character of a priest, translated them from our sacred writings, and digested them in methodical order. But in the history of the war, I was an actor in some cases, a spectator in others, and, upon the whole, a stranger to nothing that was either done or said. What insolence, therefore, it is in those, who would endeavour to deprive me of my title to authenticity ! They pretended to have inspected the jour-

nals of the commanders ; but can that invalidate my history, in points absolutely unknown to these commanders ?

I have been under the necessity of making this digression, in order to expose the vanity of many who pretend to write histories ; and, I apprehend, that what I have observed, is sufficient to satisfy any man, that the very Barbarians have better preserved this custom of transmitting down the histories of ancient times than the Greeks themselves. I would now offer some matters for the consideration of those who endeavour to prove, that our constitution is but of modern date, because the Greek writers have made no mention of us : I shall then produce testimonies of our antiquity from the writings of foreigners, and demonstrate the injustice of those who cast reproaches on our nation.

We neither inhabit a maritime country, nor do we delight in merchandise ; nor in that intercourse with other nations which naturally arises from it. Our cities lie remote from the sea ; our soil is fruitful, and cultivated with care. Our grand concern is the education of our children, to train them in pious exercise, and strict obedience to the laws of our country : this, indeed, we esteem the main business of our lives. Besides, we have a peculiar way of living to ourselves, which gives us to understand, that, in times past, we had no communications with the Greeks, as the Egyptians and Phœnicians had, as also other nations, by a common tie of navigation, trade, and commerce, for the advancement of their fortunes. Nor did our predecessors make inroads upon their neighbours, as others have done, for the enlarging their estates ; though they wanted neither numbers or courage to be dangerous and troublesome, had they been so disposed.

Thus it was that the Phœnicians became known to the Greeks, and through them the Egyptians, and other traders into Greece. After these the Medes and Persians, having become lords of Asia, carried the war into Europe. The Thracians were also known by being contiguous ; the Scythians by holding a correspondence with those that sailed to Pontus ; and so all along the eastern and western sea, there was a sufficiency of subject matter for history.

But those whose habitations were remote from the sea, were for the most part unknown : as was the case in Europe also, where the Roman empire, that long had possessed such mighty power and

greatness, and performed such gallant exploits in war, are never mentioned by Herodotus, Thucydides, nor any of their cotemporaries : and it was very late, and with great difficulty, that the Romans became known to the Greeks. What shall we say of writers in ordinary, when Ephorus himself, the most celebrated of their historians, was so ignorant of the Gauls and Iberians, that he supposes the kingdom of Spain with the vast continent it stands upon, to be no more than one city, and so ascribes to them things that were never done, said, nor heard there? Whence comes this ignorance of the truth, but from the writer's having no knowledge of the parts alluded to? Nor can it be any wonder that our nation was no more known to many of the Greeks, nor had given them occasion to mention them in their writings, while they were so remote from the sea, and had a conduct of life so peculiar to themselves.

But if I should turn the Greeks' mode of reasoning upon themselves, and allege, by way of disproving their antiquity, that no mention is made of it in our records, would not such an inference be exploded as ridiculous? Would they not appeal to neighbouring nations to confirm their claim? If this manner of proceeding may be admitted on the one side, why not on the other? The Egyptians and Phœnicians are the chief witnesses that I shall adduce in this case; nor can there be any ground of exception to the evidence, as the former are known to be our professed enemies, and the latter no better disposed towards us, particularly the people of Tyre. But the Chaldeans have a better opinion of us, as having been formerly under their command; likewise on account of consanguinity and country, as appears from the honourable mention they make of us in their chronicles. When I have cleared our nation from the aspersions of the Greeks, and wiped away the slanders they have cast upon us, I will then advert to their own historians, and so obviate all farther cavil. I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians, and cite an extract from the works of Manethon, an Egyptian by birth, but well skilled in the Greek language, as appears from a history he took from holy writ about the Jewish religion. He finds much fault with Herodotus, for his ignorance and misrepresentation of the Egyptian manners and customs; and, in the second book of his history, de-

livers himself in these very words, which I quote without the least deviation, that they may suffice to confirm his testimony.

“ We had a king whose name was Timæus ; and in his reign we fell, beyond all imagination, under God’s heavy displeasure. There came flowing in upon us, a rugged, robust people out of the east, that made an inroad into the province ; and there encamping, took it by force, and carried all before them without so much as a stroke, putting our princes in chains, cruelly laying our city in ashes, demolishing our temples, and miserably oppressing our inhabitants ; some being cut to pieces, and others, with their wives and children, sent away in bondage. After this, they set up a king from among themselves, whose name was Salatis.

“ The new king advanced to Memphis, and having subjected both the upper and lower provinces, and put garrisons into all tenable places, he fortified to the eastward in a more especial manner, for fear of an invasion from the Assyrians, whom he looked upon as the stronger of the two. He found in the country of Saïtes, a city, formerly called Avaris, which was situated very conveniently for his purpose, to the east of the river Bobastis. This city he improved and repaired, and fortified it with strong works and walls, and a body of two hundred and forty thousand men to cover it. He made choice of harvest time for the execution of his design, with a regard both to the plenty of the season for provisions, to the means of paying his soldiers, and to the securing himself likewise against all assaults or invasions, by his excellent discipline and conduct.

“ Salatis died in the nineteenth year of his reign, and one Bœon succeeded him, who governed forty-four years. After him came Apachnas, and reigned six and thirty years and seven months. Apochis came next, and ruled sixty years and one month : Janias, fifty years and one month : and last of all came Assis, who ruled forty-nine years and two months. These six were the first kings, and perpetually in war, to exterminate the Egyptians. The people we called *hycsos* ; that is to say, *king shepherds* : for *hyc*, in the holy tongue, is as much as *king* ; and *sos*, according to the vulgar, is a *shepherd* : so that *hycsos* is taken as a compound. Some will have it that these people were Arabians. According to some other copies, *hyc* does not signify *king-shepherd*, but *shep-*

herd-captive ; for *hyc* and *hac*, with an aspiration sound, in Egyptian, is as much as *captive* ; and it seems to me the more reasonable interpretation of the two, as it suits better with the ancient history."

We have it upon credit of the same author, "that when those (by whatever name they may be called) kings, or shepherds, and their train, had kept the government of Egypt in their own hands for the space of five hundred and eleven years, the king of Thebes, and the remainder of Egypt, that was not as yet subjected, made a violent and obstinate war upon the shepherds, and routed them, under the command of king Ali-fragmuthosis : and when the greatest part of them were driven out of Egypt, the rest withdrew into a place called Avaris, of ten thousand acres in extent ; and this the shepherds (according to Manethon) inclosed with a strong substantial wall, that secured to them all necessaries within themselves." He says farther, "that Themosis, the son of Alis-fragmuthosis, laid siege to it with four hundred and eighty thousand men : but when he found the place was not to be carried by assault, they came to conditions, upon articles to depart Egypt, and a safe convoy to go whither they would. Upon these terms they marched out with their goods and families, to the number of two hundred and forty thousand souls, by the way of the wilderness, into Syria ; and, for fear of the Assyrians, who were then masters of Asia, retired into a country that is now known by the name of Judea, where they erected a city large enough to receive this vast multitude, and called it Jerusalem."

The same Manethon tells us, in another book of his Egyptian History, "that he finds these people in books of great authority, distinguished by the name of Captive Shepherds ;" our ancestors having been brought up to grazing, and from that pastoral employment taking the name of shepherds. They imagined that they had some ground for calling them captives : it was by that name that our father Joseph made himself known to the king of Egypt, when he obtained permission to send for his brethren. But of this more particularly elsewhere. So that it will be sufficient, at present, to consult the testimonies of the Egyptians upon this subject, and to hear Manethon, in his own words, about the time when this happened.

“ King Themosis reigned five and twenty years and four months, from the departure of the shepherds out of Egypt, to the building of Jerusalem. His son Chebron took the kingdom after him, and governed thirteen years : and after him Amenophis, twenty years and seven months : his sister Amesses, one and twenty years and nine months : her son Memphres twelve years and nine months : his son Mephramuthosis, five and twenty years and ten months : his son Themosis, nine years and eight months : his son Amenophis, thirty years and ten months : his son Orus, thirty-six years and five months : his daughter Acencheres, twelve years and one month : Rathotis, her brother, nine years : his son Acepcheres, twelve years and five months : another Acencheres, his son, twelve years and three months : his son Armais, four years and one month : his son Armesis, one year and four months : his son Armesses Miamun, sixty-six years and two months : Amenophis, nineteen years and six months : Sethosis, having raised a great force, both at sea and land, constituted his brother Armais lieutenant-general of Egypt, and vested him with all sovereign powers and privileges, the wearing of the crown excepted ; and, with a caution not to oppress the queen or her family, nor to intermeddle with the king’s concubines.

“ Sethosis, upon this, marched up to Cyprus and Phœnicia, and so forward to the Medes and Assyrians, conquering still as he went ; some by the sword, others by the very terror and reputation of his arms. He was so elevated by his successes, that he stopped at nothing, but laying all waste to the eastward, carried the whole country before him. While this was doing, his brother Armais, without any difficulty or scruple, broke faith with his brother in Egypt, and did just the contrary to what he should have done. He expelled the queen, abused the king’s concubines, and, at the instance and advice of his false friends, assumed the crown, and took up arms against his brother. The Egyptian high-priest gave Sethosis notice of all these indignities from time to time ; upon which advice the king came immediately back again by the way of Pelusium, and made good his government. From this prince the country took the name of Egypt ; for Sethosis was called Egyptus, and his brother Armais named likewise Danaus.”

This is the account of Manethon; from which it is evident, upon a clear computation, that our predecessors, otherwise known by the name of shepherds, left Egypt three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus went to Argos; though the Greeks pique themselves mightily upon the antiquity of that prince. Manethon therefore advances two great points for us out of the Egyptian records; the first, that our forefathers came out of another country into Egypt; the second, that their deliverance out of it was of so ancient a date, as to precede the siege of Troy almost a thousand years. With respect to some other particulars which Manethon adds, not out of the Egyptian records, but, as he himself confesses, from stories of an uncertain original, I shall demonstrate hereafter, that they are no better than groundless fictions.

I shall now pass from these records to those of the Phœnicians, concerning our nation, and from them produce attestations of what I have advanced. There are among the Tyrians public records of great antiquity, and they are so carefully preserved, as to contain all transactions that are worthy of memorial. Amongst other passages concerning our nation, they make mention of king Solomon's erecting a temple at Jerusalem, a hundred and forty-three years and eight months before their predecessors built Carthage; describing also, in their annals, the very model of the temple. Hiram, king of Tyre, had so great a friendship for David, and his son Solomon for his sake, that he presented him with a hundred and twenty talents of gold, towards the ornaments of the fabric, and furnished him with the most excellent timber from mount Libanus for the roof and wainscot. Nor was Solomon wanting, on the other hand, in a magnificent return, as, among other acknowledgments, he made him a present of Zebulon, in Naphtali. But the love of wisdom, or a kind of philosophic passion, cemented the friendship betwixt them. They sent problems and intricate cases to be solved by each other; and Solomon evinced a superiority to Hiram. There are extant among the Tyrians, to this day, divers copies of the letters that passed betwixt them; and for confirmation of the same I shall refer to Dios, a historian among the Phœnicians, of unquestionable credit. These are his words.

“ Hiram, the son of Abibal, succeeded his father in the government. He repaired and improved divers cities in the eastern parts of his dominion, enlarged Tyre, and, by raising a causeway between them, joined it to the temple of Jupiter Olympus, standing in an island, and beautified it with many rich donations. After this he went up to mount Libanus to cut down wood for temples. They say farther, that Solomon, king of Jerusalem, and Hiram, interchanged certain problems to be solved, upon condition that he who failed in the solution, should incur a forfeiture; and that Hiram, finding the question too difficult for him, paid the penalty; and proposed new ones for Solomon to interpret, upon the penalty of paying forfeit to Hiram.” This is what Dios records upon this subject.

I now proceed to Menander, the Ephesian, an author who made a historical collection of the transactions of the Greeks and Barbarians under every one of the Tyrian kings, which, for the better authority of the work, he has extracted from their own records. Having passed through the succession of the Tyrian kings as far as Hiram, he thus writes :

“ Upon the death of Abibal, his son Hiram came to the crown, and lived to enjoy it thirty-four years. This prince threw up a large bank, that joined Eurychorus to the city of Tyre; and dedicated a golden pillar to Jupiter, which was there deposited in his temple. He went after this into a forest, to a mountain called Libanus, where he cut down all the cedar for roofs for temples; raising the old buildings, and advancing others. One he dedicated to Hercules, another to Astarte : the former in the month Peritius, and the other when he marched against the Tyrians, for not paying their taxes : but, upon their reduction, he presently returned.

“ Hiram had, at this time, a young man, a servant in his house, whose office it was to expound Solomon’s riddles; his name was Abdemonus. From this king’s time to the building of Carthage, the computation runs thus :—

“ Baleazar, the son of Hiram, succeeded his father, and died in the forty-third year of his age, and the seventh of his reign. The next was Abdastartus, the son of Baleazar, who died in the twentieth year of his life, and the ninth of his reign. This prince

was murdered by his nurse's four sons, and the eldest of them governed twelve years in his place : and after him came Astartus, the son of Delæastartus, who lived sixty years, and reigned twelve. After him came his brother Aserymus, who lived fifty-four years, and reigned nine, and was murdered by his brother Phelles, who took the government upon him in the fiftieth year of his age ; and, after a reign of eight months, was slain by one Ithobalus, a priest of the goddess Astarte, who lived to the age of sixty-eight years, and ruled thirty-two. His son Badezor succeeded him, who lived forty-five years, and reigned six : and then his son Matgenus lived two and thirty years, and reigned nine. The next was Pygmalion, who lived fifty-six years, and governed forty. It was in the seventh year of his reign, that his sister Dido built Carthage, in Africa. So that from the time of Hiram to the erecting of Carthage, we account a hundred and fifty-five years and eight months. Taking for granted that the temple of Jerusalem was built in the twelfth year of king Hiram, it makes a hundred and forty-three years and eight months, from the raising of the temple to the building of Carthage."

Nothing can tend more to confirmation than this testimony of the Phœnicians : for our ancestors certainly came into Judea long before the building of the temple ; nor did they build that temple till they had obtained possession of the country by dint of arms, as I have clearly proved from the sacred writings in my Antiquities.

We will now proceed to show how far the Chaldean records agree with others concerning our history, and begin with Berosus, by birth a Chaldean, well known by the learned from his publication of the Chaldean treatises on astronomy and philosophy among the Greeks. Berosus following the most ancient records, gives us a history of the deluge, and the destruction of mankind thereby, exactly consonant with the description of Moses ; as also of the ark, and the preservation of Noah in it, when it was brought to the highest part of the Armenian mountains. He gives us a catalogue of the posterity of Noah, and adds the years of their chronology, from Noah himself to Nabulassar, king of the Babylonians and Chaldeans, with an account of this king's

exploits. He tells us that he sent his son Nabuchodonosor with a mighty army into Egypt and Judea, where, upon his being informed of a revolt, he reduced the people to subjection, set fire to our temple at Jerusalem, and carried off our whole nation in captivity to Babylon. After this our city lay desolate during an interval of seventy years, till the days of Cyrus, king of Persia. He then says that this Babylonian king conquered Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, and exceeded in his exploits all his predecessors. But to quote his own words.

“ Nabulassar, the father, understanding that his deputy in Egypt, Coelesyria, and Phœnicia, was up in arms, being old himself, and past the fatigues of war, he sent his son Nabuchodonosor (in the vigour of his youth,) at the head of a strong army to bring him to reason. This prince encountered the rebel, defeated him, and recovered all the provinces that were engaged in the revolt.

“ It happened, at the same time, that Nabulassar fell sick at Babylon, and died, after a reign of nine and twenty years. It was not long before the son had notice of his father's death; whereupon he immediately settled his affairs in Egypt, and the rest of the provinces; and committing the captive Jews, Phœnicians, and Syrians, that had been in Egypt, to the care of some particular confidants, to see them brought up to Babylon, together with the army and the baggage, he himself, with a small retinue, took his journey for Babylon by the way of the desert. Upon his arrival, he found all things disposed to his wish; the Chaldeans, and all the great men, declaring themselves in his interest, and for his establishment upon the throne of his father.

“ In this interim, while the prisoners were upon the way, he ordered them the most commodious lodgings of the city for their quarters, and all accommodations to be provided for them. The spoils of the war were applied with wonderful munificence, to the enriching and adorning of the temples; as that of Bell and others. He caused to be erected a new town, as an addition to the old one: and to prevent the turning of the river the city stood upon, from the place, in case of a siege, they ran up a triple wall, part of it brick, and the rest of brick and bitumen, about the whole. After all these fortifications, he made such gates as might have become

the dignity of a temple. He built likewise a glorious palace, near that of his father, but incomparably beyond it, both for extent and expense. The description of it would be too tedious ; but it must be observed that this admirable piece was the work of only fifteen days.

“ There were in it also several artificial rocks, that had the resemblance of mountains ; with nurseries of all sorts of plants, and a kind of hanging garden suspended in the air by a most admirable contrivance. This was to gratify his wife, who, being brought up in Media, among the hills, and in the fresh air, found relief from such a prospect.”

Thus writes Berosus respecting the king : and there are other circumstances worthy of remark in his Chaldean antiquities, and more particularly where he censures the Greeks for affirming that Babylon was founded by Semiramis, queen of Assyria. Moreover, we meet with a confirmation of what Berosus relates, in the records of the Phœnicians, concerning the king of Babylon, and his conquering all Syria and Phœnicia. Philostratus agrees with him in his history of the siege of Tyre ; as does Megasthenes, in the fourth book of his Indian History, wherein he pretends to prove that this king of Babylon was superior to Hercules in strength and prowess, adding, that he had the greatest part of Lybia and Iberia at his devotion. With respect to the temple of Jerusalem, we have the authority of Berosus, that it was laid in ashes by the Babylonians ; and that Cyrus, when he had reduced Asia, began to rebuild it. That historian thus writes in his third book.

“ When Nabuchodonosor was just entered upon the third wall, in the forty-third year of his reign, he fell sick and died. Evil-Merodach, his son, succeeded him ; but having rendered himself odious to the highest degree, by his exorbitant oppressions, he was cut off by the treacherous practice of Niriglissoror, his sister’s husband, in the second year of his reign. After his death, the traitor advanced himself to the crown, and kept it four years. His son Laborosardochus came very young to the government, and continued in it only nine months, being destroyed by the treachery even of his very friends, who looked upon him as a youth of vicious and dangerous inclinations, and therefore re-

moved him. He was no sooner despatched than the conspirators met, and consulting together, chose one Nabonidus for their king, being both a Babylonian, and of the same family. The walls about the river of Babylon were finished by this prince.

"In the seventeenth year of this king's reign, Cyrus, with a mighty army out of Persia, overran all Asia, and marched directly for Babylon. Nabonidus fairly met him in the field, fought him, and lost the battle: only himself, and some few of his people, got into the town of Borsippe. Cyrus was now before Babylon, making no doubt but, upon forcing the first wall, he might carry the place. But, upon second thoughts, he quitted the siege, and went back to Borsippe, with a design to attack the place. Nabonidus chose rather to cast himself upon Cyrus's mercy, than to stand the shock; so that, upon his humiliation, Cyrus banished him out of Babylon, and gave him quiet possession of Caramania, where he ended his life in a private station."

These accounts of Berosus exactly correspond with our sacred books, in which it is related that Nabuchodonosor, in the eighteenth year of his reign, destroyed our temple, and that it lay desolate for fifty years. But that, in the second year of the reign of Cyrus, its foundation was laid; and it was finished again in the second year of Darius. I shall now add the records of the Phœnicians, as too many proofs cannot be adduced, provided they agree in point of chronology. The computation stands thus:—

Nabuchodonosor besieged Tyre for thirteen years, in the reign of king Ithobal. After him reigned Baal ten years. After him judges were appointed, of whom Ecnibalus, the son of Baslec, judged the people two months. Chelbis, the son of Abdæus, ten months. Abbar, the high priest, three months. Mytgonus and Gerassus Betus, the sons of Abdelimus, six years. After them Balatorus, one year. Upon his death they sent for Merbalus from Babylon, who governed four years, and was succeeded by his brother Hiram, who ruled twenty years, during which Cyrus obtained the empire of Persia. The whole interval amounts to fifty-four years and three months; for, in the seventh year of the reign of Nabuchodonosor, he began to besiege Tyre; and Cyrus entered upon his reign over the kingdom of Persia in the fourteenth year of Hiram. So that the records of the Chaldeans and

Tyrians agree with our writings concerning this temple; and the testimonies here produced are an indisputable attestation to the antiquity of our nation.

But it is now expedient to satisfy those who disbelieve the records of Barbarians, and think those of the Greeks only worthy of credit, by producing many of those very Greeks who were acquainted with our nation, and setting before them such as, upon occasion, have made mention of us in their own writings.

Pythagoras, of Samos, lived in very ancient times, and was esteemed superior to all philosophers in piety and wisdom. It is evident that this great man was not only versed in our laws, but, in many instances, an admirer and observer of them. This is not inferred from any thing that he ever wrote, but from what others knew and reported concerning him. Hermippus, a historian of credit, in his first book concerning Pythagoras, informs us, "that, upon the death of Calliphon, of Croton, one of his associates, the philosopher affirmed, that the soul of this man conversed with him night and day, and enjoined him not to pass over a place where his ass had stumbled, to drink only of clear fountain water, and to speak ill of no man. This he did in imitation of the Jews and Thracians, with an application to himself." And it was truly said; for Pythagoras incorporated divers customs of the Jews into his own philosophy.

Nor was our nation unknown of old to several of the Grecian cities, or, indeed, thought unworthy of imitation by some of them, as appears from Theophrastus, in his book of laws, where he speaks of the Tyrian law against swearing by any strange god, naming the Corban, amongst other oaths prohibited, that is to say, in Hebrew, the gift of God; and this oath was only to be found amongst the Jews.

Herodotus, of Halicarnassus, was no stranger to our nation; for he makes some mention of us in his second book, where, speaking of the people of Colchos, he has these words: "With respect to circumcision, I find only the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians, to have used it of old. But the Phœnicians and the Syrians in Palestine, confess that they derived it from the Egyptians. The Syrians that border upon the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, and their neighbours the Macronians, are reputed to

have taken it up of late from the Colchians. There are no others that are circumcised; and they proceed after the manner of the Egyptians. As for the Egyptians and Ethiopians, I cannot determine which of them received it from the other." This author is positive that the Syrians of Palestine are circumcised, whereas there are no people circumcised in Palestine but the Jews; it must therefore be his knowledge of them that induced him to speak concerning them.

Chærilus also, a more ancient writer and poet, makes mention of our nation, and informs us, that it came to the assistance of king Xerxes, in his expedition against the Greeks; for, in his enumeration of other nations, he last of all inserts ours, when he says,

" These people, with an admirable grace,
Brought up the rear: their language Tyrian was;
Themselves unknown; the mountains their abode
By Solymus, that near a vast lake stood.
Their hair cut round; and their heads cover'd o'er
With head pieces of tann'd horse-hides they wore."

From hence I think it is evident that, speaking of the mountains of Solyma, of Jerusalem, and of a large lake at hand there, it can be understood of no other than of the Jews that dwell amongst those mountains; and of the lake Asphaltites, which is by much the largest in all Syria.

Nor were the Jews barely known to the common sort of the Greeks, but likewise to their philosophers of the first rank, by whom they were honoured with singular marks of friendship and esteem. Clearchus, who was the disciple of Aristotle, and inferior to none of the Peripatetics, in his first book on the subject of sleep, says, from Aristotle, his master, "It would be tedious to run through the whole history of the people of the Jews, and therefore I shall only give you a specimen of a particular person's admirable wisdom." Hyperochides made answer, that it would be the greatest favour he could do them. Aristotle then proceeded thus: "This was a Jew of the Lower Syria, of the race of a sort of philosophers whom the Indians call Calani, and the Syrians Jews, from the country of Judea, which they inhabit. Their capital city has a hard name, and they call it Jerusalem. He was a person of great hospitality to strangers, and no less considerable

for his learning and morals. It was my fortune to be in Asia with some disciples, and this man paid us several visits there, to the great satisfaction and improvement of those who admired his conversation."

This is the character, according to Clearchus, that Aristotle gave the Jews, to which he added his extraordinary temperance and moderation in the government of his passions.

Hecataeus, the Abderite, a man learned and active, who was trained up with Alexander the Great, and lived afterward with Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and king of Egypt, wrote an entire tract upon the subject of the Jews, from which I shall extract some passages that tend to elucidate the matter under present consideration. He relates an account of a battle fought betwixt Ptolemy and Demetrius, near Gaza, eleven years after the death of Alexander, and in the hundred and seventeenth Olympiad, according to Castor in his history. "It was in this Olympiad (he writes) that Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, defeated Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, otherwise called Poliorcetes, in a battle, not far from Gaza." Now it is agreed, on all hands, that Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad; and it is therefore evident that the Jews were a flourishing people in the days of that great prince. Hecataeus says further, that after the battle of Gaza, Ptolemy made himself master of Syria, and the country round, and that the people were so charmed with his humanity and moderation, that many followed him into Egypt, and were willing to assist him in his concerns. Among the rest was one Hezekiah, an high-priest of the Jews, and a person of the first rank. He was a man sixty years of age, possessed of the powers of eloquence, and great knowledge of the world. The same author says likewise, that the number of priests who received tenths lived in common, and amounted to about fifteen hundred. Speaking afterward of Hezekiah, he thus proceeds:—

"We have had several conferences with this great man, and others about him, concerning our different customs, practices, and opinions, insomuch that he carried us to his habitation, and instructed us in the polity of his country, which he had down in writing."

Hecataeus proceeds to show the zeal and veneration we have for

our laws, and that we are ready to submit to the most excruciating torment, rather than be guilty of the least violation of them. He then expatiates on the subject of our patience under calumny and reproach in the following manner :—

“What indignities have these people endured from their neighbours ! How have they been persecuted by the Persian kings and their officers, and yet stood firm to the last extremity against all trials ! For instance ; the temple of Belus was fallen down at Babylon, and Alexander, being at that time in the place, had an intention to repair it, and accordingly ordered all the soldiers to assist in carrying timber and materials towards the advancing of the work. The Jews were the only people that refused, and were severely punished for their disobedience : but when the king saw nothing would work upon them, out of generous tenderness for such constancy, he ordered them to be discharged. Upon their return into their own country, they demolished all the temples and altars that they found erected to strange gods ; for which some of them were fined and punished, and others pardoned.”

The historian enlarges then upon our wonderful steadiness and resolution, the vast multitudes of our people, the prodigious numbers that were carried away captive, by the Persians, into Babylon, and others again, after the death of Alexander, transported into Egypt and Phœnicia, upon occasion of a sedition in Syria. He speaks likewise of the extent, the beauty, and the fruitfulness of our country, (that is to say, of Judea,) which he computes at near three millions of acres, and affirms it to be a most excellent soil. Of the city of Jerusalem, its spaciousness, the people, and the temple, he speaks to this effect :

“The Jews have in their possession a great many towns, villages, and strong holds ; but one city eminent above all the rest for largeness and strength. It is accounted fifty furlongs in compass, to contain a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants ; and the name of it is Jerusalem. In the middle of this city stands an enclosure of stone, a hundred cubits about, and two mighty gates to it. Within this enclosure is a quadrangular altar, made of unwrought stones, that never tool touched ; the superficies of it twenty cubits over, and the depth ten. Near about it there stands a spacious building, with a golden altar, and candlestick in it, of

two talents weight, and lamps burning continually night and day. But for images, plants, groves, &c. as in other temples, here they were wholly wanting. But there are priests that pass their time there day and night in great purity; and they drink no wine." The same author again thus relates a story of a Jew, upon an expedition, that served under one of Alexander's successors.

"As I was travelling towards the Red Sea, there was one Mosollam in the company, a Jew, and one of our horse-guards, that was looked upon to be very brave, and a famous marksman with bow and arrow. As they were advancing on their way, a sooth-sayer, that took upon him to foretell the fortune of their voyage, bade them all stand, and they did so. This Jew asked them what they stood for? The cunning man, showing them a bird, replied, If that bird stands, you are to stand; if it rises, and flies on, you are to go forward too; but if the bird takes its flight the contrary way, you must all go back again. The Jew, without any more words, let fly an arrow, and killed the bird. The diviner, and his companions, fell presently upon the Jew, in most outrageous terms. Why certainly (says Mosollam,) you are all mad, to be thus concerned about a foolish bird. How shall that poor wretch pretend to tell us our fortune, that knew nothing of its own? If this bird could have foreseen good or evil to come, it would have kept itself out of the way of this arrow." Thus much of Hecataeus.

I shall add one word out of Agatharchides, not as any friend of ours; though I take him, in charity, to be no enemy. He relates a story, how "Stratonice cast off her husband Demetrius, and passed out of Macedonia into Syria, with a design to marry the king Seleucus. But Seleucus not answering her expectation, she stirred up a commotion in Antioch, while he was with his army in Babylon. At his return he took Antioch; and Stratonice making for Seleucia, she was taken, and it cost her her life." Her only course had been to have taken her passage by sea; but she was diverted from it by a dream. Agatharchides, reflecting upon Stratonice's superstition, takes occasion to treat more at large upon the topics, and so enters upon an invective against the Jews.

"The people (says he) they call Jews, are possessed of a city by the name of Jerusalem, a place of impregnable strength. They have a custom there of resting the seventh day, without either

bearing of arms, tilling the ground, or attending any common business whatsoever; but they employ it wholly in their temples, and upon their devotions, from the morning to the evening.

“Ptolemæus, the son of Lagus, took advantage of this custom, and entered the city with an army upon that day. What was the consequence? When the Jews should have been defending their lives and liberties, their attention was altogether taken up with the superstitious foolery of not violating their sabbath; and so they delivered themselves up to an insupportable tyranny; which taught them, by experience, the unwarrantable foundation of so pernicious a law. From hence it is, that men fly to dreams and opinions, never considering that things necessary are not to be controlled by human reason.” Thus Agatharchides reflects upon our conduct; but whosoever passes a sober judgment upon the whole matter, will find the proceedings grounded upon the most glorious foundation of honour and virtue: for what can be more heroical than to give up life and country to the duty we owe to God’s holy laws and religion?

That some writers have omitted to mention our nation, not because they knew nothing of us, but because they envied us, or from some other unjustifiable cause, I think I can demonstrate from particular instances. Jerome, who wrote the history of Alexander’s successors, lived at the same time with Hecatæus, who was a friend of king Antigonos, and had the government of Syria. Now Hecatæus wrote a complete volume of our affairs, while Jerome never mentions us in his history; though, from the vicinity of the place of his nativity, he might be said to have been bred up amongst us. But men act according to their different inclinations. The one thought our actions worthy of being transmitted to posterity, while the other was blindly disposed to suppress the truth.

But surely we have sufficient evidence to demonstrate our claim to antiquity, as the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Phœnicians, together with many of the Greek writers: for, besides those already mentioned, there are Theophilus, Theodotus, Mnaseas, Aristophanes, Hermogenes, Euemerus, Conou, Zopirion, and many others, who have made particular mention of us. The greater part of these writers must undoubtedly be in the dark, for want of the holy

scriptures for their guide ; yet they all afford their testimony to our antiquity, which is sufficient for my present purpose. The errors of Demetrius Phalerus, the elder Philon, and Eupolemus, may be passed over with candour, as they had not the means of better information.

There remains behind one material circumstance, to which I hold myself bound in duty to attend. This is to demonstrate the calumnies and reproaches laid upon our nation, and turn the asseverations of the authors against themselves. To all men, who are conversant in history, the prejudice and partiality of writers must have been obvious. Some exercise their malignity and prejudice upon whole nations ; some cast the shaft of detraction at one object, some at another. Thus Theopompus inveighed against the Athenians, Polycrates against the Lacedæmonians, and Tripoliticus (not Theopompus, as some imagine) against the Thebans. Some of the writers are actuated by malevolence and envy, some from the hope of acquiring fame, and others by representing things extravagant and extraordinary. But whatever effect such illiberal efforts may have with the weak and superficial, men of sober judgment will treat them with the contempt they deserve.

The Egyptians being our professed enemies, the most effectual means of gratifying them was to pervert truth, and misrepresent the story of our forefathers coming into Egypt, and their departure thence. Indeed, they envied and hated us for many causes. First, for becoming powerful and considerable while we were amongst them, and afterward prosperous when we returned to our country. The difference of our religion from theirs was another cause of enmity ; a difference wide beyond conception ; for they paid adoration to brute animals. This practice they imbibed from earliest infancy ; and that prepossession that blinded their minds, and rendered them incapable of sublimer ideas, excited their aversion to those proselytes who came over to us ; and some of them have proceeded to that degree of folly and meanness in their conduct, as not to scruple to contradict their own ancient records. This assertion I shall prove by quoting the words of one of their principal writers, whom I have already cited in confirmation of our antiquity.

Manethon having undertaken his Egyptian History, solemnly promised to found it upon some sacred writings, and premises, "That our ancestors carried an army into Egypt, and subdued the country, but that, being expelled soon after, they settled themselves in a province that is now called Judea, built a city by the name of Jerusalem, and erected a temple." Thus far he followed the ancient records. But he afterward becomes eccentric, admits vulgar rumours and traditions, and introduces incredible stories, representing us as intermixed with a rabble of Egyptian lepers, and thus driven out of the country. He brings upon the tapis an ideal king, under the fictitious name of Amenophis; but, conscious of the imposture, does not calculate the years of his reign, which he has accurately done in other cases. He then ascribes even fabulous stories to this king, as having, in a manner, forgotten what he had already related, that is, that it was now five hundred and eighteen years since the shepherds went out of Egypt towards Jerusalem; for it was in the reign of Themosis that they departed. Now, from his days, the reign of the intermediate kings, according to Manethon, amounted to three hundred and ninety-three years, till the time the two brothers, Sethon and Hermus, of whom Sethon was otherwise called Egyptus, and Hermus Danaus. He also says, that Sethon cast the other out of Egypt, and reigned fifty-nine years; as did his eldest son Rhampses, sixty-six years.

Having acknowledged that our forefathers were gone out of Egypt so many years ago, he introduces his fictitious king Amenophis, as a prince of divine speculations, like Orus, and says, that he was desirous to become a spectator of the gods. He also communicated his desire to one of the same name with his own, who was the son of Papius, and a kind of priest. Manethon adds, that this said priest, Amenophis, told him, that his desire of seeing the gods should be granted, upon condition of his clearing the kingdom of all lepers, and other unclean persons; and that the king, pleased with this injunction, gathered together, out of Egypt, all that had any bodily defects, to the number of four-score thousand, whom he sent to work in the quarries to the eastward of the Nile, with a mixture of other Egyptians, to whom that

service was allotted. He says further, that there were some of the learned priests polluted with the leprosy.

In prosecution of his purpose, he goes on to observe, that the wise and heavenly priest Amenophis, in a horror of conscience for what he had done, and in dread of a judicial vengeance from heaven upon himself for giving that counsel, and upon the king for taking it, durst not mention it to him, but left a writing behind him, and then put an end to his own existence. The author then goes on in these very words :—

“ The king, being plied with petitions on the behalf of these miserable people, and particularly for some place of retreat, where they might live safe and easy, they pitched upon Avaris, formerly known by the name of Typhon, and the seat of the shepherds. The prince granted them this boon; and they were no sooner settled in it, than, finding it a commodious post for a rebellion, they listed themselves under Osarsiph, a priest of Heliopolis, and took an oath of fidelity to him, to obey whatever he should command them, upon these preliminaries, that they should neither worship any of the Egyptian gods, nor abstain from any of the meats that they account holy, nor intermarry but with people of their own opinion. When they had gone thus far, in opposition to the Egyptian interest and customs, the commander presently ordered the fortifying and walling in of the city, and the levying war against Amenophis, who, taking other priests along with him, sent an embassy to the shepherds at Jerusalem, whom king Thémosis had forced away out of Egypt, with instructions to the deputies to consult upon the common cause, and invite them into a league against Egypt, with a promise to join in the confederacy, and receive them into Avaris, the seat of their ancestors, where they were sure they could want nothing; but they might fight when they found it convenient, and with the utmost ease make themselves masters of the province. They were transported with joy at this proposal, and immediately drew out to the number of two hundred thousand men, and so marched away to Avaris.

“ Amenophis, upon the news of this invasion, was in great confusion of mind, as to the prophetic paper the priest left behind him; immediately called a great council of his princes and people together, and sent away all the beasts that passed for sacred among

the Egyptians, with a strict order to the priests to keep all their idols as close as possible. He committed his son Sethon, otherwise called Romasses, after his father's name, Rhampses, a child of five years of age, to the care of a particular friend; and so marched away himself at the head of three hundred thousand fighting men, to encounter the enemy. But, upon second thought, and a check of conscience, he turned short without fighting, and went his way to Memphis, where he and his people took shipping, and, with Apis, and the rest of their gods, fled into Ethiopia. The king of the country gave him and his people so generous a reception, that they wanted for nothing the place afforded; neither provisions or habitations, for their entertainment and convenience, to serve them the whole course of that fatal thirteen years banishment. Thus it fared with the Egyptians in Ethiopia; besides that they had a guard allowed them upon the frontier, for the safety of their king's person.

"But in the mean time, the Jerusalem auxiliaries made infinitely more ravage in Egypt, than they that called them in: for there was nothing they stuck at that was either inhuman or wicked; and the very spectacle of their impiety was a calamity not to be expressed. The razing, burning, and rifling of towns and villages, was nothing to them without sacrilege, and breaking the images of their gods to pieces; most barbarously tearing the consecrated creatures, that the Egyptians adored, limb from limb; forcing the priests and prophets to be the executioners of them themselves, and then turning them off naked."

The author says yet further, "That the founder of that polity was one Osarsiph, a priest of Heliopolis, so called from Osiris, a god that was worshipped there:" and he says that this priest, changing his religion, changed his name too, and called himself Moses. This is an Egyptian story of the Jews, but contracted for brevity-sake.

Manethon says yet again, that "Amenophis and his son Rhampses marched afterward out of Ethiopia with two great armies, encountered the shepherds and the lepers, routed, and chased them with great slaughter to the borders of Syria." This is the account we have from Manethon, which is most ridiculously trivial, as will evidently appear.

Now this fabulist takes it for granted, in the first place, that our forefathers were not originally of Egypt, but came thither from another country, and having subdued it, went again out of it. But that these Egyptians, who were thus diseased, did not afterward intermingle with us, and that Moses, who brought us out of the land of Egypt, was not one of that number, I shall endeavour to demonstrate from Manethon's own account, and prove that it is not only a fiction, but that the foundation of it is as ridiculous as false.

Manethon supposes that "King Amenophis desired to see the gods." I ask what gods? If he meant the gods their laws ordained to be worshipped, as the ox, the goat, the crocodile, and the baboon, he had already seen them. But if he meant celestial gods, they are altogether invisible. What could excite this desire? Another king, it seems, had seen them before. He might have been informed what they were, and after what manner they had been seen, without any new artifice for obtaining his desire. However, the prophet, it is said, by whose means the king thought to compass his design, was a good and wise man. If so, he must have known that the king's desire was unattainable. But he failed of his end. To come more closely to the point, what pretence could there be to suppose that the gods would not be seen by reason of any defect in the human body? The gods are not offended at the defects of the body, but at those of the mind. How can it be conceived that so many thousand diseased persons should be gathered together in one day? Why did not the king follow the direction of the prophet, and rather expel them out of Egypt, than condemn them to the quarries, as if he rather wanted labourers than to purge his country? He says further, that the prophet slew himself in dread of a Divine vengeance, and left this prediction for the king in writing. How came the prophet not to foresee his own destruction as well as that of the rest? Why did he not dissuade the king from the indulgence of so fantastical a desire? Why that dread upon him of judgments that were not to happen during his life? Or was the misery he apprehended worse than death itself? But the most ridiculous part of the story remains for comment.

The king, although he had been informed of these things, and

was terrified at the apprehension of them, did not eject these diseased people out of his country, but, as Manethon relates, gave them that city to inhabit, which had belonged to their forefathers, and was called Avaris, where they made choice of the high-priest of Heliopolis for their governor. This priest first ordained that they should neither worship the gods, nor abstain from those animals that were adored by the Egyptians, but kill and eat them; that they should associate with none but their confederates; and he bound the multitude by oath to the observance of these laws. In fine, they fortified Avaris, and took up arms against the king, sending to Jerusalem for assistance, with a promise of putting Avaris into their hands; not doubting but from thence, upon a conjunction, they might easily obtain possession of all Egypt.

He further says, that they advanced with two hundred thousand men: but that Amenophis, king of Egypt, because he would not fight against the gods, took his flight into Ethiopia, and took Apis, and other sacred animals, along with him. That the Jews, afterward breaking into Egypt, laid their towns waste, fired the temples, put their nobility to the sword, and committed outrages without mercy or distinction. That the priest who settled their polity was a native of Heliopolis, by name Osarsiph, so called from their god Osiris; but that he afterward assumed the name of Moses. That Amenophis fell into Egypt, out of Ethiopia, with a mighty armament, in the thirteenth year after his expulsion, and joining battle with the shepherds, and the polluted people, overcame them, slew many of them, and pursued the rest as far as the bounds of Syria.

Manethon did not here reflect that his stories are totally unconnected and improbable; for though the diseased people, and the multitude that were with them, might deem it, at first, a hard measure, to be treated with such rigour by the king at the instance of the prophet, yet, when they were freed from the slavery of the mines, and allowed a commodious habitation, they must certainly have entertained a more candid opinion of him. Or admitting their aversion to have been implacable, they would rather have contrived some secret practice upon his person, than involve not only their countrymen, but nearest relations, in the calamities of a war. Their contest was with men, not with the gods; neither

would they act contrary to the laws in which they had been trained up. We owe our acknowledgments to Manethon, for declaring that the ringleaders of this outrage were none of those that came out of Jerusalem, but the very Egyptians themselves, and especially their priest, who had bound them by oath to those practices. How absurd it is to suppose, that, when they found none of the relations or friends of the diseased could be prevailed upon to revolt, nor bear any part in a war, they should send to Jerusalem for succour! Could it be on the score of friendship or interest betwixt them? Certainly not; for on the contrary, they were professed enemies, from a total repugnance in manners and customs.

Manethon affirms, that they immediately complied, upon the promise of being put in possession of Egypt: as if they could be ignorant of the condition of that country out of which they had been driven by force. Had they been in a necessitous state, they might have undertaken so hazardous an enterprize; but to suppose that people, living at ease, and in a much more fruitful and agreeable country than Egypt, should incur such danger for the sake of enemies, and those so nauseously distempered, argues a degree of folly bordering on phrenzy. They could not foresee the flight of the king at the head of three hundred thousand men; for that was the number, according to the fabulist, he brought to Pelusium to encounter the revolvers.

He charges also upon the army from Jerusalem, the seizure of the Egyptians' corn and provisions, the embezzlement of their stores, and the commission of the most horrid acts. What less could be expected from an open and declared enemy, especially when the Egyptians had done the same things before, and bound themselves by oath to continue the same practices?

In what light shall we view the story of the rout Amenophis gave his enemies, together with the slaughter and pursuit of them to the borders of Syria? Does Egypt lie so open on all hands? and would not those who had the conduct of the war, when they were informed he was upon the march, have secured the avenues out of Ethiopia, and drawn an army together to oppose him? But, says the fabulist, he followed them over the sandy desert, and pursued the slaughter as far as Syria. A very probable sup-

position ! to pursue an enemy over a desert hardly passable, and that without any interruption. It is evident, even from Manethon's own account, that we neither derived our origin from the Egyptians, or ever intermixed with them. As to the diseased part of them, it is not doubted but that many died in the quarries, more in the war, and great numbers in this last action and flight. But we now proceed to examine into the validity of what Manethon advances concerning Moses.

The Egyptians universally acknowledged Moses to have been a man of singular wisdom and integrity ; and for that reason, it seems, they were desirous of having it thought that he was of their country, and therefore represented him as one of the priests of Heliopolis, who was ejected, amongst the rest, as an infected person. It has been demonstrated, from their chronological records, that Moses lived five hundred and eighteen years earlier, and conducted our forefathers out of Egypt into the country which we now inhabit. That he was subject to no bodily distemper, is evident from his own words ; for he positively prohibited any lepers from being admitted into any towns or villages ; enjoined them to live apart, and declared, that whosoever touched them, or lived under the same roof with them, should be reputed unclean. He farther ordained, that whosoever should be cured of that disease, and restored to a former state, should pass certain purifications, wash with fountain water, shave off the hair, and offer particular sacrifices, previous to their reception into the holy city. If Moses had been affected with this distemper himself, he would never have been so rigidly severe upon others.

Nor were these laws ordained for persons afflicted with the leprosy only, but they disqualified any man for the sacerdotal office, who had maim or corporeal defect. Nay, if any priest, already initiated, should have such a calamity in future, he was deprived of his function. Can it then be supposed, that if Moses had been a leper, he would have ordained laws to his own reproach ?

Nor is there any probability of his changing his name from Osarsiph to that of Moses, as there appears not the least affinity between the one and the other. Moy, in the Egyptian language, is water ; and Moyse signifies a person who is preserved out of the water. Upon the whole, it is presumed, I have rendered it

evident, that, while Manethon followed the ancient records, he was not far wide of the truth ; but where he is guided by fiction and fable, there is no longer any connexion or truth in his history.

I shall now inquire into the merits of Cheremon, another Egyptian historian, who supposes the same names and persons of Amenophis, and his son Ramessis, with Manethon. He relates that the goddess Isis appeared to Amenophis in his sleep, and reprehended him severely for suffering her temple to be demolished in the war. But that Phritiphantes, a sacred scribe, suggested to the king, that if he would clear Egypt of all persons labouring under foul and malignant distempers, he should never more be troubled with those frightful apparitions. That Amenophis accordingly chose out two hundred and fifty thousand of those that were thus diseased, and cast them out of the country, under the command of Moses and Joseph, two of the number, and holy men. That their names were originally Egyptian ; Moses being called Tisites, and Joseph, Peteseeph. That they found at Pelusium three hundred and eighty thousand, that Amenophis had left there, refusing them a passage into Egypt. That they struck a league, and joined in an expedition against the Egyptians ; but that Amenophis, not being able to sustain their attacks, fled into Ethiopia, leaving his wife pregnant behind him. That she lay concealed in a cavern, and there brought forth a male child, whom she called Messenes, who, when he was grown to man's estate, drove about two hundred thousand of the Jews into Syria, and brought back his father Amenophis out of Ethiopia. Thus much for the account of Cheremon.

To invalidate the credit of these writers, it will be only necessary to confront them. Truth and error can never be reconciled, nor can truth be divided against itself. When men have recourse to fable and fiction, what they write may be deemed fancy rather than history. Manethon imputes the expulsion of the lepers to the desire of Amenophis to see the gods ; Cheremon to the vision of Isis. The former makes the priest Amenophis the adviser of the expulsion of the distempered people out of the king's dominions ; the latter affirms, that it was Phritiphantes. They agree equally exact with respect to their numbers as their stories ; the former computing them at eighty thousand men, the latter at two hundred

and fifty thousand. Manethon again sends the lepers first to the quarries, and after that transports them to Avaris, whence they apply to the Jews for assistance, and make that the rise of the war. Cheremon, on the contrary, affirms, that, being driven out of Egypt, they availed themselves of the three hundred and eighty thousand men that Amenophis had left at Pelusium, invaded Egypt, and caused Amenophis to fly into Ethiopia. But, strange to observe! he gives us no information who these men were, nor whence they came; whether they were Egyptians or foreigners, or why Amenophis would not receive them. After forging the dream as the supposed cause of the expulsion of the lepers, he writes that Moses and Joseph were expelled together; whereas the latter was dead four generations before the time of Moses, which space makes almost one hundred and seventy years. According to Manethon, Ramesses, the son of Amenophis, was a young man, assisted his father in the war, left the country with him, and fled into Ethiopia. By Cheremon's account, he was born in a cave after the death of his father, in process of time overcame the Jews in battle, and drove about two hundred thousand of them into Syria. What incoherence! what inconsistency! What the three hundred and eighty thousand were, we are as yet to learn: as we are the manner in which the other eighty thousand perished, whether they fell in battle, or went over to Ramesses. But what is yet more extraordinary, we cannot gather from Cheremon who they were that he calls Jews, or to which of the two parties he applies that denomination, whether to the two hundred and fifty thousand lepers, or to the three hundred and eighty thousand that were about Pelusium. It would, however, be loss of time to dwell upon the confutation of those writers, who evidently confute themselves.

To former fables, I shall add those of Lysimachus, whose forgeries and inventive faculties far exceed those before mentioned, and demonstrate his rancorous hatred of our nation. His words are these:—

“In the reign of Bocchoris, king of Egypt, the Jews were so leprous, purulent, and overrun with foul distempers, that they pressed into the temples to beg for charities. There died great numbers of them of contagious diseases; upon which there fol-

lowed a famine in Egypt. Bocchoris, in this distress, sent to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, about the dearth. The answer was, that he should purify the temples, by sending away all unclean and impious persons out of them into the desert, and drowning those that were ulcerated and leprous : for the sun itself had a horror for so abominable a sight : which being done, the earth should bring forth fruit again, and nature return to her course. Bocchoris, upon this, calls his priests and diviners about him ; and with their advice, orders the sick people to be gathered together, and delivered up to the soldiers : the lepers to be wrapped up in lead, and cast into the sea ; and the others to be carried into the wilderness, and there exposed to destruction. The night coming on, these poor people began to think what to do with themselves : they made fires, set watches and guards, and the next night kept a fast, to reconcile themselves to the gods whom they had offended. The day following there was one Moses that advised them to decamp, and march on together till they met with better accommodation ; with a charge to do no good offices upon the way, nor so much as to give any man good counsel that should desire it ; and likewise to break down all the temples and altars they found in their march. These proposals were no sooner approved, and the resolution taken, than the multitude presently put themselves upon the march over the wilderness ; and, after many hardships, came at last into a country that was both cultivated and peopled. They treated the inhabitants cruelly in the highest degree, burnt and pillaged their temples, came in the end to a place that they now call Judea, and built a city there by the name of Hierosyla, (according to the occasion,) being as much as to say, *The spoil of holy things* : but coming afterward into power and reputation, they were ashamed of their own name, changed Hierosyla into Hierosolyma, and called themselves after their city."

It is here observable, that this last fabulist does not discover or mention the same king with the others, but feigns a more modern name, and passing over the dream and the Egyptian prophet, brings him to Jupiter Ammon, to ask counsel concerning the lepers, and other unclean persons. He says, that the Jews gathered together in multitudes about the temples. Now it is uncertain whether he ascribes this appellation to the lepers, or to those that

were subject to such diseases among the Jews only ; for he seems so to restrict it in calling them the people of the Jews. But why not be explicit, and point out whether he means natives or strangers ? If Egyptians, wherefore call them Jews ? If strangers, why not inform us whence they came ? If, by command of the king, so many were drowned, and the rest cast out to deserts, it is extraordinary that there should be so great a multitude remaining, which should pass the wilderness, possess the country, build a city, and erect a temple celebrated throughout the world.

Again, how comes it to pass that he mentions barely the name of our legislator, without a word concerning his country, his person, or his descent ? or without assigning the reasons for his making such extravagant laws in his passage, to the dishonour both of gods and men ? Either these exiles were Egyptians or not : if they were, they would not so suddenly have changed the customs of their country. If they were not, they had certainly manners of their own, which they attained from long habit. It is likewise to be considered, that, if they had bound themselves by oath never to bear good will towards those who ejected them, they had a plausible reason for so doing : but for men, in their wretched plight, to wage an implacable war against all mankind, nothing could argue greater folly, or even phrenzy, but the attempt to impose so monstrous a fiction upon rational and intelligent beings. He has the effrontery to affirm, that a name implying “ robbers of the temple ” was given to the city, and that this name was afterward changed. But how was it that the very name, which at that time, according to his report, was so great a scandal to the city, should afterward be accounted the highest honour to its inhabitants ? It seems that this malevolent dealer in fiction imagined, ignorantly imagined, that the word Hierosolyma implied the same thing in Hebrew as it did in Greek. But wherefore multiply words to detect an imposture so glaringly manifest, especially since it is presumed, that the very face of the narrative bears a stamp of the fallacy of its author ? I shall proceed, therefore, in the following book, to accomplish my design.

JOSEPHUS

IN ANSWER TO APION.

BOOK II.

HAVING, in the former book, most excellent Epaphroditus, demonstrated the antiquity of our nation, and confirmed the truth of what I advanced, from the writings of the Phœnicians, Chaldeans, and Egyptians, together with those of several Greek authors, in my remarks upon Manethon, Cheremon, and others of our enemies, I shall now direct my attention to personal opponents, and, in the first place to Apion, the grammarian, if he may be deemed worthy of notice.

His writings contain much the same accusations as those with which we have been charged by others. They are contemptible, dull, and scurrilous. Palpable ignorance, and malevolent calumny, pervade the whole ; insomuch that they bespeak at once, the author's want of judgment, of learning, and of candour.

But as the frivolous part of mankind far exceed the considerate and discerning, and the illiberal delight rather in detraction than encomium of character, I find myself under some kind of necessity to detect and expose the errors of this man, who has the arrogance to make himself judge in the cause ; and I am particularly induced to the undertaking, from considering that persons, in general, are gratified in finding reproach and scandal retaliated upon their authors.

His manner of writing is so dark and intricate, that his meaning frequently cannot be easily conceived ; and his stories abound with contradictions and inconsistencies. At one time he misrepresents the circumstance of the departure of our forefathers out

of Egypt, in the same manner with those which I have already confuted. At another he inveighs against the Jews of Alexandria : and then breaks forth into most outrageous clamours against the rites and ceremonies of our temple and worship.

Now, although I cannot but think I have already abundantly demonstrated, that our forefathers were not originally from Egypt, nor thence expelled on account of bodily diseases, or any similar calamities, yet I hold it expedient to animadvert particularly on what Apion advances in the third book of his Egyptian History, where he thus writes : “ I have heard, from some ancient men of Egypt, that Moses was a native of Heliopolis ; that the people formerly had their religious meetings in the open air, till Moses, who was well skilled in the worship of his country, brought their congregation out of the fields, into private houses in the city, enjoining the people to address their prayers still towards the sun.” He adds, “ That with respect to the situation of the place, there were, instead of obelisks, certain pillars, advanced upon the figures of basins, with engravings upon them ; and the shadow falling upon the basins, (for all was open above) still as the sun moved, the shadow moved along with it.”

This was the professed opinion of our grammarian ; to confute which I shall not cite any authority from myself, but only advert to the writings of Moses. It is manifest from his works, that, when he first erected a tabernacle, for the purpose of divine worship, he neither gave orders himself for any such representation to be made, nor ordained that those who came after him should make such a one. When, in a future age, Solomon built his temple in Jerusalem, he avoided all such fantastical decorations as Apion hath here devised.

With respect to the authority he cites, of the old men who informed him that Moses was a native of Heliopolis, it seems he was too young to know it himself, and therefore consulted some of his cotemporaries, who, he says, were well acquainted with him, a suggestion pregnant with absurdity. This grammarian could not find out the country either of Homer or Pythagoras, though the latter was in comparison but of yesterday. Why then so positive in the case of Moses, who lived so many ages before them, and all this upon the credit of his ancient men ?

Nor are these historians less divided as to chronological determination of the time when Moses led the lepers, the lame, and the blind, out of Egypt. According to Manethon, it was in the reign of Tethmosis, three hundred and ninety-three years before Danus fled into Argos. According to Lysimachus, it was in the reign of king Bocchoris, that is, one thousand seven hundred years ago. Molon, and some others, determined it as they pleased. But Apion, who claims more authenticity than all the rest, determines it to have been precisely upon the first year of the seventh Olympiad; the very year, he says, of the building of Carthage. He makes mention of Carthage as a token that would infallibly confirm the truth of his computation. But he was not aware that, by this means, he furnished arguments and evidence against himself, at least if any credit may be given, in this case, to the Phœnician records. For we find in them, that Hiram lived at least a hundred and fifty years before the building of Carthage, and that he had a particular friendship, and indeed veneration for Solomon, the founder of the temple at Jerusalem, and contributed materials in abundance towards the perfecting of that work. But Solomon, in fine, laid the foundations of the temple six hundred and twelve years after the Jews came out of Egypt.

As to the number of Jews that were expelled out of Egypt, Apion agrees with Lysimachus, that they were a hundred and ten thousand. But the origin he gives of the word Sabbath is frivolous and nugatory beyond expression. He says, that, "when the Jews had travelled a six days' journey, they had inflammations about the groin, and that, for this cause, they rested the seventh day. Being safely arrived in the country now called Judea, they gave that day the name of the Sabbath, from the Egyptian word Sabbarosis, which signifies the *disease of the groin*." Could any thing more absurd or ridiculous be imposed on the credulity of mankind under the sanction of history? A hundred and ten thousand men all labouring under the same disease! If they were blind likewise, lame and languishing, as Apion elsewhere reports them, how could such an infirm multitude hold out so much as one day's journey in the desert? Besides, they were to cut their way through all opposition. The improbability of a hundred and ten thousand men falling into the same disease, at the same time, must be uni-

versally admitted; and as such an incident could never be according to the ordinary course of nature, it would be the height of folly to impute it to chance. Our author had before told us, that "they came to Judea in six days;" and again, that "Moses ascended a mountain, betwixt Arabia and Egypt, called Sinai; was concealed there forty days; and that, when he came down, he delivered the law to the Jews." I would ask him if it is possible for such a body of men to march over so vast a desert in six days, and to subsist forty days in a place that afforded neither bread or water.

His explanation of the origin of the word Sabbath is frivolous to the last degree of ignorance and insolence; for the word *Sabbo* and Sabbath, are widely different from each other. The word Sabbath, in the Hebrew language, denotes, *rest from all sorts of work*: but the word *Sabbo*, as he affirms, denotes the name of the *Egyptian disease*. This is the novel account which the Egyptian Apion has given us concerning the Jews' departure out of Egypt, and is nothing more than a contrivance of his own. But why should we wonder at his misrepresenting the origin of our fathers, when he affirms them to have been Egyptians, when he errs intentionally concerning his own? He was born at Oasis, in Egypt, but renounces the place of his nativity to be thought an Alexandrian, which shows what an opinion he had of the Egyptians; for that name he gives to all whom he would represent in an odious light; and this is the cause for which he takes such pains to disguise his extraction.

Those that glory in the dignity of their country, deem it a point of honour to make good their title, and maintain the rights and privileges belonging to it. This is the case of the Egyptians with respect to us. Either they claim country and kindred with us to aggrandize themselves, or to involve us in their own infamy. But Apion seems to vent his splenetic passion against us merely to gratify the Alexandrians for the privilege they allowed him of being a fellow citizen with them, apprised of the ill will the Alexandrians bear those that are in reality their fellow citizens; and yet, though he pretended to expose only one sort of Jews, the poison of his detraction extended to the whole race.

Let us now attend to the abominable crimes which Apion charg-

es with so much rancour upon the Alexandrian Jews. "They came (he says) out of Syria, and inhabited the spot along the sea coast at a place within the wash of the tide ; but there is no port at hand for a vessel to ride in." Was not Apion highly censurable for reproaching a country he so much gloried in (how vainly and falsely, however,) as the place of his nativity ? For that quarter is a dependency upon Alexandria, and universally reputed a most commodious habitation. If the Jews took it by force, and so maintained it against all opposition, the more it redounds to their honour.

But, to be candid and ingenuous. It was Alexander the Great that put the Jews in possession of that place, and granted them the same freedoms and immunities with the Macedonians themselves. Nor can I devise what Apion would have said, had their residence been allotted them at Necropolis, instead of that royal city, and their tribes been called Macedonians to this day. If Apion had read the epistles of king Alexander, of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and the succeeding kings of Egypt, the inscriptions which the mighty Cæsar caused to be engraven upon the pillar at Alexandria, in memory of the privileges by him granted to the Jews ; had he, I say, known these records, he must have been lost to all sense of shame, thus to have perverted truth, and opposed the conviction of his own mind.

When he affects surprise at the Jews being called Alexandrians, it is a proof of the greatest ignorance or prejudice. Is it not notorious that all colonies take their names from the first founders ? Need we seek for foreign instances, when we have so many near home ? The Jews of Antioch we call Antiochians, because Seleucus, the founder of the city, vested them with the privileges belonging thereunto. In like manner the Jews of Ephesus are called Ephesians ; and those of Ionia, Ionians ; to which right they stand entitled by the successive privileges of former grants. This is a favour which the Roman state hath vouchsafed not only to particular persons, but to whole provinces and nations ; for the ancient Iberians, Tuscans, and Sabines, are now called Romans. If Apion rejects this way of obtaining the privilege of a citizen of Alexandria, let him renounce the title of an Alexandrian. For what pretence hath any man, according to his maxim, who was

born in the inland part of Egypt, to call himself an Alexandrian, and especially an Egyptian, those being the people of the whole world to whom the masters of it, the Romans, refuse this privilege? But an envious historian, being deprived of title to this advantage, vents his spleen at those who are in rightful possession of it.

In the erecting of this city, Alexander made use of the assistance and service of the Jews; not for want of men, but in testimony and approbation of their fidelity, and with a design to show them honour and respect. For, as Hecataeus says, "Alexander honoured the Jews to such a degree, that, for the equity and fidelity, which they gave proof of, he permitted them to hold the country of Samaria free from tribute." Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, acted in the same manner, with respect to those Jews who dwelt at Alexandria; for he intrusted the fortresses of Egypt in their hands, in confidence of their valour and allegiance; and for his better security, he planted Cyrene, and other cities of Libya, with these people.

Ptolemy Philadelphus succeeded Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who not only set those of our nation free, but remitted them several duties; and, what is more extraordinary, had so great a desire of being instructed in our laws and customs, and in the sacred scriptures, that he requested interpreters might be sent him for his better information. For the more speedy advancement of the work, the care of it was committed to Demetrius Phalorus, Andreas, and Aristeus. Demetrius was one of the most learned men of the age; the other two were officers of rank, and belonged to his body guards. Can it now be reasonably supposed, that this prince could have had such a veneration for the Jewish laws and customs, and for the piety and wisdom of our forefathers, without a degree of affection and regard for the professors of those laws and customs? Apion must be little versed in that history, if he did not know that most of the kings of these Macedonians, whom he pretends to have been his progenitors, were well affected towards the Jewish nation.

The third Ptolemy, called Energetes, when he got possession of all Syria by force, did not offer thanksgiving for his victory to the gods of the Egyptians, but sacrificed, and returned thanks, to

the Almighty God of the universe, in the temple of Jerusalem, after the manner of the Jews.

Ptolemy Philometer, and his queen Cleopatra, committed the charge of the whole government to Onias and Doritheus, who were both Jews. Apion treats them with ridicule : but he ought rather to admire their actions, and own his acknowledgment for the preserving that Alexandria of which he pretended to be a citizen : for when Egypt was up in rebellion, and upon the brink of being irrecoverably lost, these two Jews interposed, and reduced the revolvers to former obedience. Apion says, that Onias, soon after this, entered the place with a small army, in the presence of Thermus, the Roman ambassador. In this trite manner he recounts an exploit worthy of being celebrated by a much more candid and able historian.

Upon the death of Ptolemy Philometer, Ptolemy Physcon, his brother, marched out of Cyrene, and would have ejected Cleopatra, and her sons, out of the kingdom, that he might obtain it unjustly for himself. For this cause Onias undertook the defence of Cleopatra ; nor would he desert the trust the royal family had reposed in him now they were in distress. Never was there a more remarkable demonstration of the Divine power and justice than upon this occasion. When Ptolemy Physcon had prepared for action with Onias, he caused all the Jews in Alexandria, men, women, and children, to be exposed naked, and in bonds, to the elephants, to be trampled to death ; nay, the beasts were made drunk to inflame their fury. But the event proved contrary to his expectation ; for the elephants left the Jews, who were exposed to them, turned their rage another way, fell violently on the friends of Physcon, and destroyed a great number of them. At the same time a horrid spectre appeared to Ptolemy, with a menacing precaution to leave off persecuting the Jews. His favourite concubine (by name called Ithaca, by others Hirene) joining her office of mediation, he not only complied with her request, but repented of what he had already done or intended to do. This is a circumstance so notorious, that the Jews of Alexandria keep, to this day, an anniversary festival, in commemoration of their deliverance. Yet such is the inveteracy of Apion, that common detractor, that he reproaches the Jews for joining in this war

against Physcon, whereas he should have extolled it as a most laudable action.

But the partial and perverse principles of Apion most flagrantly appear in the instance of Cleopatra, the last queen of Alexandria; for he applauds that most infamous woman for her ingratitude towards the Jews; whereas he ought to have reprobated her for every species of injustice and wickedness, with respect to her nearest relations, the tenderest of husbands, the Romans in general, and her imperial benefactors in particular. Did she not cause her sister Arsinoë to be put to death in the temple without a crime? Her brother to be taken off by treachery? Did she not rifle the temples of the gods of her country, and the sepulchres of her progenitors? Did she not receive her kingdom as a bounty from the hand of the first Cæsar, and afterward rebel against his adopted son and successor? Did not her seducing wiles render Antony a traitor to his country and his friends?

Besides these instances of her ingratitude, inhumanity, and avarice, I might enlarge on the infamous disposition she evinced at the naval battle of Actium, where she abandoned even her beloved Antony himself, who had been father of many children by her, and compelled him to resign his army and his honour to follow her into Egypt. In fine, I might add to all this, that upon Cæsar's taking Alexandria, she was fired to such a degree of rage, that she valued herself upon the score of merciless barbarity, and declared she would have esteemed it some compensation for the loss of the town, if she could have put all the Jews that were in it to death with her own hand. If Cleopatra, according to Apion's reproof, refused corn to the Jews in a time of famine, why does he charge that upon us as a disgrace, which in effect redounds to our honour? However, she at length met with the punishment she deserved.

But we can appeal for our own justification to Cæsar himself, to the public decrees of the Roman senate, and to the testimonials of Augustus Cæsar in his epistles. These, in general, bear witness of the true allegiance we have ever paid the empire, and particularly in the war against the Egyptians.

Apion, if he would have done us right, should have examined these authorities, and particularly the opinion that Alexander, all

the Ptolemies, and the most illustrious of the Roman emperors, entertained of the Jewish nation. If Germanicus could not supply all the inhabitants of Alexandria with corn, this can only prove that there was a dearth, and by no means tends to the accusation of the Jews. The good affection of the emperor towards the Alexandrian Jews was never called in question, nor were they denied wheat any more than their neighbours; but, on the contrary, found credit upon all occasions, as in the command of the river, and other considerable passes: and they were trusted, in fine, in all places and matters of moment, beyond all others.

Apion brings another objection, and demands, if the Jews be citizens of Alexandria, why do they not worship the same gods with the rest of their fellow citizens? I reply by putting another query. Why do the Egyptians wrangle and maintain an implacable enmity to each other concerning diversity of opinion, on matters of religion? Shall we, on that account, pronounce that you are not Egyptians? Or shall we doubt, on the other hand, whether you are, in truth, men or not? For you take pains to nurture animals, and then render them the objects of your worship. Now, if you are thus divided amongst yourselves, why should you wonder that the Jews of Alexandria, who came from another country, and had original laws of their own, should persevere in the observance of them?

Moreover, Apion charges us with being the authors of sedition. If the imputation holds good against the Alexandrian Jews, why not against the Jews in general? for wherever dispersed, we are known to be of one mind. Whoever looks minutely into the causes of these turbulent revolutions, will find that they were occasioned by men of similar principles with Apion himself; for, as long as the Greeks and Macedonians were in possession of this city, the Jews had the free exercise of their religion, and the people lived in peace and happiness; but as the number of the Egyptians increased, the times in proportion grew more and more troublesome. The Jews, however, continued the same throughout all changes; while the others, having neither the constancy of the Macedonians, nor the prudence of the Greeks, stirred up these commotions, persisted in their evil practices, and retained their former aversions to our people. The Egyptians, therefore, gave

rise to all the differences that prevailed; though we are charged with those very errors and misdemeanours of which our accusers appear to have been so palpably guilty.

Apion is likewise disposed to vilify us as strangers, though possessed to all purposes of the rights of citizens; yet our adversaries claim that privilege without the least colour or pretence. We do not read in ancient history, any more than in modern, that any prince, or any emperor, ever granted such privileges to the Egyptians. The first that introduced us to a right to that claim was Alexander the Great, and the grant has been enlarged by other kings; and since that all the privileges have been continued, and confirmed, to us by the Romans.

Apion further takes occasion to pass a heavy censure upon us for not setting up images and statues in honour of the emperors, as if they could not have judged of this matter, or stood in need of his defence. Instead of arraigning our conduct, he should have celebrated the magnanimity and candour of the Romans, in allowing their subjects the freedom of our religion, without extorting from them such honours as they could not conscientiously pay them, and accepting such tokens of respect as they could with propriety render. It is the good will that stamps the obligation, and sets a value upon the benefit, without the intervention either of necessity or violence. It may be urged, perhaps, that as it is a common practice both with the Greeks, and other nations, to hold the images of their relatives, friends, and sometimes their very servants, in high esteem, it argues consummate pride in those who withhold that deference from their lords and masters. To this I reply, with respect to ourselves, that we pay implicit deference to our venerable legislator, who has positively forbidden us the use of all images, and of any creature whatever, whether animate or inanimate. He did not lay this injunction with any view of derogating from the dignity of the Roman empire, but he would by no means suffer any corporeal image, or representation, to be made of an invisible and incomprehensible Deity. We are not, however, forbidden from paying reverence to great and good men in due subordination to the one Supreme Being, as in the case of the emperor and people of Rome, for whose welfare and prosperity we offer daily sacrifices at the public charge, and this

we do for no other person whatever. Let this suffice for answer in general to Apion as to what he urges with relation to the Jews of Alexandria.

I cannot but admire the confidence of Pondorius and Apollonius Molon, who furnished Apion with his materials, and charges us with not worshipping the same gods as others worship, nor think themselves guilty of impiety, in spreading scurrilous reports, even to the ridiculing and profaning our very temple. Falsity is of all vices one of the most unmanly, but more especially so where the scandal falls upon a temple, celebrated throughout the world for the exemplary solemnity of its devotion.

Apion affirms that in this holy place, the Jews had the golden head of an ass, of immense value, and that they worshipped this head as a deity; that the image was deposited in the treasury, there found, and carried away, by Antiochus Epiphanes, upon the rifling of that sacred place. To this I reply, that, supposing the story to have been true, it became not an Egyptian to reproach us with it; for an ass is not a more contemptible animal than a goat, or other beasts which they adore. It is strange that Apion could not perceive this to be a palpable lie, and the very extreme of contradiction and absurdity. Have we not, from time to time, retained the same laws and customs, without variation? Though Jerusalem has shared the fate of other cities, and repeatedly fallen into the hands of enemies, as Theos, Pompey the Great, Licinius Crassus, and at last Titus Cæsar, and our temple has been thus taken, yet nothing bearing such resemblance was ever found, nor any thing contrary to rules of the strictest piety.

Antiochus Epiphanes is chargeable with the highest degree of perfidy and sacrilege in pillaging the temple. He did not obtain possession of it as an avowed enemy, but as a pretended friend, and a traitor to his allies. His principle was avarice, which he gratified as a common plunderer. We have, however, the testimonials of many respectable writers, that there was nothing found, upon the rifling, to render the party, or the cause ludicrous, as was fallaciously represented. Amongst others I may enumerate Polybius, of Magalopolis; Strabo, of Cappadocia; Nicolaus, of Damascus; Timagenes; Castor, the chronologer; and Apollodorus; who all agree that Antiochus, through necessity, violated his

league with the Jews, and spoiled their temple of a vast mass of gold and silver. If Apion was not as obdurate and senseless as the animals which the Egyptians worship, he would have taken those circumstances into consideration, and not contended for such palpable fictions. We have not that veneration for our asses which the Egyptians have for their asps and crocodiles, when they esteem such as are stung by the former, or bitten by the latter, happy persons in being translated to the gods. Asses are to us the same as they are to other considerate men, creatures to bear our burdens : but if they spoil our corn, or become refractory, we chastise them with stripes. But this Apion was so frivolous in his inventions, and so defective in his descriptions, that he could never obtain sufficient credit with the world to do us essential injury.

There is another malicious tale which he borrows from the Greeks in order to reproach us. Of this we need only observe, that they are little acquainted with divine subjects, who are not sensible that it is less impious to pass through temples, than to cast aspersion upon those that minister in sacred things. But it was evidently their design to palliate the sacrilege and perfidy of a prince, by imputing his actions to necessity, rather than do justice to truth, to our nation, and our temple.

Apion writes that "Antiochus found, upon entering the temple, a man lying upon a bed, with a table before him, set out with all the delicacies that either sea or land could afford. This man was so surprised at the encounter, that looking upon Antiochus as his good angel, and one that came to rescue him, he threw himself at his feet, and, in a posture of adoration, implored his assistance.—The king bade him speak freely, tell him who he was, what he did there, and finally what was the meaning of the table's being thus set out. The man, upon this, burst into tears, and proceeded to answer : I am a Greek, and, wandering up and down in quest of the means of subsistence, was taken up by some foreigners, brought to this place, and shut up, with positive orders not to suffer mortal to approach me. I was pleased, at first, with entertainment so unexpected ; but suspicion arising in process of time, I inquired of my keepers into the cause of this extraordinary treatment. They gave me to understand, that the Jews had a custom among them, once a year, upon a certain day prefixed, to

seize upon a Grecian stranger, and when they had kept him fattening one whole year, to take him into a wood, and offer him up for a sacrifice according to their own form, taking a taste of his blood, with a horrid oath to live and die sworn enemies to the Greeks, after which they cast the remainder of the miserable carcass into a ditch. The man added, that his time was nearly expired, and adjured him, by the veneration he had for the Grecian gods, to deliver him from the fate he apprehended at the hands of the Jews."

This tragical invention was carried to the highest pitch of extravagance, but not so far as to exempt Antiochus from the imputation of perfidy and sacrilege, as those who endeavour to vindicate him would insinuate. For it was not on account of the Greek that he entered the temple, but he found him there without any foreknowledge of the matter, so that the iniquity of his design is manifest, nor can it be justified upon any principle of equity or reason. Now the difference is much greater betwixt our laws and those of the Egyptians, and several other nations, than betwixt us and the Greeks. Where is the country through which, in the course of time, people of all religions do not pass? And how comes it to pass that this fantastical barbarity should be exercised only upon the Greeks? How is it possible that all the Jews should join in these sacrifices, and that the entrails of one man should suffice for so many thousands to taste? How comes it that we have not the name of this persecuted Greek, and that Antiochus did not send him back in state to his own country, which would have given him the reputation of a patriotic prince, and formed a powerful party against the Jews?

But as the vulgar and superficial part of mankind are not to be wrought upon by argument, I shall have recourse to the demonstrative evidence of fact. No man ever saw our temple, but can witness that it was so constructed as to preserve every thing in purity and perfection. It had four partitions, encompassed with cloisters. The first division was open to all, even foreigners, without reserve; Jews and their wives (if clean and purified) were admitted into the second; and male Jews, purified in like manner, into the third. The fourth was only for the priests in their sacerdotal habits; and none but the high-priest, in the robes peculiar

to his dignity, was to enter the holy sanctuary. Nay, so strict and punctual are they in their adherence to form and decorum, that the very priests themselves could not have admittance but at certain hours.

Upon opening the temple in the morning, the priests, who were to officiate, attended, and so at noon, upon shutting it up. There were in the temple an altar, a table, a censer, and a candlestick, according to the direction of the law; nor was it legal to carry any other vessel into it. There was no fasting, nor any mysteries carried on, but in the face of the whole congregation; and such method was observed, that though there were four tribes of priests, and in every tribe upwards of five thousand persons, they took their turns of attendance upon certain set days, and that in due regular succession. Meeting about noon all together in the temple, they delivered up their respective trusts one to another; some discharging themselves of the keys, others of the vessels; without any thing relating to food or drink being carried into that sacred place: for it is not lawful to offer any thing upon our altars, but what is provided for sacrifice. But what avails bare dogmatical assertions, without considering whether it be founded on truths or not? What can reflect greater disgrace upon any man that sets up for a historian or a lover of letters? Besides, it is farther observable, that, while Apion puts forth his invectives against us without any foundation, on the one hand, he suppresses known facts on the other. The fancy of his Greek prisoner, his luxurious entertainment, and the people passing through the temple as a thoroughfare, are evidently the contrivance of malice propense, to seduce those who will not be at the pains of investigating truth.

Apion, led by a vein of fiction, enumerates fable upon fable, to render us, if possible, more and more odious; and his inventive faculty suggested the following story: "While the Jews and Idumeans were engaged in a long and obstinate war, there came a man over to the Jews, out of some city of Idumea, where they worshipped Apollo. This man, whose name was Zabidus, promised to put Apollo, the god of Dora, into their hands, if they could but get the Jews to gather all together into the temple in a body. Zabidus, upon this, contrived a certain machine of boards, and conveying himself into it, set three rows of lights upon it,

which appeared, at a distance, like a comet on the ground. This appearance so surprised the Jews, that they gazed at it afar off, without speaking a word. Zabidus, in the mean time, slipped into the temple, and, without any difficulty, seized the ass's golden head, and carried it away to Dora." This ridiculous fiction proves the author more stupid than the animal; for he writes of places that exist only in his imagination; nor does he know where Idumea lies, or that there is any such city in it as Dora. There is, indeed, a place of that name in Phœnicia, not far from mount Carmel, but this is four days' journey from Judea.

He is to be justified in condemning us for not worshipping the gods of other nations, if, as he says, our forefathers were so credulous as to believe that Apollo would come to them in the form of a comet. It was rather extraordinary that the Jews should not know a lamp, or a torch, when they saw it, from a star, when they had so many at their festivals. And it was little less miraculous that Zabidus should get clear off, with the ass's head, through so many thousands of people, and that there should be no guards to stop his progress, even in a time of war.

The very circumstances of the tale prove its fallacy. How the temple gates, sixty cubits in height, and twenty in breadth, plated over, and no fewer than two hundred men required to shut them every day, could be managed by one single man, is submitted to the determination of common sense. It remains, upon the whole, a question whether Zabidus brought the head back again, or gave it to Apion to be laid in the temple, that Antiochus, finding it, might give rise to another story.

Apion is equally false respecting the oath, when he declares that the Jews do solemnly swear by the maker of heaven, earth, and the seas, to bear no good will to any foreigners, and more especially to the Greeks. If this falsifier had said to none of the Egyptians, he would have been more consistent with himself; at least if our predecessors were driven out of Egypt not for their ill conduct, but the calamities under which they laboured. The Greeks and Jews were so remote in point of situation, that there was not the least colour for envy or jealousy betwixt them. On the contrary, many of them came over to our religion: some persisted in it, others receded from it; but, for this pretended oath,

no man ever heard it ; nor was it any thing more or less than a project of Apion.

This fabulist adduces, as an argument against the justice of our laws, our manner of worship, and the truth of our holy religion, that we are under the burden of servitude and oppression ; and that our city, free and powerful as it might have been, is no better than tributary to the Romans. But where are the people now that are able to contend with them ? Who but Apion would reason in this absurd manner ? Government and subjection succeed by turns. The Egyptians are the only nation that pretend to an immunity from all services to any of the monarchs of Asia and Europe, which they ground on the strange gods having fled into their country, and secured themselves by being changed into the shapes of wild beasts. Whereas these Egyptians are the very people that appear to have never, in all past ages, enjoyed one day of freedom, either at home or abroad. But I will not reproach them, by relating the manner in which the Persians used them, not once, but many times, when they laid their cities waste, demolished their temples, destroyed their idol deities, and vilified their worship : for it is not seemly to imitate the example of Apion, who turned into censure the misfortunes of the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians ; though there never was a braver people than the latter, or a people of more exemplary piety than the former. Yet neither the piety of the one, or the courage of the other, was sufficient to secure them against the chances of war, and the common fate of states and kingdoms.

When we reflect on the miserable disasters that have attended the best of kings, and particularly Croesus, the laying of the tower of Athens, the temples at Ephesus and Delphi, and several other magnificent buildings in ashes, the disgrace in such instances rests not in the sufferers, but the actors of these tragical devastations. But our accuser Apion has discovered a new mode of crimination, forgetful of the miseries of his own people the Egyptians. He seems to have been blinded by Sesostris, once a celebrated king of Egypt.

We will not boast of our kings, David and Solomon, though many nations were conquered by their victorious arms, but rather confine ourselves to the case in point. Were not the Egyptians

at first slaves to the Persians, with other princes of Asia, and so to the Macedonians, when they were lords of Asia, while we lived in a state of freedom, with the command of all the neighbouring cities, for the space of a hundred and twenty years, that is to say, to the time of Pompey the Great? At length, when the Romans had conquered all the other kings with whom they had to do, our ancestors were the only people they treated as friends and allies, on account of their fidelity and valour. Apion, however, affects ignorance of these facts, though they are obvious to all the world besides.

We are further traduced, by this malevolent writer, for an obscure, ignorant people. The Jews, he affirms, have amongst them no eminent men for their knowledge of the arts and sciences, or of politics, or the government of states, such as Socrates, Zeno, Cleanthes, and the like. He does not forget to insert himself in the list of celebrated persons, but pronounces Alexandria happy in the honour of having Apion for a citizen. He was the properest man to be his own eulogist, as other people maintained a despicable opinion of him, from the general depravity of his manners; so that Alexandria is rather to be pitied than envied, for valuing itself upon such a supporter. As to the point in competition between the two nations, which should have the preference for men of learning and abilities, the reader is referred to our antiquities for his satisfaction. As to the other part of the scandal that remains unanswered, we cannot do better than refer him to his own contradictions, wherein he accuses himself and other Egyptians.

He seems to take great offence at our sacrificing ordinary beasts, the scruple we make of eating swine's flesh, and turns the ceremony of circumcision into absolute mockery. As for the slaughter of tame animals for sacrifice, we do it in common with all other men; and as to our sacrifices, he discovers himself, before he is aware, to be an Egyptian in speaking against them; for a Greek, or a Macedonian, that makes profession of offering whole hecatombs to their gods without any difficulty, would never have discovered aversion to this practice. They also make use of these sacrifices for feasting, without any danger of destroying the species of those animals, as Apion seems to apprehend. But if

mankind in general followed the Egyptians, the world would want men, and swarm with the wildest of the brute creation, which are the objects of their adoration.

If the question was put to Apion, what class of the Egyptians he esteems as the most wise and pious men, his answer would undoubtedly be the priests; for they have these two precepts transmitted down to them from their first kings, to worship the gods, and to apply themselves to the study of wisdom. This they profess to do; they are all circumcised, abstain from swine's flesh, and join with no other class of Egyptians in their sacrifices. Apion therefore deviates from his purpose, when, instead of gratifying the Egyptians with invectives against us, he advances a direct accusation against those he pretended to favour, in charging them with the same ceremonies for which he blames others; and likewise advising and encouraging circumcision in others, as we have it upon the credit of Herodotus. It seems that Apion was justly punished for casting such reproaches on the laws of his country; for it so fell out, that, through the prevalence of a disease, he was under a necessity of being circumcised. The wound putrefying, a cancer ensued, which carried him off in great torment. This should serve as a warning to those, who, regardless of the duties both of religious and social life, prostitute their time and talents, to the base purposes of envy and detraction. This was the case of Apion; he apostatized from the laws of his own country, and misrepresented those of ours; and thus concludes our discourse concerning him.

But since Apollonius Molon, Lysimachus, and several others, have cast dishonourable reflections on Moses, our excellent legislator, aspersing and vilifying his character as an impostor and magician, and representing his laws as injurious to society, partly through ignorance, but chiefly through enmity to our nation, I shall endeavour, with all possible brevity and precision, to treat on the constitution of our government, and its several particular branches. I apprehend it will thence be rendered evident, that there never was such a code of laws framed, for the common good of mankind, as those of Moses; for the advancement of piety, justice, charity, industry, the regulation of society, patience, and perseverance in well doing, to the very contempt of death itself.

I have therefore only to request the candour and impartiality of the reader, as I solemnly declare my design is not to write an encomium upon our nation, but to assert the cause of truth and justice, against the efforts of calumny and detraction.

Apollonius does not vent his spleen like Apion, in a continued succession of accusations, but varies as to time and mode of aspersing us. At one time he reproaches us as atheists and misanthropes, at another he upbraids us as cowards, at another he charges us with temerity and fool-hardiness, and represents us as ignorant and savage as the wildest barbarians, declaring that the Jews never invented any thing for the benefit or improvement of mankind. To confute these malevolent suggestions, it will be necessary to examine the constitution of our laws, and the conformity of our lives to those precepts. If, in the course of this undertaking, I should be compelled to make mention of the laws and policy of other nations, it is to be imputed to those who have provoked us to an opprobrious comparison, and rendered the reproach we cast upon them necessary to our own defence.

There are in the case under present consideration two essential points: First, the tendency of our laws; and secondly, the degree in which we observe them. To such as deny the former, we are ready to produce an abstract of those laws; those who call in question the latter, will be referred to demonstrative evidence.

It is an incontrovertible maxim, that the first founders of laws for the establishment of discipline and good order in society, are to be preferred to those who live without any form or method at all; for they appeal to antiquity, and deem it a greater honour to teach others what they ought to do, than barely to imitate what they see done before them. This position being admitted, the excellency of a legislator is apparent from his providing such laws as may tend to promote the interest of the community, from a conviction that they are as reasonable as beneficial, so that the people firmly adhere to the observance of them, both in a prosperous and adverse state.

The antiquity of our legislator gives him an undoubted right to precedence; for Lycurgus, Solon, and Faleucus, of Locris, with the rest of the lawgivers held in such esteem amongst the Greeks, seem but of yesterday, when compared with Moses. The very

name of law was not yet so much as heard of; and Homer is witness to the truth of this observation, for that term cannot be found throughout his poems. The people in those days were not governed by written precepts, but by the absolute will and pleasure of kings; and so it continued for a long time by authoritative orders and provisions, occasionally made and issued. Our legislator having this claim of priority admitted by his very enemies, acquitted himself to general admiration, in all the offices of administration and council: first, in composing such a body of laws as might affect all the contingencies of human life, and afterward in obtaining a most cordial reception of them by the people, and their solemn declaration of obeying and maintaining them. But let his works speak for him.

When our forefathers to the number of many thousands, marched out of the land of Egypt, into the country appointed for them by divine providence, through a barren sandy desert, without water, and had several encounters with the enemy by the way, in defence of themselves, their wives, and children, they were guided through these almost insuperable difficulties by our vigilant legislator, who maintained the character of a valiant general, a prudent counsellor, and a common protector. He was a man of such exemplary moderation, that, though he held the people in implicit obedience to his injunctions, he never availed himself of his authority to promote his private advantage; but, on the contrary, where other men tyrannized, and indulged a general licentiousness, he observed the rules of piety and virtue, and, by his example, encouraged the multitude to such a conduct as proved their best security against all accidents.

Moses looked up to the only All-wise Being as oracle and guide; and being persuaded that he could not err, so long as he committed himself to the care of divine providence, thought it his duty to imprint that belief on the minds of the multitude; for nothing so effectually checks us in the progress of vice as a due consciousness of the Divine omnipotence. From this character of our legislator, it is evident that he was not a seducer or a magician, as he is falsely represented; but such a one as Minos, and others after him, were reputed among the Greeks; some ascribing the origin of their laws to Jupiter, others to Apollo, or the

oracle at Delphi. But whether these men thought they were thus derived, or were desirous of imposing such a belief in the people, I pretend not to determine. But the origin and excellency of these laws will best appear by placing them in a comparative point of view, which is the next thing to which we shall attend.

Several nations have their several forms of government, and their diversities of laws. Some governments are committed to a single person, others to the people. Our legislator had no regard to any of these forms, but ordained a government, that, by a strained expression, may be termed a Theocracy, or Holy Commonwealth, in ascribing all authority and power to God, and persuading the people to regard him as the author of all the good things that were enjoyed either in common by all mankind, or by each individual in particular. To him he directs us to fly for succour in our distresses, as he hears our prayers, and searches into the very secrets of our hearts. He inculcates the doctrines of one God, the uncreated, immutable, and eternal Being, infinitely glorious, and incomprehensible one, further than what we know by his works.

This is what may be derived, in some measure, from the wisest of the Greek philosophers, who, from the light of nature, unanimously agree on the congruity of these principles to the majesty and excellence of God; as for instance, Pythagoras, Anaxagorus, and Plato; and the stoics, that succeeded them, were of the same sentiments, and had the same notions of the nature of the Divine Being. But the multitude being actuated by a violent and superstitious prejudice against these opinions, the philosopher durst not venture too far in promoting them.

But our legislator was the only man that lived as he taught, both to the satisfaction of the present age, and to the establishing and confirming posterity in the truths which he delivered, governing himself by this constant rule, to make the public good the grand end of all his laws. He pointed out, that the worship of the Divine Being was but the one part of a good man's duty; annexing to it the other parts, such as resignation, temperance, justice, and a constant interchange of good offices towards mankind; insomuch that all his precepts and ordinances tended to the ad-

vancement of piety, and of course, to the honour and glory of God ; this being the main object he had in view.

There are two ways of attaining to a degree of excellence in religion and morality ; the one is by instruction in words, the other by practical exercises. Now lawgivers, in general, commonly attended to one part, and neglected the other. As for example, the people of Lacedæmon and Crete taught by practical exercises, without rule and precept ; while the Athenians, and most of the Greeks, had prescribed laws for every thing, though they fell short in the practice.

But our legislator wisely connected these two methods of instruction ; for he neither left these practical exercises to go on without verbal instruction, nor did he permit the hearing of the law to proceed without the exercises for practice. He begins with the subject of meats and diet, what we may be allowed to eat, and what not, and with whom, and enjoins all people in general to the observance of that method and order. He takes the same care with respect to a regulation in matters of labour and rest, to the end that no man may be ignorant of his duty ; for what the law enjoins us is the dictate and command of our master, and it punishes only wilful offenders. To leave us wholly without excuse, in case of transgressing any of these sacred laws, we hear them read over, (once, twice, or oftener, perhaps ;) but are positively commanded (all other work or business apart) to meet constantly once a week in full congregation, expressly to attend the reading of the law, and learning it exactly, which was never practised by any other lawgiver. Indeed, the greatest part of mankind are so far from living in conformity to their own laws, that they do not so much as understand what they are, but, in committing a fault, they inquire of others what law they have violated. This is the case even amongst men of the first rank, who are not ashamed tacitly to confess their ignorance in taking men learned in the law to their counsel and assistance : but our people are as well acquainted with their laws as their own names, having been trained up in them from earliest infancy, till they are imprinted in their minds : our transgressions therefore are but few, and those who do offend cannot possibly escape punishment.

This is the foundation of that admirable agreement of mind

which prevails amongst us. We have all of us the same notions concerning the Divine Being, the same forms of discipline and worship, the same way of life, and the same rule of manners. It is not with us as with others, who entertain various opinions concerning one and the same God ; and this is the case not only with the common people, but the very philosophers themselves. Some of them have denied many of his attributes, others his superintending providence, upon an impious suggestion that all men are equal, and that all things are in common. We affirm, on the contrary, that God sees and disposes all things. Nay, our wives, children, and servants, are all instructed that our actions, in general, should be directed to the honour and service of God.

This has given rise to a reflection upon our nation, as having produced no men eminent for polite literature, as we continually pursue the same dull, plodding path ; whereas men of genius and speculation value themselves upon improvement and innovation. While others think it meritorious to deviate from every thing delivered down by their forefathers, we, on the contrary, deem it the greatest instance of wisdom and virtue, to admit of no actions or principles that are repugnant to our original laws : antiquity, with us, is the infallible mark of a good and well founded statute, which neither time or argument will ever be able to destroy. Besides, as we firmly believe those laws to be of Divine institution, we have only to preserve them sacred and inviolate. Who shall dare to offer at the removal of those foundations which have been laid by the hand of the Almighty ? Who can amend so divine a system, by transferring the most beneficial provisions, from the best of other governments, to the code of his commonwealth ? Can any constitution be more firm or just than that of which the King of kings is king ?

As for the priests, they are qualified, in common, for several special services ; and the high-priest is vested with power and superiority above all the rest. They are not promoted, by the legislator, to that dignity for ambition, wealth, or any corrupt influence, but for the signal testimony they have given of their piety, temperance, and wisdom ; and to them is committed the care of religion, and the peculiar functions of divine worship. They

serve also as judges in controversies betwixt man and man, and have a power to punish those who are guilty of misdemeanours.

What form of government can be more sacred and venerable than this? Or what greater honour can we do the Almighty, than to spend our lives in a daily attendance upon his service, and under the inspection of priests who see that all things are performed with due order and reverence? We seem to celebrate a perpetual festival; and whereas foreigners discover a lassitude, in a few days' attendance on their mysteries, we are as firm, cheerful, and vigorous, in the discharge of our religious duties at this time, as we were many ages since, upon their first institution.

Among other known precepts of our religion we are taught, in the first place, that God is all in all, perfect, self-sufficient, and supplying all other beings; the beginning, middle, and end of all things. He is glorious in all his works, and tremendous in his power and greatness; but, at the same time, so incomprehensible, that it is not for the tongue of man to express, nor the heart to conceive, any resemblance of the Divine Majesty. He is, in fine, incomparable in all his excellencies and attributes, infinitely beyond art and imitation; so that it is impossible to see or imagine any thing like him; for, being a Spirit, he is invisible.

But we are allowed to read the great Invisible Being in his works; as in the light, the heavens, the earth, the sun, the moon, the stars, the rivers, the sea, several sorts of animals, and various kinds of plants. These things hath the Creator formed, not with hands, not by labour, nor as wanting the assistance of any to co-operate with him. But as it was his Divine will they should be made, and be made good also, they were made, and became good immediately. This is the Almighty Sovereign whom we are all bound to love and adore in the study and exercise of virtue, which is the only way to please him.

As there is but one God, and one world in common to all mankind, it holds the analogy, that there should be but one temple; for likeness is the constant foundation of agreement. This temple ought to be common to all men, because he is the common God of all men.

His priests are to be continually about his worship, over whom the senior is to be perpetual ruler. His business is to offer sacri-

fices to God, assisted by those who are joined with him; to see that the laws are observed; to determine controversies; and to punish those who are convicted of injustice. Such as do not submit to him, shall be subject to the same punishment as if he had been guilty of the greatest impiety.

In eating what has been offered in sacrifice, we must avoid extending the liberty to a degree of gluttony and excess; for that Being, who delights in sobriety and temperance, can never be pleased with luxury and profusion.

The priest begins his office with prayers for the general good of mankind, and after that to every man for himself, as a part of the whole; being well assured, that nothing is more acceptable in the sight of God, than mutual charity, tenderness, and forbearance among mankind.

When we offer up our prayers to Almighty God, we are not to petition for wealth, honour, and the good things of this world, for these are blessings which he is pleased to bestow in common upon mankind; but our prayers must be for grace to make a right use of what we have.

The law hath prescribed us certain formal purifications, under kinds of limitations and restrictions, too many and too tedious to be enumerated and specified. This is the doctrine concerning God and his worship, and what the law enjoins for our attention and practice.

In point of marriage, the law approves no other junction of the sexes than that upon such principles which nature hath appointed; not from regard to interest, or the gratification of inordinate passions, but for the procreation of children, and that with the consent of parents. The very attempt of an unnatural crime is punished with death.

The law further ordains, that the woman shall be subject, in all things, to her husband, which must not be taken for a dispensation to abuse her, but a provision for the maintenance of decency and good order; for God hath given the authority to the husband. The woman is to have no carnal knowledge of any other man, upon pain of death without mercy; and he that abuses a betrothed virgin incurs the same penalty. It is the same also in case of corrupting a married woman, or a mother of children. Our law is

no less severe upon those women who either conceal their children when they are brought into the world, or otherwise destroy them. Purification is to be used after intercourse of the sexes : for which purpose water is to be provided for the preservation of a becoming decency and cleanliness.

The law does not permit us to make sumptuous festivals at the births of our children, and thereby afford opportunity of drinking to excess, but ordains that the earliest period of our education should be directed to the purposes of sobriety. We are also enjoined to bring up our children to a general knowledge of things, but more especially of law and history ; the one to furnish them with a perfect acquaintance with their duty to God and man, and the other with great examples, to incite them to the imitation of noble actions.

Care has also been taken of the decent burial of the dead, but without extravagant pomp in funeral solemnities, or sumptuous monuments. The law ordains that the nearest relatives should perform the obsequies ; and that those who pass by when any one is conveying to the place of interment, should attend the funeral, and join the lamentation. It also ordains that the house, and its inhabitants, should be purified after the funeral is over. Every one is directed not to deceive themselves with the imagination of being excused by purification, if he hath been once guilty of murder.

We are enjoined reverence to parents next to God himself ; and the law appoints ungrateful and disobedient children to be stoned to death. The younger are commanded to pay respect to their elders, as God was before all things. Secrecy among friends is prohibited, as friendship implies an entire confidence without any reserve. Nay, where friendship is dissolved, we must not be false to a former trust.

The judge who takes a bribe is to be punished with death, for countenancing the guilty, and oppressing the innocent. He that disregards the petition of an indigent person, when he is able to relieve him, is held guilty. No one is to touch the property of another. He that lends money must not demand usury. These, and many others of the like kind, are the rules by which we are united in the bonds of society one with another. ●

It may be worthy of our pains to inquire into the equity our legislator would have us exercise in our intercourse with strangers; whence it will appear, that he hath not been wanting in any thing that can tend to the public good, either by keeping us firm to our laws, or communicating the benefit of them to others, who may be disposed to cultivate a knowledge of them. He receives with open arms, all who come over to us, of every nation indifferently, provided they agree in the same common principles of life and manners. Those who come by accident, and without intent to join us, are not suffered to intermix with us in our solemnities. But we are obliged to render them our best offices in many instances: as for example, if they should want water, fire, wood, or the like, we are commanded to supply them; to set any of them right who are out of their way; and to give the dead a decent burial.—These are duties of humanity, and abstracted from the peculiar laws of our religion.

He prescribes rules of moderation to be observed towards enemies, to prevent the dreadful extremities of fire and sword. His charity extends to the easing of prisoners, and especially women; nor would he suffer dead bodies, that fell in battle, to be stripped.

Such was his regard for the cultivation of tender principles among men, that he recommended them even to beasts, in allowing us no other power over them than for lawful and necessary uses. Domestic creatures, brought up tame in our houses, are to be spared; nor, in other cases, are the dams and the young to be destroyed together. Beasts of labour and common use, are likewise to be forborne, though in some respects mischievous.

Thus hath our admirable lawgiver contrived, by every means, to teach us an equitable conduct, by such statutes as forcibly tend to that excellent purpose; while, at the same time, he hath ordained that transgressors shall be punished with the utmost rigour. In capital offences the punishment is no less than death: for instance, in murder, adultery, rapes, and unnatural practices: nor are any conditions, bond or free, exempt from the penalty.

We have our laws concerning weights and measures, and all sorts of frauds in buying and selling, taking away another man's goods, or appropriating to ourselves what is not our own. Of-

senders of this kind are punished with much more severity under our laws than those of other nations.

Blasphemy, or any act of indignity towards the Majesty of heaven, together with contumacious behaviour towards parents, incur the penalty of immediate death upon the very spot where committed. But the reward of conforming to these laws is not gold, silver, imperial crowns, or precious stones, but the testimony of a good conscience, with the assurance of future bliss, founded not only on the prediction of the legislator, but the promise of infallible truth. In this confidence, therefore, they look upon death only as the blessed means of transporting them from this life to a better. This is evident from many occurrences in the history of our ancestors, particularly the resolution with which they have undergone the most excruciating tortures, rather than let fall one word to the dishonour of their profession. Supposing now the Jews were a people never heard of upon the face of the earth, and there were no witnesses to the veneration we have constantly paid to our laws, what opinion would the Jews form, if an account was related to them of a people, in some imaginary unknown land, who had stood firm so many ages to the religion, laws, and customs of their predecessors? Would they not deem it matter of admiration, especially those that are so fickle and changeable themselves?

Modern writers, on the subject of polical government, are much censured for having advanced many absurd and improbable stories. Plato himself, the very oracle of the Greeks, and a man in singular esteem for his piety, wisdom, and virtue, as well as the excellency of his philosophy, is exposed to contempt and ridicule by arrogant pretenders, for his wild notions of government, as they term them; while those who peruse his writings with attention and candour will find them consonant both with reason and nature. Plato himself ingenuously confesses, that "It is not safe for a wise man to publish his notions concerning the Deity amongst the ignorant multitude." Yet some affirm that Plato writes like a man of vanity and license.

Lycurgus was a man eminent as a finished legislator; and the Spartans were commended for having continued in the firm observance of his laws for a long space of time. From thence it is
infer it is confessedly a mark of virtue to submit to laws.

But then let those who admire and applaud this constancy in the Spartans remember, that their continuance in point of duration bears no comparison to that of ours. Let them also remember, that, though the Spartans maintained exact obedience to their laws while they enjoyed their liberty, yet, when fortune abandoned them, they fell off and abandoned their laws.

But it cannot be said of us, that, under all the vicissitudes of fortune which happened to us in Asia, where we were driven to the last extremity, we ever departed from the laws and customs of our forefathers. Nor can it be objected to us, that we ever consulted either our ease or our pleasure when called upon to maintain them. Whoever compares the conditions of both parties, will find the labour and difficulty of the Jews far exceed those of the Spartans; for they were exposed to no servile offices, but lived in their city at ease, in the enjoyment of repose and plenty. Notwithstanding these advantages, they went over to their enemies in frequent desertions, and, contrary to law, duty, and the common obligations of citizens and soldiers, tamely delivered themselves up with their arms. I cannot recollect more than one or two of our people that ever betrayed their cause through fear of death. I mean not the death of a soldier sword in hand, and in the field of battle, but a death of exquisite cruelty and torment, a calamity to which many of our nation have been exposed; not, I apprehend, through hatred, but to try the experiment of so heroic a constancy; and to try if there were such men in the world, as would endure the acutest pains, rather than be guilty of any one word or action derogatory to the dignity of their laws.

Nor is this resolution in the Jews above all other nations matter of surprise; for our ordinary mode of living would be a kind of severity to any other sort of people; I mean with respect to the fatigue of labour, hard fare, days of abstinence, coarse clothing, hard lodging, and the like. These people, in the successes of a military life, would not brook the forbearance of meats prohibited, and many others of the severest restrictions. Whereas it is our glory to resign ourselves, with unchangeable constancy, to the obedience of the laws of our country. Let the partizans of Lysimachus and Molon, and other frivolous censors and perverters of youthful minds, persist in their reproach and detraction, while

we are conscious of discharging our duty to God, our country, and ourselves.

It is our custom to keep firm in the observance of our own laws, but not to traduce those of others. Nay, our legislator hath expressly forbidden us to offer the least indignity or contempt to the reputed gods of other nations, and this he did from a reverence to the very name of a Deity. But we cannot remain altogether silent, where it is both so easy and necessary to confute the assertions of our opponents, and where, in truth, the work is done by other authorities ready to our hands. The most admired among the Greeks for wisdom have heartily exclaimed against the most celebrated of their poets, and especially their lawgivers, for poisoning the minds of the common people with the impious doctrine of a plurality of gods, advancing the account to what number they thought fit, and deriving their origin from what age and country they please. Nay, they allot them their proper stations and places like other creatures; for they have their subterraneous gods, and their maritime gods; and the eldest of the race, or family, they keep up in chains in the infernal regions. With respect to their celestial gods, they give Jupiter the name of Father, but represent him, in action, as a tyrant; insomuch that his wife, his brother, and the daughter of his own brain, entered into a conspiracy, according to the fiction, to destroy him, as he himself had served his father.

This was the light in which all wise men held those fabulous deities; the idea being so ludicrous, that they could not entertain it without scorn and derision. Some of their gods they represented as striplings, others in the prime of their youth and strength, and others as seniors, with long beards. They have their gods, or patrons, of mechanical arts or trades, as smiths, weavers, harpers, archers, and so on. They have their feuds and factions among themselves, and take part with mortals against one another. They receive wounds in the contest, grieve and pine away under the anguish of them. Nay, these pretended gods and goddesses go farther still, even to the horrid license of amours and embraces, indifferently with men and women. What was the case of their Jupiter himself, the father and prince of the whole train of gods? After seducing many goddesses, he suffers *them to be kept in prison, or drowned in the sea.* He is himself

so bound by fate, that he cannot save his own offspring, nor can he bear their deaths without shedding tears.

What a train of lewd practices, and worse consequences, in all probability yet remained ! Open violation of the laws of decency not only committed but applauded by the gods ! If their sovereign, Jupiter himself, could not resist the wiles of a harlot, what are we to expect from the passions and weaknesses of inferior deities ? What shall we say, again, of gods assuming the forms of shepherds and masons, and being made close prisoners in the infernal regions ? Can any man, endowed with common reason, but reprobate the inventors, the encouragers, and believers of these blasphemous stories ? In some cases they make gods of their passions, as fear, madness, and the like, and then worship them in the worst of forms ; so that there can be nothing so scandalous amongst men, but it may be introduced in the character of one of their gods ; nor is it sufficient to deter the people from sacrificing to the better sort of these monsters. They look upon their gods as the authors of good and evil, and consequently as their friends or their enemies, in proportion to the one or the other. Upon this consideration they deal with their deities as with the vilest of men, they worship and make them presents, for fear they should do them injury.

But it deserves our inquiry how mankind came to lay under so many desperate and dangerous mistakes concerning the Deity. I suppose it to have been derived from the imperfect knowledge the heathen legislators had, from the beginning, of the Divine nature ; or else from the want of communicating to the world the notions they had of things, as matters of little moment, perhaps, in their opinion, and so suffered the poets and orators to introduce their own gods, and by this means confounded their system of politics with idle tales of uncouth deities, and strange worship.

The statuaries and painters of Greece contributed in a great measure to this abuse, by the liberty they took of representing their gods in what shape and figure the artist thought meet. They had their variety in point of matter as well as form ; some working in plaister, others in gold and ivory ; some in sculpture, and others in colours ; and the last piece, for the sake of novelty, was reputed the best. As the old gods fell off, and went out of fashion, they were insensibly succeeded by new ; and, upon the

failure of one religion, another started up. It was so with temples, as one was laid in rubbish, another was raised out of the ruins of it, according to the fancy of the age ; whereas the true worship of the Almighty ought to be as unchangeable as his own nature.

Apollonius Molon was puerile, weak, and superficial in his understanding ; but those among the Greeks, who deserve the name of philosophers, are no strangers to the truth of what I have delivered, and entertain the same exalted ideas of the Deity that we do, and with as hearty a contempt of the absurd fables of their countrymen. Whence it was that Plato would suffer no poets in his commonwealth ; nay, he dismissed even Homer himself, though with all the honours of a poet laureat, lest fables should destroy right notions of the Deity.

This great man of all others comes nearest to the example of Moses, in the model of his commonwealth, where he charged all his subjects to study their laws, get them by heart, and not intermix with strangers ; but preserve their government in its original purity, and pay strict obedience to their ordinances and decrees. Apollonius Molon did not consider this, when he preferred his accusation against the Jews, for not joining and communicating with men of different persuasions ; as if, in that instance, we were singular ; whereas all people (generally speaking,) do the same thing ; the Greeks themselves, and the most discreet men amongst them too.

The Lacedæmonians would admit no strangers among them ; nor so much as suffer their citizens to travel abroad, lest they should contract such habits as might tend to a dissolution of their laws. Perhaps there may be cause to censure this rigid severity, in debarring strangers the common privileges of society and commerce. But so far are we from this uncharitable restriction, that, though we do not interfere with the concerns of others, we are ready to entertain proselytes, and receive those who are disposed to join with us, which must be acknowledged a certain indication of humanity.

► The Athenians, on the other hand, contrary to the custom of the Lacedæmonians, make it their glory to give admittance to all strangers ; but of this I suppose Apollonius was ignorant. They are so zealous for the honour of their gods, that it was made capi-

tal to let fall so much as one irreverent word upon the subject. On what account was Socrates put to death? Not for betraying the commonwealth, or burning their temples; not for treason or sacrilege; but for framing new oaths, by the direction, as he suggested, of a certain demon. Whether he was in jest or earnest is not known to this day; but for this he was tried, condemned, and put to death by poison. He was also charged with propagating false doctrines, and endeavouring to supplant the religion and laws of his country. This was the case of Socrates, a citizen of Athens.

As another instance of their rigour, Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, was put to death, for affirming that the sun, which the Athenians thought to be a god, was a ball of fire. A talent reward was offered by proclamation to any man that would bring in the head of Diagoras, of Melos, for ridiculing the mysteries of their religion. They would have proceeded in like manner with Protagoras, if he had not made his escape in due time. His pretended crime was the writing of a tract, wherein he delivered himself ambiguously of the gods of the Athenians. But why should we wonder at their treating men with this severity, when the women themselves were not spared? For instance, they put a priestess to death, upon an accusation of worshipping strange gods. It was made death also for any man to introduce a foreign religion. What therefore can be more evident, than that, so far as these laws were in force, the people could have no faith in other gods. Besides, if they had, they would never have deprived themselves of the comfort and benefit of their favour.

The Scythians themselves, though the most barbarous and brutal people upon the face of the earth, were so scrupulous of preserving the mysteries of their profession, that they slew Anacharsis, a man of eminent parts, only for speaking too reverently of the gods of the Greeks. We read likewise, that many amongst the Persians suffered death upon the same account. Apollonius Molon was attached to the laws and customs of the Persians, and one that held them in admiration, as well as the Greeks, for their firmness and agreement in the matter of worship, as exemplified in the burning of their temples. Molon had not only a good opinion of their customs, but, in some degree, imitated them in the extravagant liberties he took with other men's wives, and the

cruelties he exercised towards their children ; barbarities that are declared death by our laws, though committed upon any of the brute creation.

Such is the veneration we have for the observance of these laws, that neither power, profit, fear, or any other consideration, can divert, or deter us from the conscientious discharge of our duty.— Nor have we exerted ourselves in military exploits from motives of ambition or avarice, but for the support and maintenance of our lawful rights. We have submitted to every kind of outrage with patience and resignation ; but we feel most sensibly for every violation of our laws, and are thereby rendered daring and obstinate, to the last degree. What reason can we have for desiring to imitate the customs of other nations, which we see abandoned by their very founders ? Why do not the Spartans abandon their inhospitality, as well as their contempt of matrimony ? And the people of Elis and Thebes their abominable propensities ? The most shameful practices generally prevailed among the Greeks through connivance ; and they ascribed to their very gods the gratification of the most criminal passions.

What shall be said of those legislators who have been more assiduous in devising means for the escape of malefactors, than for bringing them to condign punishment, compounding for a fine in cases of adultery, and atoning for debauchery by marriage ? It would be endless to recount the temptations to swerve from the rules of piety and virtue, that are thrown out to the unwary by these compositions, even to the total subversion of their laws.

But nothing of this kind is permitted amongst us ; for, though we be deprived of our wealth, our cities, and every thing we hold most dear, our laws continue inviolate, and immutably the same. Now if this be our disposition towards our laws, and that from their intrinsic value, let our enemies make this confession, that they are most excellent. If they deny us this requisition, we demand of them wherefore they neglect the observance of their own laws, which they esteem so far superior to ours ?

Time is the surest touchstone in all human cases ; nor is there a more convincing proof of the goodness of a law than the antiquity of it. We therefore cast our cause upon that issue for the honour of our legislator, and of the laws themselves with regard

to God's holy worship. It will be granted us that Moses was the first legislator for many ages, and that as our laws had their origin thence, so they were followed and imitated, more or less, by all other nations. That the generality of the ancient Greeks had, in appearance, their own peculiar laws, I admit; but their philosophers held the same notions of the Deity with us, and inculcated the same doctrines of life and manners.

Such is the reputation we have held in the world for our religion and politics, that there is hardly any nation, either Greek or Barbarian, that does not act in some conformity to our example, either in the observance of our seventh day's Sabbath, the use of lamps, the celebration of fasts, or abstinence from certain meats; as also in matters of humanity, charitable agreement in society, indefatigable labour and industry, and an invincible constancy in suffering for the truth. In some of these particular instances they severally imitate us.

But the matter of greatest admiration is, that our laws have no baits of pleasure to allure men, but prevail through their own force, and seem to pervade the human mind as the Almighty pervades the universe. Those who look into their own country, or their own families, will bear testimony to my assertion. Can there be any propriety then in the idea of changing our old laws for new ones? If not, let the reproach cease. We are not actuated by a malevolent and envious principle, but a veneration we have for the memory of our prophet, and in full persuasion of his divine authority. If we were not fully convinced of the intrinsic excellence of our laws, the great number of their admirers and professors would be sufficient to give us a high esteem for them. I have treated on this subject more copiously in my *Antiquities*, and therefore only hint now what is necessary for my present purpose, without any design of depreciating the laws of other nations, or making a panegyric upon those of our own, but solely for the vindication of truth against calumny and injustice.

To draw towards a conclusion: I presume I have sufficiently completed what I proposed in writing these books; for whereas our accusers have pretended that our nation is of late date, I have demonstrated the antiquity of their origin. I have likewise produced several eminent authorities, that make honourable mention

of us in their annals. I have incontestibly refuted the assertion, that our ancestors came originally out of Egypt; and, with respect to the fable of our being expelled for epidemic maladies, I have rendered it evident, on the contrary, that they cut their way through troops of their enemies into their own country.—There are those who asperse the character of Moses, in opposition to the concurrent testimony of several ages to his immortal honour.

In vindication of our laws, more words are superfluous. Those who read and understand them, must be convinced of the piety and wisdom of their institution. They are declared enemies to iniquity, luxury, and faction; promoters of peace, charity, industry, and justice. They allow of no war founded on ambition or avarice; nor do they approve of returning evil for evil. They inspire valour and resolution in the defence of the dearest rights of mankind. They are vigorous in the punishment of malefactors; and point out that actions, not words, are the standard of merit.

From these premises I may justly conclude, that we have the most perfect laws extant. For what can be more excellent than unfeigned piety towards God? What more reasonable than submission to laws? What more beneficial than union in prosperity, and a well cemented friendship in adversity? a dauntless resolution in arduous exploits? a sedulous application to arts and husbandry in times of peace? and finally, a perpetual consciousness of an omnipresent, omniscient, and superintending Providence?

If these precepts had been written at first, or more exactly retained by any others before us, we should owe them thanks, as disciples owe their tutors. But if it is evident that we derived them from no foreign origin, and that the institution of them is our own; that, from time to time, we have handed them down, as the precise and invariable rules of our profession and practice, let Apion, Molon, and the whole tribe of calumniators and detractors, stand confuted. I have completed my design, in dedicating to thee, and others, most excellent Epaphroditus, an authentic history of our nation.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
ON THE
MARTYRDOM
OF THE
MACCABEES.

I. MACCABEES.

CHAP. I.

AS my design, in this discourse, is to show that reason is the perfection of wisdom, and ruler of the passions, when duly improved by study and religion, I cannot but exhort my readers to apply themselves, with the utmost assiduity, to the attainment of knowledge, the most important of all acquisitions. Reason is a necessary preliminary to knowledge, in which, if we excel, we may be said to excel in the noblest and most comprehensive of all virtues, which is prudence. It is reason alone that can effectually restrain the inordinate affections of the mind, correct the depravity of nature, and those corrupt inclinations which are opposed to the love and practice of virtue. That branch or degree of it which subdues the passions of anger, fear, and grief, and whatever else enervates the mind, may properly be denominated fortitude.

To this it may perhaps be objected, if reason has this dominion over the passions, or perturbations of the mind, why has it not the same controlling power over ignorance and forgetfulness?—This is a frivolous objection, and foreign to the case in point; for when we affirm that reason has a controlling power over the passions, we mean those defects of nature only as are opposite to justice, temperance, and fortitude, all which are of a distinct kind, and belonging to the sensitive soul; but not such as are defects peculiar to itself, and appertain to the rational system. Again,

in this objection the nature of this sovereignty is misrepresented ; for we do not mean that reason entirely removes those affections, but does not so far submit as to suffer itself to be vanquished by them.

That it is in the power of reason to command and subdue the passions, I could demonstrate by a variety of arguments, but shall, at present, confine myself to the most approved and undeniable one, matter of fact. I mean the example of persons who have signalized themselves in resolutely asserting and dying in defence of truth and virtue, among whom I apprehend none are more conspicuous, or more deservedly admired, than those of our country, Eleazar, and the seven brethren martyred with their mother.— These, despising the most exquisite tortures, and persevering even unto death, have incontestibly proved the command of reason over the passions : I mean those of the sensitive kind, as before alluded to. I shall endeavour to give just commendations to these brave men, and their incomparable mother, for their improveable constancy ; and to transmit their names with honour to posterity, for their steadfast adherence to virtue and their duty. These men excited the admiration not only of those who were indifferent spectators, or readers, of their sufferings, but even of their very enemies, and most prejudiced tormentors, who stood amazed at the courage and patience which their own implacable malice exercised after so inhuman and barbarous a manner. Thus they became the means of releasing their nation from oppression, conquering the rage of a tyrant by their sufferings, and becoming a sacrifice of expiation for their country.

The method in which I propose to proceed, will be, first, to make some general remarks on the point in debate, and then attend to this particular instance, giving glory to God, the fountain of wisdom, who hath been pleased to leave such undeniable evidence of this truth in the persons whose virtues I am now about to celebrate.

The question to be resolved is plainly this. Whether reason can control and govern the passions? In order thereto it will be necessary to explain what is to be understood by reason, what by passion, how many species there are of passions, and whether reason bears sway over them all.

By reason then I understand the intellectual faculty improved and rightly guided by reflection, preferring a life conducted by wisdom and truth. By wisdom I understand the knowledge of divine and human affairs, and the true causes and grounds of each, such as we attain by the discipline and instruction of the laws, which teaches us to embrace those truths which relate to God with reverence, and those respecting men as things directed to, and designed for, the benefit of mankind. Wisdom may be divided into four particular branches; Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance. The noblest and most comprehensive of these is prudence, because reason, through its assistance and influence, attains dominion over the passions.

The passions that are most general are two, pleasure and pain, each of which acts upon the body and soul. In these two passions of pleasure and pain are comprehended many others. Thus, in the instance of pleasure, it is preceded by desire, and followed by joy. In that of pain, it is preceded by fear, and followed by sorrow.

Anger is a mixed passion, between pleasure and pain, of which those must be sensible who minutely observe how they are affected by it. In pleasure is comprehended a base and wicked affection, which of all the passions is the most diffusive. In the mind are avarice, envy, and contention; in the body greediness and sordidness. Pleasure and pain, like certain branches growing out of the body, have several scions, which reason, like the common husbandman, by lopping, tying up, watering, transposing, and ordering, corrects in their nature, and tames their wildness. Reason is the guide of the virtues, and governess of the passions. That this is not affirmed without ground, is evident from the mighty effect it has in matters where the virtue of temperance is obstructed. Temperance restrains the desires; some of which belong to the soul, others to the body; both of which are under the government of reason. When our appetites incline to such fish, fowl, or other delicious foods as are forbidden by our laws, and we abstain from them upon that very account, this is a demonstrative proof of the dominion of reason over the passions. For the impulse of the appetite, by the assistance of reason, is restrained, and all the motions of the body are bridled by its coercive power.

CHAP. II.

BUT this is a matter of small weight when compared with the more stimulating desires of the mind, especially those that are excited by beauty. Joseph acquired immortal renown for conquering his passion by the standard of reason and sound reflection, though in the bloom of years, and urged by the united impulse of beauty and importunity. It is not the mere allaying the fury of vehement pursuits after pleasure, and abstaining from the impure act, that reason can or ought to do, since it is plain our very inclinations are under its jurisdiction; otherwise the law would have been most absurd in laying upon us a command so impracticable as that, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's." Now it is evident that when the law forbids us to covet at all, it more strongly implies that reason is able to curb and conquer our desires. And thus it is not only in those things which are opposite to the virtues of temperance, but justice also. Otherwise what remedy could there be for reforming the luxurious, avaricious, or sordid man? When a man, of a covetous disposition, is prevailed upon to conform to the precepts of our law, he restrains his desires, lends to the poor without taking usury, and remits the debt at the year of jubilee; and though he be ever so frugal, yet he is obliged by this law, neither to gather in the fruits of his field or his vineyard in the sabbatic year.

Many other instances might be produced to show that reason governs our passions: for the law, in some cases, exercises dominion over natural affection to parents; forbidding us, for their sakes, to betray the cause of truth and virtue: so it does over tenderness to our wives, commanding us to punish them for the transgressions of their duty: so again over love to our children, enjoining us to make them examples when they do amiss: and lastly, over kindness to our friends, in directing us to reprove their vices. In confirmation of this truth, it is further to be observed, that reason, when influenced by the law, overcomes hatred to enemies; for it prohibits the cutting down their fruit-trees:

it orders us to restore to our enemies things which they have lost, and to help their cattle when fallen and in distress.

Further, it is evident that reason bears sway over the more violent passions, such as ambition, vainglory, and envy; for all these unseemly dispositions are removed and subdued by a mind instructed by sound reason; as in anger also, though the most ungovernable of all passions. If this were not the case, how could our wise ancestor Jacob so severely condemn that act of his sons, Simeon and Levi, when they, contrary to reason, utterly destroyed the whole race of the Shechemites? saying, in abhorrence of their intemperate rage, "Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel." He had certainly no view in speaking thus, unless persuaded that reason was able to conquer wrath.

CHAP. III.

WHEN God created man, and endued him with reason and a freedom of will, he, at the same time, implanted in his nature a variety of passions and dispositions, and set his intellectual mind upon the throne, to exercise government over all the sensual appetites within. He then imposed a law as a rule, whereby he might direct himself, and lead a life of temperance, justice, and goodness. What ground can there be then for that objection, which makes a doubt whether reason can master the passions, because it does not appear that it attains to absolute dominion over forgetfulness and ignorance? We are not to expect that reason should totally exempt us from all evil dispositions; but it will aid us in our conflicts with such dispositions; it being the proper office of reason not to change, but assist nature; not to be a destroyer, but an auxiliary.

This matter may receive some illustration from the example of David. We read that, after having engaged a whole day with an army of Philistines, and made great slaughter among them, the king retired in the evening into the royal tent, fatigued and spent, where all the forces of our forefathers were encamped around him. The rest of the company refreshed themselves contentedly; but the king, being exceeding thirsty, could not satisfy his appetite

with any water drawn out of those springs of which they had plenty. An inconsiderate desire seized him to drink of the water fetched from the enemies' garrison. Hereupon some of his officers, desirous of satisfying him, armed themselves, took a vessel, broke through the enemies' trenches, passed their guards, sought out the well of Bethlehem, and thence brought to the king the water he so ardently desired. But David, though parched with thirst, recollecting how inhuman and dangerous a thing it would be to gratify his appetite at the hazard of men's lives, and that drinking the water would be in effect to drink blood, opposed reason to inclination, and made a libation of it to the Deity.

Thus a mind, strictly temperate and wise, can overcome the impulse of the passions, extinguish the flames of the most furious desires, contend with the most exquisite bodily pains, and, in fine, quell all the perturbations that discompose the human frame, by a steady principle of virtue. But it now becomes necessary to confirm this argument, by demonstrative proofs of this power of reason exemplified by practice, of which our forefathers have given undeniable instances. When, through strict observance of their laws, they had ingratiated themselves with foreign princes, and prevailed upon Seleucus Nicanor, king of Asia, so far, that he set apart a portion of his public revenues to defray the expense of the sacrifices, as highly approving their institutions, it happened, after this profound tranquillity, some of them were brought under various and severe trials, by the ill offices of wicked men, who disturbed the public peace in the manner hereafter related.

CHAP. IV.

A CERTAIN man, named Simon, creating a quarrel with Onias, who was high-priest for life, and a man of the greatest integrity, after having endeavoured to vilify his character by the foulest aspersions, and finding his attempts vain to lessen him in the esteem of the people, fled to a foreign court, with wicked intent to betray his country. He accordingly applied to Apollonius, who was then governor of Syria and Phoenicia, and told him, that, from his great zeal for the king his master, he was come to make a discovery of a vast sum of money deposited in the trea-

sure at Jerusalem, not appropriated to the temple, or employed to any public use, but wealth hoarded up by private men, and therefore of course the right of Seleucus. Apollonius having received this account, commended Simon's zeal for the king's service, waited upon Seleucus, and imparted to him the secret. Upon this information he soon obtained a commission from the king, and marched into our country, bringing with him the traitor Simon, and a very powerful army.

Upon his arrival, he gave out, that he came, by order of the king, to remove the private money that was in the sacred treasury. The nation taking alarm, and complaining of it as a horrible injustice to deprive those of their money who had deposited it in the sacred treasury, resisted the officer as much as they were able. But Apollonius, with menaces of force, made up to the temple. The priests, upon this, with their wives and children, prostrating themselves before the sacred place, implored the Almighty to defend his own temple from profanation and contempt.

Apollonius still persisting, and entering the place with a body of armed men, as he was about to seize upon the treasury, behold angels from heaven suddenly appeared, mounted on horses, clad in shining armour, and struck Apollonius and his soldiers with fear and trembling. The governor fell to the ground in the court of the Gentiles, stretching out his hands to heaven, and supplicating the Hebrews, with many tears, to offer their prayers for him, that he might not be destroyed by that tremendous host. The high-priest Onias, moved with compassion, and fearing lest Seleucus should impute the death of Apollonius to human treachery, granted his request ; so that being miraculously saved, he returned back to the king, and related to him the particulars that had befallen him.

But king Seleucus dying soon after, he was succeeded on the throne by his son Antiochus, a man of an imperious and savage disposition, who deprived Onias of the priesthood, and put into that office his brother Jason, upon a compact of an annual tribute of three thousand six hundred and sixty talents, which he had covenanted to pay him. The king having constituted this Jason superintendant, not only over ecclesiastical matters, as high-priest, but also over civil affairs, he put our nation under severe trials,

and, by introducing new customs, contrary to the law, hurried them into all manner of impurity. He not only instituted Grecian games in our metropolis, but abolished the use of the temple, in-somuch that the Divine vengeance being provoked, Antiochus was stirred up to make war against the Jews. Being engaged in an expedition against Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and informed, at the same time, that some of the inhabitants of Jerusalem had expressed joy at the report of his being dead, he turned his forces that way, and made great havoc among them, publishing withal an edict, forbidding any of them to observe the customs of their country, upon pain of death. Finding this edict had not its intended effect, but that all his severest threatenings and punishments were so far despised, that even the women (who continued the practice of circumcising their children) were cast down headlong from the walls of the city, (though they knew what they were to suffer,) he was so amazed at the little regard shown to his authority, that he came in person, and by torments compelled those that were brought before him, to eat of meats unclean and forbidden by the law, and thus abjure the religion of their country.

CHAP. V.

WHEN Antiochus, that cursed tyrant, had seated himself upon a tribunal, surrounded by his counsellors, and a strong body of armed men, he commanded many of the Hebrews to be brought by force before him, and compelled them to eat of swine's flesh, and meats offered to idols, upon pain of the torture in case of refusal. After many had been thus barbarously treated, a certain man, named Eleazar, of the family of the priests, by profession a lawyer, far advanced in years, and known to several who stood round the tyrant, was brought before him. Antiochus observing the venerable sage, thus addressed him :—

“Before I proceed to use any severity, let me advise thee, reverend old man, to save thy own life, by submitting to eat of swine's flesh ; for I pay great respect to thy age and gray hairs ; and am surprised that the experience of so many years should not have made thee wiser than still to persevere in the Jewish super-

stitution. It seems to me a most unreasonable thing for men to abridge themselves of any innocent pleasures, and great injustice to themselves, and ingratitude to nature, to refuse any of those enjoyments which her bounty hath provided for us. Why shouldst thou then express such abhorrence of that most delicious of all meats, which seems, in the flesh of swine, to have been designed as our best entertainment, and a singular favour? This may in others seem somewhat more excusable; but in you, who are a person of better judgment, it would be a most unaccountable folly, to be prejudiced by a false and empty notion of religion; and for an idle fancy to condemn my authority, and draw a needless punishment upon your own head: wilt not thou then suffer thine eyes to be opened, and be awakened out of this dream of thy peculiar persuasion, and set thyself free from the bondage of so morose and singular a notion? Will this friendly expostulation prevail for no deference to be paid my kindness? and the compassion I have for thy age, move thee to no compassion upon thyself? Methinks it should; for though what I have said does not convince thee of the vanity of thy opinion in this point, yet you must needs allow, that if there be a power above, which does, as you suppose, require the observance of this religion, that power hath so much goodness as to pardon the transgression of his laws, when it is not the offender's own act and choice, but the effect of force and pure constraint."

Eleazar, having duly attended to these words, entreated of the king permission to speak for himself, which being granted, he stood forth, and, in the presence of the whole assembly, spoke to the following effect:—

"Know, Sire, that we, who are fully convinced that it is our duty, in all things, to behave ourselves according to the law given us by God, are perfectly persuaded, that no necessity can more oblige us, no force be stronger upon us, than that by which we stand bound to obey his law; and for this reason we think our acting contrary to it, cannot be dispensed with on any terms whatsoever. Nay, though our law were not, as you are pleased to suggest, really divine, yet, Sire, I must crave leave to say, that, so long as we continue to believe it divine, that very persuasion ought to be an effectual restraint upon us from violating, or thinking meanly of, any religious or-

dinances established by it. Do not therefore imagine, if we should submit to defile ourselves by unclean meats, that this would be deemed a small and pardonable fault. For the presumption of the offender is the same, and the authority of the law equally insulted, be the instance in which a man transgresses greater or less. The fact itself makes no difference in point of guilt. You were pleased, Sire, to speak contemptuously of our religion, as an institution unbecoming men of reason and philosophy. But I must be bold to say, it is the best and most consummate philosophy; for it teaches us temperance, the conquest of our passions and desires, and sets us above all our pleasures. It trains us up in the exercise of fortitude, and commands us to undergo all manner of pain willingly and cheerfully. It teaches us the most exact justice; and orders us to confine our worship and absolute reverence to the one true God, where alone they are of right due. Upon this account we dare not eat things prohibited and unclean; for we are fully persuaded that God, who created our nature, had due regard to it; that the very institution of this law was so far from a hardship, as in itself to be an act of goodness and mercy, and that the things forbidden are hurtful to our souls; whereas those allowed for food are useful and convenient. It is therefore the very extremity of tyranny to force us not only to sin against our law, but to eat that which is therefore not allowed us because of a quality not fit to be eaten. But this is a sort of triumph which I shall never give you over me. Nor must I falsify the solemn oaths, and only engagements, whereby our ancestors have bound themselves, and their posterity, to the faithful observance of this law; not though you should command my eyes to be put out, and my bowels to be burnt. Old age hath not so impaired my mind, or enfeebled my body, but that, when religion and duty call me to it, my reason can yet prove itself youthful and vigorous. If this reply provoke you, prepare your instruments of torture, and heat your furnace hotter still: all that shall not move me to spare my old age, so as, for the saving my person, to violate the law of my country and my God. That holy law, to which I owe my instruction, I will never desert. Thou dearest of all virtues, temperance, by which we preserve our native sovereignty over our appetites, I will never abjure thee; thou

best of all philosophy, I will never disgrace thee. Thou holy order of priesthood, and study of the law, I will neither forego, or be a blemish to you. My ancestors shall find me come to you pure and constant ; a soul as free from such a stain as undaunted under all manner of torments, even unto death."

CHAP. VI.

ELEAZAR, having made this noble and spirited reply to the tyrant's exhortation, was dragged by the guards that stood round to the cruelest torments. They pulled off the old man's garment, the venerable habit of his religion, and having bound both his hands behind him, unmercifully scourged him ; an officer calling out at every stroke, "Obey the king's commands." The brave Eleazar sustained his torment as if he had been in a dream, without deviating a tittle from his profession. The good old man stood with eyes uplifted to heaven, while the blood streamed down from his body to the ground, till, no longer able to sustain the torments, he fell upon the pavement : but this was owing to bodily infirmity ; for his mind was as constant and resolute as ever. Upon this one of the guards stamped upon him in order to raise him. Still he bore their barbarous insolence, and, with surprising constancy, suffered their stripes, till his very tormentors stood in admiration of his extraordinary magnanimity, and wondered to find so noble a soul in a body so aged and infirm. At length some of them, touched with compassion at his decrepid age, and moved by remembrance of ancient friendship, thus addressed him :—

"Why dost thou thus, for no manner of reason, expose thyself to all these sufferings? Permit us, Eleazar, to set before thee some lawful and clean meats ; and do thou make as though thou didst eat swine's flesh, according to the king's command ; so shalt thou save thy life, and yet commit no wickedness." But Eleazar resolutely answered, "Far be it from us, who are children of Abraham, to be guilty of such cowardice and wicked subtlety, by so much as seeming to do an act that does not become us. How absurd would it be for me, who have led a life of sincerity and truth hitherto, and preserved my reputation free from blemish, by a strict

observation of the law, to change my course now in extreme old age, and set an ill example to others ! to purchase a little remainder of life at the expense of foul dissimulation, and live that little with the scorn and derision of all the world, for my fear and base compliance ?” When they perceived him thus resolute and inflexible, and that their pity could have no influence upon him, they changed their disposition, and brought him to the fire. There they applied new instruments of torture, threw him upon the fuel, and, as he burnt, poured scalding and nauseous liquors up his nostrils. Burnt to the very bone, and ready to expire, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said, “ Thou seest, my God, the miseries I endure ; and that I choose to die by fire and torment, for the sake of thy law, when it was in my power to preserve my life for transgressing it. Be thou, therefore, gracious, O Lord, to thy own people, and let the vengeance executed on me suffice for what they have deserved. Make thou my blood a purification for them, and accept my life instead of their lives.” With these words this pious man gave up the ghost.

Hence it is evident that reason, improved by religion, has command over the passions ; if it were otherwise, it is to them that the praise of this noble testimony to truth and constant virtue ought to be ascribed. But since, from this instance, it appears plain that the former was victorious, we cannot, with truth, deny that reason is the governing principle ; and, indeed, it is most equitable to confess the same, after so full a demonstration not only of bodily pains, but likewise of pleasure too, resisted and vanquished : for the undeviating tendency of our passions is to indulge pleasure and decline pain.

CHAP. VII.

OUR reverend father Eleazar may be deemed a skilful pilot, holding the rudder of the ship of piety in the sea of the passions, tossed to and fro with the threatenings of the tyrant, and overwhelmed with the waves of torment. Nevertheless, he changes not the rudder till he reaches the haven of victory by a direct and prosperous course. A city besieged with various engines, never

made such resistance against the furious assaults of an enemy, as the divine mind of this pious sage against the attacks of stripes, tortures, and death, till, at length, he vanquished through the aid of reason engaged in the cause of religion.

“ O priest, most worthy of the sacerdotal dignity, who didst not pollute thy sacred body with impure viands ! O guardian of the law, and professor of a philosophy all divine ! O noblest assertor of the religion of thy country, in spite of passion, of torture, and of death ! Thou hast gloriously confirmed the equity of our law by thy sufferings and perseverance ; rendered our rites more conspicuous, but not abrogated them ; and, by realities and deeds, established the precepts and doctrines of our holy profession. O venerable sage, superior to torments, above the force of raging flames, most glorious of conquerors, who hast led thy passions in triumph ! As heretofore our father Aaron, armed with a censer, ran into the midst of the temple, and vanquished the destroying angel, in like manner did Eleazar, descended from the same Aaron, steadily adhere to his profession, and conquer in the midst of devouring flames. And, what is most astonishing, when age and infirmities had enervated his body, he exerted an invincible resolution of mind. O happy age ! integrity and sanctity unquestionable, that gave testimony of so illustrious a death ! ”

What more satisfactory evidence can be required of the power of reason over the passions, than that of an aged man enduring so much for the cause of piety and virtue, with such undaunted intrepidity ? But as it may be alleged, by way of objection, that this in age is less to be wondered at, because, as strength and courage decrease, so the passions and love of life may then be supposed to be considerably abated, I shall proceed to show, that even young men, whose reason has been fixed upon true principles, have undergone, and overcome, torments heavier than the former.

When the tyrant found himself foiled in this first attempt, and that he could not compel the venerable Eleazar to violate the laws of his country, he became so incensed, that he commanded others of the Hebrew captives to be brought before him, promising them immediate liberty, upon condition of their eating forbidden meats,

and threatening them with greater torture than had been inflicted in case of refusal.

CHAP. VIII.

PURSUANT to the order aforesaid, there were brought before the tyrant seven sons, with their ancient mother. The men, from the symmetry of their form, and elegance of their deportment, attracted his notice; and therefore, after beholding them with a kind of approbation, he commanded them to approach, and thus accosted them:—

“Young men, from an approbation of your personal appearance, I have kind intentions towards you: nor can I but pay a more than ordinary respect to your family, which hath the unusual blessing of so many such brethren. To advise, therefore, that you would not be guilty of the same mad and most absurd zeal, with that poor old bigot, whom you saw perish in the midst of agonies and tortures, is a kindness far below what I design for you. I invite you to comply with me, with an assurance of my particular friendship: for I have it in my power to oblige and advance them that obey me, in as eminent a manner as I have to punish those that stand out against my commands. Be assured then, you shall not fail of preferments, but have places of honour and profit, and great trust under me, provided you will renounce your country's customs, and be content to live after the Greek manner; laying aside the foolish distinction of meats, and indulging those appetites and pleasures freely, in which youth, never fond of restraint, must find a delight now denied you by the tyrant of your own superstition. Consider too, that if such advantageous offers be rejected, you must expect that your obstinacy will be the more provoking, and I shall be obliged to make every one of you examples, by a death as full of pain and horror as the anger of an incensed king can inflict. Be persuaded to pity yourselves, when a stranger and an enemy has set you an example of pity. Throw not lavishly away so much youth and beauty, which I am very loth should perish: but perish it must, unless you will save it by that one way. Therefore consider well. *Me-thinks* you should consider, and not resolve too rashly, when I

assure you, that, in case of disobedience, you have nothing to expect but racks, fire, and death."

The tyrant had no sooner thus spoken, than he commanded the instruments of torture to be produced, in order to work more strongly upon their fears, than words and menaces he imagined could do. When the guards had set before them the wheels, racks, manacles, combustible matter, and other implements of horror and execution, Antiochus, taking the advantage of the impression he supposed this spectacle would make, once more applied to them in terms to this effect: "Young men, consider the consequences; your compliance is no longer a wilful offence: you may rest assured that the Deity you worship will consider your case, in being compelled to violate your law." But they were so far from being terrified at the consequence of a denial, that their resolutions became stronger, and through the power of reason, aided by religion, they triumphed over his barbarity. What is it reasonable to suppose would have been the measures pursued, had there been but an individual among them timorous, or inordinately fond of life? Would not such a one have addressed himself to the rest, in terms similar to the following?

"What stupid and fool-hardy wretches are we thus to continue deaf to the invitations and kind advice of a king, who calls us to gain and promotion, upon our obedience! Why should we amuse ourselves with vain imaginations, and persist in a fatal obstinacy, which can end in nothing but death? Shall we be so insensible as to have no regard to these dreadful engines of cruelty? None to the menaces of an unrelenting tyrant, inexorable enough to put in execution all that he hath threatened? Shall we not rather abandon this empty point of honour, and that false pride of constancy, that is certain to prove our destruction? It can be no crime to have some respect to our youth, which promises many happy years; some pity to our poor aged mother, whose gray hairs must be brought down with unspeakable sorrow to the grave, to see so many sons cut off at once, and herself made childless in an instant by our disobedience. What the king says is very rational, that God is too just and good not to make allowance for the hard circumstances we lie under. Why should we then throw ourselves out of life, at a time when we are best fitted

to taste the sweets of living? Why hurry ourselves headlong out of a world where every thing conspires to delight and entertain us most agreeably? Let us not strive any longer with our fate; nor buy applause so dear as at the expense of racks and death. The law itself is not so severe as to condemn for involuntary offences; and the more just our fears are, the less there is of will in the compliance. What pretence can we have then for this obduracy? Or why should we be so fond of a mistaken courage, which is indeed no better than despair and obstinacy, when nothing but death is before us if we stand out; and life and security, plenty and pleasure, are surely ours, if we do but submit?"

CHAP. IX.

BUT no language similar to this was uttered from the mouth of one of these brave youths; for the apprehension of the racking pains they were about to endure little affected their minds. They triumphed over their impending misfortunes; and when the tyrant commanded them to eat of the forbidden viands, they, with one voice, and, as it were, with one spirit, made him this reply:

"To what purpose, O king, is the delay? If with design to know our final resolution, be assured we are ready to encounter death in its most frightful forms, rather than transgress the laws of our fathers. For, besides, the reverence due to the example of our ancestors upon other accounts, this is what our obedience to the law, and the precepts of Moses, requires from us. Do not then attempt any more to persuade us to apostasy; do not put on a counterfeit pity for those who know you hate them; even death itself is more supportable than such an insulting, dissembling compassion, as would save our lives with the loss of our innocence. Thou thinkest to terrify us by threatenings of death and torture, notwithstanding the same experiment made upon the old man hath so lately taught thee how ineffectual all such methods are upon the servants of the true God; and if the old men of our nation endure so courageously such exquisite pains for their religion, is it reasonable to suppose that the young ones will suffer the reproach of being behind them in constancy and patience? As we have been educated under his particular care and instructions, so we

shall conquer after his example. Try us, therefore, and see if it be in thy power to destroy our souls; when we suffer in the cause of God and religion? This is impossible: your cruelty cannot hurt us; for all the effect our pains can have, will be to secure us the glorious rewards due to unshaken patience and injured virtue.— Upon you the consequence will be very different and dreadful; for by the murders of so many innocent men, you arm the Divine vengeance against yourself; and, for the temporal punishments which you inflict, will become so obnoxious, as to suffer the punishment of everlasting torments.”

The tyrant, enraged at their contumacy, gave the word of command; and the guards immediately brought forth the eldest of the seven brethren, and having torn off his garment, and tied his hands behind him, cruelly scourged him; and continued their lashes till they were tired, but could avail nothing. They then put him on the wheel, where his body being extended, he underwent the severest tortures of the rack; thus reproaching his tormentor: “Monster of cruelty! enemy to the Divine Justice! you torment me in this manner not for homicide or impiety, but as an asserter and defender of the sacred law.” The guards then exhorted him to comply, eat of the king’s meat, and thereby obtain a respite. But he answered, “Think not, base men, that your wheel can destroy my reason. Break my limbs in pieces, burn my flesh, distort my arteries; yet all the torments you can inflict on me shall serve but to convince you, that it is the peculiar glory of an Hebrew to be invariably firm in suffering for the cause of virtue.” They then put fire under him, and exposed his body, as much extended as possible, to the devouring flames, insomuch that he exhibited a spectacle horrible beyond description, and thus continued till nothing was left of human form, but a skeleton of broken bones.

During the shocking scene, this brave youth, and worthy descendant of faithful Abraham, was not heard to utter a groan, but bore his torments with such invincible fortitude, as if he had been translated to immutability in the midst of the flames, exclaiming “My brethren, follow my example: desert me not in this noble conflict, nor disclaim the relation of generous constancy, by which we are allied in soul more nearly than in blood. Engage, resolutely en-

gave in the sacred warfare ; nor doubt but that the Almighty Creator of the universe will be propitious to our nation, and avenge himself on the cruel tyrant." With these words the brave youth expired.

While the spectators stood fixed in astonishment and admiration, the guards advanced with the second brother, and fixed his hands in manacles of iron : but, before they put him to the rack, they demanded if he would accept the conditions. Finding, by his reply, he had adopted the same noble resolution with his brother, they tore off his flesh with pincers, and flayed off the skin of his beard, face, and head. He bore this torture with singular magnanimity, saying, " How welcome is death in any form, when we suffer for our religion and laws ! Art thou insensible, inhuman tyrant, that thou art rather thine own tormentor than mine, in finding thy tyrannic aims defeated by our constancy ? The comforts of conscious virtue alleviate my pains, while the dreadful load of your impiety shall fall on your own head, and the Divine vengeance make an example of such a monster to the whole world."

CHAP. X.

THE second brother having made this glorious exit, the third was produced, and pressed with arguments and entreaties to taste and preserve his life. But he replied, with vehemence, " Are you ignorant that I am the son of the same father and the same mother with those that went before me ? Shall I then, in this last scene of life, renounce the honour of that alliance ? The same institutions were taught us all, and I will abide by them until death." The freedom of this speech enraged the executioners, who, to express their malice and resentment, stretched his hands and feet on the engine, and broke them to pieces : but when they found this method did not deprive him of life, they drew off his skin at the ends of his fingers, and flayed him from the very crown of his head. Not content with mangling his body in this merciless manner, they dragged him to the wheel, where, being yet more distended, he saw his own flesh torn from him, and streams of blood gushing from his body. When at the point of death, he exclaimed, " Merciless tyrant ! we suffer thus for the religion and law of that God

who is able to reward us : but remember, thou shalt suffer pains much more insupportable for thy impiety and cruelty."

Having died thus equally glorious with his preceding brothers, the fourth was produced by the guards, and persuaded to bethink himself, and be wiser than those who had gone before him. His answer was, "Your fire has not heat enough in it to make me despond or renounce my opinion. I solemnly swear by the happy exit of my brothers, by the eternal destruction of the tyrant, and the glorious life of the pious, I will not renounce their magnanimity. Invent and bring thy torments, tyrant, and make the experiment whether I am not a branch of the same stock, and animated with the same soul, as those whose blood thy impious hands have spilt." Antiochus, on hearing these words, was so excessively enraged, that all the force of passion was visible in his countenance. He gave immediate orders to cut out his tongue ; whereupon he thus proceeded : "You may deprive me of the instrument of utterance : but that God who seeth the heart, knows the inward sensations of the silent. Here is the member ; you cannot by this act, deprive me of reason. O that I could lose my life by inches, to support the cause of religion. Though you take away the tongue, which chants the praises of God, remember that his high hand will very soon let its vengeance fall down upon your head."

CHAP. XI.

NO sooner had this brother, exhausted with pain, and miserably mangled, finished his course, than the fifth sprang forward of his own accord, exclaiming, "Prepare your torments : I am here ready to suffer the worst you can inflict. I come voluntarily to die in the cause of virtue ; and, by a cruel catastrophe, to procure an endless punishment on you for the barbarities you have committed on the bodies of my brothers. Mortal enemy to virtue, religion, and mankind, what have I done, wherein have I transgressed, to deserve this merciless treatment ? Do we not worship the universal parent of nature according to his own decrees ? Do we not act in conformity to the institution of his most holy laws ?—

These are things that ought to meet with reward instead of punishment."

While these words were in his mouth, the tormentors bound and dragged him to the wheel, to which fastening his knees with iron rings, they stretched him round the engine, and then broke his joints. Being miserably tortured in this manner, he thus spoke in unspeakable anguish: "Tyrant, thou doest us the greatest honour against thy inclination; for the glorious torments you inflict upon us, only serve to testify an extraordinary zeal for our laws and religion."

When he had borne testimony to the truth of his religion, after the example of his heroic brothers, the sixth youth was brought before Antiochus, and being demanded, by the tyrant, whether he would accept deliverance in the terms aforementioned, resolutely answered, "It is true, indeed, I am younger than my brothers, but my mind is the same with theirs. We had all of us the same parents, and the same instructions, and it is but necessary that we should all die alike for them; therefore if you are determined to put me to the torment on my refusal to eat, torment me." Hereupon they fastened him to the wheel, and having broken his bones, put fire under him. Then the guards heated their spears, and thrust them into his back and sides, till his very entrails were burnt up. In the midst of these torments he exclaimed, "O glorious conflict, in which so many brethren have engaged for the sake of their religion, and all came off victorious; for a mind rightly informed of the truth, and armed with steady principles of virtue, must for ever be impregnable. I will accompany my brothers, and relying on my own probity as my defence, now submit to death. But thou, tyrant, must not think to avoid a punishment which your cruelties deserve; for a death, attended with the most dreadful of torments, hangs over your head. Six of us have baffled thy rage and malice. As for your fire, it feels cold to us; your tormenting engines are far from giving us pain; and all the violence you can use is fruitless, and of no consequence. For so long as our law is so nobly asserted, we retain a reason that all the world and its punishments cannot subdue."

CHAP. XII.

THE sixth brother being despatched at last, by being thrown into a boiling cauldron, the seventh, and youngest, appeared, whom, when the tyrant saw fettered and pinioned, and though so implacably outrageous against the rest of his brethren, his heart began to relent. Calling upon him, therefore, to approach the tribunal, he endeavoured to sooth him with these words :—

“ You see what kind of deaths your brothers have undergone ; but their disobedience and contumacy have been the sole means of all their torments, and the cruelties they have sustained. Yet you, if you obey not my commands, shall be exposed to the same, nay, worse torments, and so suffer an immature death ; but if you comply with my desires, I will take you into the number of my friends, you shall have a considerable post in my kingdom, and be a governor in the state.” Not content with these persuasions to the son, he addressed himself to the mother, with seeming compassion for her loss, entreating her to prevail upon her child, in pity to her at least, to save this small remnant of the family, and not to bring on her the affliction of having all her offspring so sadly torn away at once. But his mother addressing him in the Hebrew tongue, exhorted him to suffer, as we shall show in the sequel. Upon this he suddenly exclaimed, “ Take off my fetters, for I have something to communicate to the king, and all his friends.” The king and his nobles hearing the promise the young man made, seemed greatly rejoiced ; and his chains were immediately knocked off. Taking the advantage of this circumstance, he thus exclaimed ;—

“ Impious and cursed tyrant, have you no fears nor apprehensions in your mind, after having received at the hands of the Almighty the kingdom and riches you enjoy, than to put to death his servants, and torment his worshippers ? These cruelties shall be returned with an eternal punishment from the hands of the Divine vengeance. Is your conscience touched with no scruples, inhuman monster, thus to deprive of their tongues those who share alike the same nature and passions with you, and who are born of

the same elements, and thus put innocent persons to cruel torments, and take away their lives in the most unmerciful and barbarous manner? They have undergone a glorious death, and shown how much their piety and observance was for the maintenance of the true religion; whereas thou, impious man, shall be exposed to ills you little dream of, for taking away unjustly the lives of those who were worshippers of the Supreme Being. For this reason I will suffer death, and, in my last pangs, discover how much my desire was to follow the brave example of my brothers. I beg and entreat the God of my fathers that he would be propitious and merciful to our nation; but that he may chastise you while you live; and after death, that your punishment may be augmented." Having finished this address, he threw himself into the boiling cauldron, and so gave up the ghost.

CHAP. XIII.

FROM these particulars we have enumerated, it must be confessed that reason, guided and supported by religion, has power over the passions, when we see seven brothers in perfect agreement, and upon the same principle, despising and vanquishing the most exquisite pains, and even death itself. Is it not manifest, that had these men been governed by their passions, they had submitted to pollute themselves with unlawful meats, refused no condition to procure ease and safety, and been totally subdued? But since they combatted these passions by a judicious use of reason, we are bound to acknowledge, with abundant praise to the holy martyrs who suffered, that, as they despised the most dreadful torments, so reason never more discovered its dominion over the subject passions than in those instances. For as the moles and forts upon the shore break all the force of the waves and weather, and render the harbour commodious and safe to ride in, so did this seven-fold fortification of reason protect the harbour of piety from all the storms and boisterous inundations of passion.

How moving, how affecting a sight was such a company, encouraging and assisting each other in the exercise of their piety, like the voices which contribute, every one by his distinct part, to make up a perfect melody! With such a harmony of hearts did

they exclaim: "Let us die like brethren in the defence of our laws; let us imitate the brave example of the three Assyrian youths, who defied the furnace of the king of Babylon, in fighting for the cause of virtue; let us never despair, nor once be cast down. When religion and a good conscience are at stake, let us abandon all ignoble fears, and act with becoming resolution."—Another said, "Assume courage, my brother, and suffer all with an insurmountable bravery of mind." Others of them recognized ancient facts. "Remember whence you derive your origin, and what father Isaac could suffer in the cause of piety." Then in general looking on each other with countenances serene, and highly pleased, they exclaimed, "Let us cheerfully consecrate our bodies to God. Let us pay him back the lives he lent us for his service, and devote these bodies to the defence of his most holy law. Why should we stand in fear of one who only seems to kill the body? The only danger worthy of our dread is that of souls abandoned to torments everlasting, which can never be the fate of such as keep and honour the truth. Let us then arm ourselves with a holy fortitude, so shall Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, receive us when we die, and all our pious ancestors congratulate and applaud our constancy."

As they were dragged one by one to the place of execution, those whose turn was not yet come, encouraged those that went before them, with words to this purport: "Brethren, do not dishonour us, nor elude the expectation of your brethren who have already suffered death."

These must have been very engaging exhortations; for none can be insensible what charms, what powerful influence so near a relation carries with it; what tender affections the All-wise Providence hath infused into their hearts, who have derived their being from the same father and mother, been maintained at one common table, conversed perpetually together under the same roof, instructed by the same teachers, and initiated in the same religion. Such was the affection, such the endearments, and, of course, such were the weight and efficacy of the admonitions and mutual encouragements of these seven brothers to one another; for they were brought up in the same faith, trained up in the exercise of the same virtues, and the better men they were, the better

they must love each other. Natural affections are never so happily improved as by perfect agreement in goodness, and united zeal in the love and service of God. And as each of these would love the rest more tenderly in proportion as he himself was more religious, so would he necessarily, in the same proportion, and upon the same account, become more worthy to be beloved by all the rest. And yet we may observe in this very case, a mighty conquest of reason over passion ; for though the brethren had all the tender concern that nature and blood, birth and education, acquaintance and personal worth, could inspire them with, yet these manifold endearments were so vanquished and borne down when religion lay at stake, that, in a cause so noble, the very tortures and deaths of their dearest relations gave a sensible satisfaction to those of the number who yet survived, and were the undaunted, nay, even pleased, spectators of them.

CHAP. XIV.

THE pious and virtuous youths not only excited one another to suffer these terrible conflicts so as to make them surmount all the pains they might be put to, but also were the cause that their brothers, during their torments, bore every thing with astonishing resignation. Oh ! minds more absolute than the most sovereign princes, and more free than liberty itself ! Not one of them was observed to betray any fears, nor have any scruples on the approach of death ; but all, as with one accord, running the race of immortality, embraced death amidst their torments. As the hands and feet obey the motions of the mind, and so direct themselves, even so did these youths, from a motive of piety, consent to die in its cause. As the number of days in which the world was created give us the idea of God, and show the perfection of his majesty and goodness, so do these most renowned martyrs, by running the whole circle of pains and tortures, compose one finished piece of constancy and courage, and teach us that perfection of fortitude which banishes the slavish fear of death. But alas ! how far short of this pattern do we stop ! we, who cannot so much as hear or read without trembling and amazement, what they not only

heard, not only saw, but felt and bore without the least disorder of mind.

Nor ought we to wonder that reason in man should have this dominion over his passions, when the mind of a woman contemned more cruelties than these, and of a different nature. For the mother of these seven youths had such presence of mind as to be a spectator of the tortures her children endured. Reflect on the force of natural affection, how diffuse to one's offspring : nay, this we observe in the brute creation, who have a tincture of the same kind of affection and love for their young as mankind. But there is no necessity for producing examples of brute animals to confirm this love for their young, when the very bees, at the time they are employed about making their honey, revenge themselves on those that approach them, and cause their stings to do the office of swords, and other military weapons, upon those that would attack their little ones.

CHAP. XV.

BUT so true a daughter of Abraham was the mother of these gallant youths, that even compassion for her own children could not break in upon her duty. Such was her noble zeal, that, when two things were offered to her choice, religion and the present safety, and great preferment of seven sons, she wisely gave the preference to the former, which leads to eternal life and happiness. By what language shall I describe those tender passions of parents, that union of nature between them and their children, which, in a wonderful manner, draws upon their offspring the same lines and features of body, and impresses the same dispositions of soul ? how can I represent the concern they feel for these images and parts of themselves, when in any manner of distress ? How especially that of mothers, whose weaker minds, and natural excess of fondness, render them still more sensibly touched by whatever affects their children, than fathers are wont or expected to be ? This mother was more under the influence of such affection than mothers in common. Seven painful births had made as many additions to this love ; and every time her travail was repeated it was a fresh exercise of it, a fresh and strong endearment towards all for whom she had endured the same pangs.

But notwithstanding all this, the fear and love of God overcame her concern for the present safety and advantage of her children. Never did she love them so tenderly as when their steady virtue, and constancy in the truth, charmed her affections, and endeared them to her; for they were just and wise, temperate and magnanimous, affectionate to each other, and dutiful to their mother to that degree, that they even died in the cause of their law in obedience to her. Though she had such extraordinary reasons to love her sons, yet not all the exquisite pains and cruelties they were exposed to could once divert the opinion and resolution she had formed within her breast, for she exhorted each of them singly, and all of them together, not to decline any sufferings, or death, for the sake of religion. Though she was an eyewitness to the torments inflicted on each of her sons, yet the cause of piety engrossed her soul, and she still maintained the sincerity of her intentions. Her piety was so firm, that it remained unchangeable by the horrid, the thrilling spectacle of her children being exposed to inconceivable tortures. Extraordinary mother! that felt greater pangs of sorrow now than she ever experienced at bringing them into the world. Perfect pattern of piety! thou didst not utter a sigh at seeing thine eldest expire. The second giving up the ghost amidst his torments could not draw a tear from those eyes; nor could the third in his last terrible moments, or any one of them in the midst of their torments.

The songs of Syrens, and the dying notes of swans, with all their bewitching and enchanting melody, were not so persuasive to your ears as the last accents of your sons in their expiring moments. When nature and affection pleaded strongly with thee, and the pains and unparalleled sufferings of thy children added weight to their arguments, thou wouldst not accept a short deliverance with guilt, but gavest them up to death in prospect of a more lasting bliss. Thou didst thus approve thyself a true daughter of Abraham, an heiress of all his faith and fortitude.

Mother of our nation! protectress of our laws! bulwark of piety! more patient than man, and armed with more fortitude to undergo difficulties! the glory of thine own sex, and superior to ours! For as the ark of Noah, which then contained all the surviving world, rode triumphant upon the waters of the general

flood, so thou, protectress of the law, tossed on every side with the deluge of the passions, and the torments of thy sons, as with the most violent storm, didst bravely bear up against the fierceness of a dreadful tempest.

CHAP. XVI.

TO return to the point at which I have been aiming ; if a woman, aged, and the mother of seven sons, could not only sustain the sight of those children expiring in tortures, in consideration of the cause for which they suffered and died, it is evident, beyond dispute, that reason, supported by religion, hath a power superior to our passions. It has been abundantly proved, that not only men have overcome vast difficulties, but that a woman despised the most exquisite pains. The lions among whom Daniel was thrown were not so fierce, nor was the furnace of Mishael, though heated with the most raging fires, so hot as those violent passions which natural affection and piety had kindled in her breast, when she saw seven sons successively expire in agonies inexpressible. Yet reason and religion quenched these so furious and manifold affections.

It is reasonable to suppose, that had this woman the least degree of pusillanimity in her composition, she would have burst out into lamentations similar to the following. "Miserable woman that I am, who having brought seven sons into the world, am now parent of none ! To what purpose, my sons, have I borne the many sorrows I have suffered for you, and the many solitudes in bringing you up ? Beloved children, whose faces I shall no more behold, nor rejoice in their marriage and posterity, nor have the much desired blessing in being esteemed happy in any descendants of the second and third generation. I once was happy, happy above my neighbours, when surrounded with seven comely children ; but now I am deprived of them, and left desolate ; nor have I a son to pay me the last duty of interment."

The piety of this eminent woman disdained such complaints. She was so far from desiring any of her children to live, that it would have been matter of grief to her had they not died as they

did. She therefore besought them to fulfil her joy, and encouraged them in dying for the cause of religion. Noble matron! the tyrant was subdued by thy perseverance; and, both in thy words and actions, thou hast proved thyself mighty; for when thou wert apprehended with thy sons, and saw Eleazar put to the torture, thou stoodest immoveable, and thus addressed them in the Hebrew language:—

“My sons, you have a glorious conflict before you, to which being called, that you may leave your nation a testimony of your faith and religion, contend cheerfully in defence of the laws of your country. It would derogate from your characters, to suffer an aged man to be exposed to the pains of the rack, while you shrink, in the prime and vigour of youth, under the same trials. Remember what life is, from whom you derived it, to whom you owe it, and that it is your indispensable duty to undergo every difficulty and danger in the cause of the religion of its grand author. For him did our father Abraham hasten to sacrifice his son, the future parent of our nation. Nor did that son tremble, or once recede, when he saw a father’s hand, armed with a weapon of death, uplifted to give the fatal stroke. For how was pious Daniel cast a prey to hungry lions, and the three children into the fiery furnace? You, who are partakers of the same faith, should not be disheartened, if you are made partakers of the same sufferings; for it is most dastardly, in those who have a true sense of religion, to betray a pusillanimity, when called upon to sustain difficulties.”

Thus did this matron exhort her seven sons, whom she enjoined rather to suffer death than violate the divine law, especially when assuredly persuaded that those who die in the cause of God, shall live with God, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the succeeding patriarchs, in mansions of immortal bliss.

CHAP. XVII.

IT is said of this dauntless woman, that, after being scourged and otherwise severely tortured, by order of Antiochus, she finished her punishment by voluntarily throwing herself into the flames.

Courageous matron ! thus defeating the tyrant's rage, disappointing his infernal schemes, and exerting a most noble faith, proof against all shocks that laboured to overturn it ! Take comfort, therefore ; thy patience is supported by a firm reliance on the divine goodness, and a well grounded hope of future reward. The moon, encircled with her attendant stars, shines not so bright in the firmament of heaven, as dost thou, reflecting light upon, and receiving it back again, from thy seven illustrious sons, fixed in the celestial mansions, and honourable in the Divine presence. Thy race descended from the stock of Abraham. Were we able to depict this act of piety in true and lively colours, our passion scarcely could sustain the mere representation. Were a monument to be erected as a memorial by the nation to which they are so great an honour, an inscription to the import of the following might become it.

" Here lies a venerable priest, an ancient mother, and seven gallant sons, cut off by the rage of a tyrant, attempting, but in vain, to overthrow the Jewish constitution. These brave champions stood in the gap, asserted the religion and rites of their country, committed themselves and their cause to God, and persevered in despite of torments and death."

The encounter was truly divine : virtue was the judge of the combat, and disposer of the prize ; and patience was the proof and exercise of it. To this the victory was to be adjudged, and immortal bliss was to be the reward of the conquerors.

Eleazar was the first champion ; the mother of the seven sons made a glorious defence ; the brothers stoutly fought ; the tyrant was their adversary, and the world were the witnesses. Religion obtained the victory, and yielded the crown to her champions.—Who but must admire these noble assertors of the divine law ? Who but, on gazing on them, must stand in amaze ? The tyrant himself, and the whole court, were struck with admiration at their fortitude : but now they stand at the throne of heaven, and enjoy a life of immortality. Moses writes, " All his saints are in thy hand : " for these men, being devoted to God, are celebrated with immortal renown. Nor was the benefit of their trials confined to their own persons, but the blood shed upon this occasion was accepted by divine justice as a propitiatory sacrifice, and delivered Israel from the oppression under which they groaned.

Antiochus, considering the extraordinary virtue and resolution of these men, gave testimony to their magnanimity, and, by a public officer, propounded it as a pattern worthy the imitation of his own soldiers. He enlisted many of the Hebrews into his service, and by their valour, having subdued his enemies, became an absolute conqueror ; learning, by experience, that religion inspires men with the truest courage ; and that none are capable of serving their prince in wars, comparably to those undaunted contemners of life, who dare to encounter tortures and death for the sake of God, and a good conscience.

O sons of Israel ! race of faithful Abraham ! pay obedience to this law : that reason, assisted by religion, has dominion over the passions, not only of those which are called internal, but also external pains and troubles.

CHAP. XVIII.

Thus did these heroes nobly fight and conquer : nor did they overcome death and torments only, but the enemies also that inflicted both, restoring peace to their nation, and the observance of that long neglected law, the contempt whereof provoked the Almighty to scourge the people with that worst of calamities, the tyrant Antiochus. But while he became an instrument of vengeance to others, he treasured more against himself ; for, when he found he could by no means force the Jews to embrace foreign customs and rites, and abdicate their own, he departed from Jerusalem, and undertook an expedition against the Persians ; nor was it long before the divine justice overtook him, and cut him off the face of the earth by a most miserable death.

For duty to the memory of the pious mother, I add another exhortation she gave to her seven brave and virtuous sons.

“I was long a chaste virgin, nor did I wander from my father’s house.— No seducer of youth corrupted me in the fields ; nor did I fall a prey to the subtle craftiness of a betrayer. The prime of my life I past in the strictest conjugal fidelity to my husband. When you, my children, were grown up, your father died, happy in the esteem of all that knew him. He had the satisfaction of being the parent of dutiful sons ; nor did he survive the

loss of one of them. While he continued with you, he usually instructed you in the knowledge of the law and the prophets, and set before you the renowned examples of patience and suffering virtue : Abel murdered by his own brother Cain, Isaac designed for a burnt-offering, Joseph imprisoned for his chastity, and Phineas zealous for the divine law. He displayed the virtues of Ananias, Azarias, and Mishael, and of Daniel cast into the den of lions.— He would frequently remind you of God's preserving providence by repeating from Isaiah, ' When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, and when through the rivers they shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.' He taught your infant tongues that song of David, ' Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth him out of them all ;' and called upon you to observe that maxim of Solomon in his Proverbs, ' That wisdom is a tree of life to all that lay hold upon her.' Nor did he forget to teach that divine hymn of Moses, ' I kill and I make alive :' and again, what he pronounces of the law, and the diligent observers of it, ' It is your life, and through this thing ye shall prolong your days.'"

O melancholy, or rather glorious day ! when the merciless Grecian tyrant kindled his impious fires, prepared his cauldrons, and, with infernal fury, dragged and bound to the engines of torture, and exercised, with the most excruciating pains, the seven-fold offspring of this daughter of Abraham ! when he deprived them of their eyes, of their tongues, and put them to death with all the cruelties that malice could invent ! These horrid barbarities were retaliated on their perpetrators ; while those sons of Abraham, with their victorious mother, are translated to bliss unspeakable, admitted to the triumphant society of their pious ancestors, and enjoy with them a glorious immortality in the vision of that beatific Being whom they had so faithfully served, and to whom be ascribed all glory and praise, both now and for evermore. Amen.

END OF THE MARTYRDOM OF THE MACCABEES.



THE
* LIFE
OF
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

THE family from which I am derived is not an ignoble one ; but hath descended all along from the priests. And as nobility among several people is of a different origin, so with us to be of the sacerdotal dignity is an indication of the splendour of a family. Now I am not only sprung from a sacerdotal family in general, but from the first of the †twenty-four courses. And as among

* N. B. Josephus wrote, or at least finished, this account of his own life, as an appendix to his Antiquities, after the third year of Trajan, A. D. 100, and at least seven years after he finished those Antiquities.

† We may hence correct the error of the Latin copy of the III, Book against Apion (for the Greek is there lost ;) which says, there were then only four tribes or courses of the priests, instead of twenty-four. Nor is this testimony to be disregarded, as if Josephus there contradicted what he had affirmed here : because even the account there given, better agrees to twenty-four than four courses : while he says that each of those courses contained above 5000 men ; which multiplied by only four will not make many more than 20,000 priests : whereas the number 120,000, as multiplied by twenty-four, seems much the most probable, they being about one-tenth of the whole people, even after the captivity. See Ezra ii. 36—39, Nehem. vii. 42, 1 Esd. v. 24, 25, with Ezra ii. 64, Nehem. vii. 66, 1 Esd. v. 41. Nor will this common reading or notion of but four courses of priests agree with Josephus's own farther assertion elsewhere. Antiq. VII. 14, that David's partition of the priests into twenty-four courses had continued to that day.

us there is not only a considerable difference between one family of each course and another, I am of the chief family of that first course. Nay, by my mother, I am of the royal blood. For the children of Asmoneus, from whom that family was derived, had both the offices of the high-priesthood, and the dignity of a king, for a long time together. I will accordingly set down my progenitors in order. My grandfather's father was named Simon, with the addition of Psellus. He lived at the same time with that son of Simon the high-priest, who first of all the high-priests was named *Hyrcanus. This Simon Psellus had nine sons. One of which was Matthias, called Ephlias. He married the daughter of Jonathan, the high-priest, Which Jonathan was the first of the sons of Asmoneus, who was high-priest, and was the brother of Simon the high-priest also. This Matthias had a son called Matthias Curtis; and that in the†first year of the government of Hyrcanus. His son's name was Joseph; born in the ‡ninth year of the reign of Alexandra. Hisson Matthias was born in the tenth ||year of the reign of Archelaus: as I was born to Matthias on the first year of the reign of Caius Caesar.§ I have three sons; Hyrcanus, the eldest, was born on the **fourth year of the reign of Vespasian; as was Justus born on the ††seventh and Agrippa on the ‡‡ninth. Thus have I set down the genealogy of my family, as I have found it described |||in the public records; and so bid adieu to those who calumniate me, as of a lower origin.

Now my father Matthias was not only eminent on account of his nobility, but had a higher commendation on account of his righteousness; and was in great reputation in Jerusalem, the greatest city we have. I was myself brought up with my brother, whose name was Matthias; for he was my own brother, by both father and mother; and I made great proficiency in the improvements of my learning; and appeared to have both a great memory, and understanding. Moreover, when I was a child, and about fourteen

* See Antiq. XVIII. 4.

† B. C. 134.

‡ An. 70.

|| A. D. 7.

§ A. D. 37.

** A. D. 72.

†† A. D. 75.

‡‡ A. D. 77.

||| An eminent example of the care of the Jews about their genealogies, especially as to the priests.

years of age, I was commended by all for the love I had to learning. On which account the high-priests and principal men of the city came frequently to me, in order to know my opinion about the accurate understanding of points of the law. And when I was about sixteen years old, I had a mind to make trial of the several sects that were among us. These sects are three: the first is that of the Pharisees; the second that of the Sadducees; and the third that of the Essenes; as we have frequently told you.—For I thought that by this means I might choose the best, if I were once acquainted with them all. So I contented myself with hard fare, and underwent great difficulties and *went through them all. Nor did I content myself with these trials only: but when I was informed that one whose name was Banus lived in the desert, and used no other clothing than grew upon trees; and had no other food than what grew of its own accord; and bathed himself in cold water frequently, both by night and by day, in order to preserve his chastity, I imitated him in those things; and continued with him three years. So when I had accomplished my desires, I returned back to the city, being now nineteen years old: and began to conduct myself according to the rules of the sect of the Pharisees: which is of kin to the sect of the Stoics, as the Greeks call them.

But when I was in the †twenty-sixth year of my age, it happened that I took a voyage to Rome; and this on the occasion which I shall now describe. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judea, there were certain priests of my acquaintance, and very excellent persons they were; whom on a trifling occasion he

* When Josephus here says that from sixteen to nineteen, or for three years, he made trial of the three Jewish sects, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes; and yet says presently, in all our copies, that he staid besides with one particular ascetic called Banus, *παρ' αὐτῶν*, with him; and this still before he was nineteen; there is little room left for his trial of the three other sects. I suppose, therefore, that for *παρ' αὐτῶν*, with him, the old reading might be *παρ' αὐτοῖς*, with them: which is a very small emendation, and takes away the difficulty before us. Nor is Dr. Hudson's conjecture, hinted at by Mr. Hall in his preface to the Doctor's edition of Josephus, at all improbable; that this Banus might be a follower of John the Baptist: and that from him Josephus might easily imbibe such notions as afterward prepared him to have a favourable opinion of Jesus Christ himself, who was attested to by John the Baptist.

† A. D. 63.

had put into bonds, and sent to Rome, to plead their cause before Cæsar. These I was desirous to procure deliverance for : and that especially because I was informed that they were not unmindful of piety towards God, even under their afflictions ; but supported themselves with *figs and nuts. Accordingly I came to Rome ; though it were through a great number of hazards by sea. For as our ship was lost in the Adriatic sea, we that were in it being about †six hundred in number, swam for our lives all the night. When upon the first appearance of the day, and upon our sight of a ship of Cyrene, I and some others, eighty in all, by God's providence survived the rest, and were taken up into the other ship. And when I had thus escaped and was come to Dicearchia, which the Italians call Puteoli, I became acquainted with Aliturius, an actor of plays, and much beloved by Nero, but a Jew by birth : and through his interest became known to Poppea, Cæsar's wife, and took care, as soon as possible, to entreat her to procure that the priests might be set at liberty. And when, besides this favour, I had obtained many presents from Poppea, I returned home again.

And now I perceived innovations were already begun ; and that many were very much elevated in hopes of a revolt from the Romans. I, therefore, endeavoured to restrain these tumultuous persons, and persuaded them to change their minds ; and laid before their eyes against whom it was that they were going to fight, and told them that they were inferior to the Romans not only in martial skill, but also in good fortune : and desired them not rashly, and after the most foolish manner, to bring the most terrible mischiefs upon their country, upon their families, and upon themselves. And this I said with vehement exhortation : because I foresaw that the end of such a war would be most unfortunate to

* We may note here, that religious men among the Jews, or at least those that were priests, were some times ascetics also, and like Daniel and his companions in Babylon, Dan. i. 8—16, ate no flesh, but figs, nuts, &c. This was like the austere diet of the Christian ascetics in Passion Week. Constitut. V. 18.

† It has been thought the number of Paul and his companions on shipboard, Acts xxvii. 38, which are 376, in our copies, are too many. Whereas we find here, that Josephus and his companions, a very few years after the other, were about 600.

us. But I could not persuade them: for the madness of desperate men was too hard for me.

I was then afraid lest, by inculcating these things so often, I should incur their hatred, and their suspicions; as if I were of our enemies' party; and should run into the danger of being seized by them, and slain; since they were already possessed of Antonia, which was the citadel. So I retired into the inner court of the temple. Yet did I go out of the temple again, after *Manahem and the principal of the band of robbers were put to death; when I abode among the high-priests, and the chief of the Pharisees. But no small fear seized upon us when we saw the people in arms; while we ourselves knew not what we should do; and were not able to restrain the seditious. However, as the danger was directly upon us, we pretended that we were of the same opinion with them: but only advised them to be quiet for the present: and to let the enemy go away: still hoping that Gessius Florus would not be long ere he came with great forces: and so put an end to these seditious proceedings.

But upon his coming and fighting, †he was beaten: and a great many of those that were with him fell. And this disgrace which Gessius with Cestius received became the calamity of our whole nation. For those that were fond of the war were so far elevated with this success, that they had hopes of finally conquering the Romans. The following circumstance also afforded another cause for carrying on the sedition: those that dwelt in the neighbouring cities of Syria seized upon such Jews as dwelt among them, with their wives, and children, and slew them; when they had not the least occasion of complaint against them. For they did neither attempt any innovation, or revolt from the Romans; nor had they shown any marks of hatred or treacherous designs towards the Syrians. But what was done by the inhabitants ‡of Scythopolis was the most impious and the most criminal of all. For when the Jews their enemies came upon them from without, they forced the Jews that were among them to bear arms against their own countrymen: which it is ||unlawful for us to do. And when, by their

* Of the War, II. 17. † Of the War, II. 18. ‡ Of the War, II. 18.

|| The Jews might collect this unlawfulness of fighting against their brethren, from that law of Moses, Levit. xix. 16. "Thou shalt not stand against the blood

assistance they had joined battle with those who attacked them, and had beaten them; after that victory, they forgot the assurances they had given these their fellow citizens, and confederates, and slew them all, being in number many thousands.* The like miseries were undergone by those Jews that were the inhabitants of Damascus. But a more accurate account of these things has been given in the books of the Jewish War. I only mention them now, because I would demonstrate to my readers, that the Jews' war with the Romans was not voluntary; but that, for the main, they were forced by necessity to enter into it.

So when Gessius had been beaten, as we have said already; the principal men of Jerusalem, seeing that the robbers and innovators had arms in great plenty, and fearing lest they, while they were unprovided of arms, should be in subjection to their enemies: which also came to be the case afterward; and being informed that all Galilee had not yet revolted from the Romans, but that some part of it was still quiet; and sent me, and two other priests, who were men of excellent characters, Jorzar, and Judas, in order to persuade the ill men there to lay down their arms: and to teach them this lesson, that it were better to have those arms reserved for the most courageous men that the nation had, than to be kept there. For that it had been resolved that our best men should always have their arms ready against futurity: but still so, that they should wait to see what the Romans would do.

When I had received these instructions, I came into Galilee; and found the people of Sepphoris in no small agony about their country: by reason that the Galileans had resolved to plunder it on account of the friendship they had with the Romans: and because they had given their right hand, and made a league with Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria. But I delivered them all out of the fear they were in: and persuaded the multitude to deal kindly with them: and permitted them to send to those that were

of thy neighbour;" and that verse 17, "Thou shalt not avenge nor bear any grudge, against the children of thy people: but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself:" as well as from many other places in the Pentateuch and Prophets. Antiq. VIII. 8.

* Thirteen thousand.

their own hostages with Gessius to Dora, which is a city of Phœnicia, as often as they pleased. Though I still found the inhabitants of Tiberias ready to take arms, and that on the following occasion :

There were three factions in the city. The first was composed of men of worth and gravity. Of these Julius Capellus was the head. Now he, as well as all his companions, Herod, the son of Miarus, Herod, the son of Gamalus, and Compsus, the son of Compsus, (for as to Compsus's brother Crispus, who had once been governor of the city under the *great king Agrippa, he was beyond Jordan, in his own possessions,) gave their advice that the city should then continue in their allegiance to the Romans, and to the king. But Pistus, who was guided by his son Justus, did not acquiesce in that resolution. Otherwise he was himself naturally of a good and virtuous character. But the second faction was composed of the most ignoble persons, and was determined for war. But as for Justus, the son of Pistus, who was the head of the third faction, although he pretended to be doubtful about going to war, yet was he really desirous of innovation : as supposing that he should gain power to himself by the change of affairs. He therefore came into the midst of them, and endeavoured to inform the multitude, that the city Tiberias had ever been a city of Galilee, and that in the days of Herod the tetrarch who had †built it, it had obtained the principal place : and that he had ordered that the city Sepphoris should be subordinate to Tiberias : that they had not lost this pre-eminence even under Agrippa, the father : but had retained it until Felix was procurator of Judea. But he told them that now they had been so unfortunate, as to be made a present by Nero to Agrippa junior. And that upon Sepphoris's submission to the Romans, that was become the capital city of Galilee : and that the royal treasury and the archives were now removed from them. When he had spoken these things and a great many more, against king Agrippa, in order to provoke the people to revolt, he added, that this

* This Herod Agrippa, the father, was of old called a great king, as here appears by his coins still remaining : to which Havercamp refers us.

† See Antiq. XVIII. 2.

was the time for them to take arms and join with the Galileans as their confederates : (whom they might command, and who would now willingly assist them, out of the hatred they bare to the people of Sepphoris, because they preserved their fidelity to the Romans :) and to gather a great number of forces, in order to punish them. And as he said this, he exhorted the multitude to go to war. For his abilities consisted in making harangues to the people, and in being too hard in his speeches for such as opposed him, though they advised what was more to their advantage : and this by his craftiness, and his fallacies. For he was not unskilful in the learning of the Greeks. And in dependence on that skill it was that he undertook to write a history of the affairs : as aiming by this way of haranguing to disguise the truth. But as to this man, and how ill were his character and conduct of life, and how he and his brother were, in great measure, the authors of our destruction, I shall give the reader an account in the progress of my narration. So when Justus had, by his persuasions, prevailed with the citizens of Tiberias to take arms ; nay, and had forced a great many so to do against their wills ; he went out and set the villages that belonged to Gadara and Hippos on fire : which villages were situate on the borders of Tiberias, and of the region Scythopolis.

This was the state Tiberias was now in. But as for Gischala, its affairs were thus. When John, the son of Levi, saw some of the citizens much elevated upon their revolt from the Romans, he laboured to restrain them : and entreated them that they would keep their allegiance to them. But he could not gain his purpose ; although he did his endeavours to the utmost. For the neighbouring people of Gadara, Gabara, and Sogana, with the Tyrians, assembled a great army, and took Gischala by force, and set it on fire : and when they had entirely demolished it, they returned home. Upon which John was so enraged, that he armed all his men and joined battle with the aforementioned people, and rebuilt Gischala, after a manner better than before ; and fortified it with walls, for its future security.

But Gamala persevered in its allegiance to the Romans, for the following reason : Philip the son of Jacimus, who was their governor under king Agrippa, had been unexpectedly preserved

when the *royal palace at Jerusalem had been besieged ; but as he fled away had fallen into danger of being killed by Manahem, and the robbers that were with him. But certain Babylonians, who were of his kindred, and were then in Jerusalem, prevented the robbers from executing their design. So Philip staid there four days, and fled away on the fifth : having disguised himself with false hair that he might not be discovered. And when he was come to one of his villages, that was situate at the borders of the citadel of Gamala, he sent to some of those that were under him, and commanded them to come to him. But God himself frustrated his intention ; and this for his own advantage. For had it not so happened, he had certainly perished. For a fever having seized upon him immediately, he wrote letters to Agrippa and Bernice ; and gave them to one of his freedmen to carry them to Varus ; who at this time was procurator of the kingdom : which the king and his sister had intrusted him with ; while they were gone to Berytus, with an intention of meeting Gessius. When Varus had received these letters of Philip's, and had learned that he was preserved, he was very uneasy at it : as supposing that he should appear useless to the king and his sister, now Philip was come. He therefore produced the carrier of the letters before the multitude ; and accused him of forging the same : and said that he spake falsely when he related that Philip was at Jerusalem, fighting among the Jews against the Romans. So he slew him. And when this freedman of Philip's did not return, Philip was doubtful what should be the occasion of his stay : and sent a second messenger, with letters, that he might, upon his return, inform him what had befallen the other that had been sent before ; and why he tarried so long. Varus accused this messenger also, when he came, of telling a falsehood, and slew him. For he was puffed up by the Syrians that were at Cæsarea ; and had great expectations. For they said, that Agrippa would be slain by the Romans, for the crimes which the Jews had committed ; and that he should himself take the government, as derived from their kings. For Varus was, by the confession of all, of the royal family : as being a descendant of Sohemus, who had enjoy-

* See Antiquities, XVII. 10.

ed a tetrarchy about Libanus. For which reason it was that he was puffed up, and kept the letters to himself. He contrived also, that the king should not meet with these writings, by guarding all the passes, lest any one should escape, and carry intelligence of what had been done. He, moreover, slew many of the Jews, in order to gratify the Syrians of Cæsarea. He had a mind also to join with the Trachonites in Batanea, and to take arms and make an assault upon the Babylonian Jews that were at Ecbatana : for that was the name they went by. He therefore called to him twelve of the Jews of Cæsarea, of the best character, and ordered them to go to their countrymen at Ecbatana, with this message : " Varus hath heard that you intend to march against the king : but not believing that report, he hath sent us to persuade you to lay down your arms : and this compliance will be a sign that he did well not to give credit to those that raised the report concerning you." He also enjoined them to send seventy of their principal men, to make a defence as to the accusation laid against them. So when the twelve messengers came to their countrymen at Ecbatana, and found that they had no designs of innovation, they persuaded them to send the seventy men. Who, not at all suspecting what would come, sent them accordingly. So these *seventy and the twelve ambassadors went down to Cæsarea : where Varus met them with the king's forces, and slew them all ; and made an expedition against the Jews of Ecbatana. But one there was of the seventy who escaped, and made haste to inform the Jews of their coming. Upon which they took their arms, with their wives and children, and retired to the citadel at Gamala : leaving their own villages full of all sorts of good things : and having many thousands of cattle therein. When Philip was informed of these things, he also came to the citadel of Gamala.— And when he was come the multitude cried aloud, and desired him to resume the government, and make an expedition against Varus, and the Syrians of Cæsarea. For it was reported that they had slain the king. But Philip restrained their zeal, and put them in mind of the benefits the king had bestowed upon them : and told them how powerful the Romans were : and said it was not for

* The famous Jewish numbers of 12 and 70 are here remarkable.

their advantage to make war with them. And at length he prevailed with them. But when the king was acquainted with Varus's design, which was to cut off the Jews of Cæsarea, being many thousands, with their wives and children, and all in one day, he called to him Equiculus Modius, and sent him to be Varus's successor. But still Philip kept possession of the citadel of Gamala, and of the country adjoining to it : which thereby continued in their allegiance to the Romans.

Now as soon as I was come into Galilee, and had learned this state of things, by the information of such as told me of them, I wrote to the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, and required their direction what I should do. Their direction was, that I should continue there : and that, if my fellow legates were willing, I should join with them in the care of Galilee. But those having gotten great riches, from the tithes which, as priests, were their dues, and were given to them ; determined to return to their own country. Yet when I desired them to stay so long that we might first settle the public affairs, they complied with my request. So I removed, together with them, from the city Sephoris ; and came to a certain village called Bethmaus, four furlongs distant from Tiberias : and thence I sent messengers to the senate of Tiberias ; and desired that the principal men of the city would come to me. And when they were come, Justus himself being also with them, I told them, that I was sent by the people of Jerusalem, as a legate, together with these other priests, in order to persuade them to demolish that house which Herod the tetrarch had built there : and which had the figures of living creatures in it : although our laws have forbidden us to make any such figures. And I desired that they would give us leave so to do immediately. But for a good while Capellus, and the principal men belonging to the city, would not give us leave ; but were at length entirely overcome by us, and were induced to be of our opinion. So Jesus, the son of Sapphias, one of those whom we have already *mentioned, as the leader of a seditious tumult of mariners and poor people, prevented us, and took with him certain Galileans, and set the entire palace on fire, and thought he should

* See Of the War, II. 20.

get a great deal of money thereby, because he saw some of the roofs gilt with gold. They also plundered a great deal of the furniture : which was done without our approbation. For after we had discoursed with Capellus, and the principal men of the city, we departed from Bethmaus, and went into the upper Galilee.— But Jesus and his party slew all the Greeks that were inhabitants of Tiberias ; and as many others as were their enemies before the war began.

When I understood this state of things, I was greatly provoked : and went down to Tiberias, and took all the care I could of the royal furniture, to recover all that could be recovered from such as had plundered it. They consisted of candlesticks, made of Corinthian brass ; and of royal tables ; and of a great quantity of uncoined silver. And I resolved to preserve whatsoever came to my hand for the king. So I sent for ten of the principal men of the senate, and for Capellus, the son of Antyllus ; and committed the furniture to them : with this charge, that they should part with it to nobody but to myself. From thence I and my fellow legates went to Gischala, to John, as desirous to know his intentions ; and soon saw that he was for innovations, and had a mind to the principality. For he desired me to give him authority to carry off that corn which belonged to Cæsar, and lay in the villages of upper Galilee ; and he pretended that he would expend what it came to in building the walls of his own city. But when I perceived what he had in his mind, I said, I would not permit him so to do. For that I thought either to keep it for the Romans, or for myself, now I was intrusted with the public affairs there by the people of Jerusalem. But when he was not able to prevail with me, he betook himself to my fellow legates. For they had no sagacity in providing for futurity ; and were very ready to take bribes. So he corrupted them with money to decree that all that corn which was within his province should be delivered to him. While I, who was but one, was outvoted by two, and held my tongue. They did John introduce another cunning contrivance. For he said, that those Jews who inhabited Cæsarea Philippi, and were shut up by the order of the king's deputy there, had sent to him to desire, that since they had no oil that was pure for their use, he would provide a sufficient quantity

of such oil for them : lest they should be forced to make use of oil that came from the Greeks, and thereby transgress their own laws. Now this was said by John, not out of his regard to religion ; but out of his most flagrant desire of gain. For he knew that two sextaries were sold with them of Cæsarea for one drachma ; but that at Gischala eighty sextaries were sold for four sextaries. So he gave order, that all the oil which was there should be carried away : as having my permission for so doing. Which yet I did not grant him voluntarily : but only out of fear of the multitude ; since, if I had forbidden him, I should have been stoned. When I had, therefore, permitted this to be done by John, he gained vast sums of money by his knavery.

But when I had dismissed my fellow legates, and sent them back to Jerusalem, I took care to have arms provided, and the cities fortified. And when I had sent for the most hardy among the robbers, I saw that it was not in my power to take their arms from them : but I persuaded the multitude to allow them money, as pay : and told them, it was better for them to give them a little willingly, rather than to be forced to overlook them when they plundered their goods. And when I had obliged them to take an oath not to come into that country, unless they were invited, or else when they had not their pay given them, I dismissed them : and charged them neither to make an expedition against the Romans, nor against those neighbours that lay round about them. For my first care was to keep Galilee in peace. So I was willing to have the principal of the Galileans, in all *seventy, as hostages, for their fidelity, but still under the notion of friendship. Accordingly I made them my friends and companions as I journeyed ; and set them to judge causes : and with their approbation it was that I gave my sentences. While I endeavoured not to mistake what justice required ; and to keep my hands clear of all bribery in those determinations.

I was now about the †thirtieth year of my age : in which time of life it is a hard thing for any one to escape the calumnies of the envious ; although he restrain himself from fulfilling any unlawful desires : especially where a person is in great authority. Yet did

* See of the War, II. 20.

† A. D. 66.

I preserve every woman free from injuries : and as to what presents were offered me, I despised them, as not standing in need of them. Nor indeed would I take those tithes which were due to me as a priest, from those that brought them. Yet do I confess that I took part of the spoils of those Syrians which inhabited the cities that adjoined to us, when I had conquered them ; and that I sent them to my kindred at Jerusalem. Although when I twice took Sepphoris by force, and Tiberias four times, and Gadara once : and when I had subdued and taken John, who often laid treacherous snares for me ; I did not punish with death either him or any of the aforementioned people, as the progress of this discourse will show. And on this account I suppose it was that *God, who is never unacquainted with those that do as they ought to do, delivered me still out of the hands of my enemies ; and afterward preserved me when I fell into those dangers which I shall relate hereafter.

Now the multitude of the Galileans had that great kindness for me, and fidelity to me ; that when their cities were taken by force, and their wives and children carried into slavery, they did not so deeply lament for their own calamities, as they were solicitous for my preservation. But when John saw this, he envied me ; and wrote to me, desiring that I would give him leave to come down, and make use of the hot baths at Tiberias for the recovery of his health. Accordingly I did not hinder him ; as having no suspicion of any wicked design. And I wrote to those, to whom I had committed the administration of the affairs of Tiberias, by name, that they should provide a lodging for John, and for such as should come with him ; and should procure him such necessities as he might stand in need of. Now at this time my abode was in a village of Galilee which is named †Cana.

But when John was come to the city of Tiberias, he persuaded the men to revolt from their fidelity to me, and to adhere to him.

* Our Josephus shows both here and every where, that he was a most religious person ; and one that had a deep sense of God, and his providence, upon his mind : and ascribed all his numerous and wonderful escapes and preservations in times of danger to God's blessing him, and taking care of him ; and this on account of his acts of piety, justice, humanity, and charity, to the Jews his brethren.

† See John ii. 1, 11.

And many of them gladly received that invitation of his; as ever fond of innovations, and by nature disposed to changes, and delighting in seditions. But they were chiefly Justus, and his father Pistus, that were earnest for their revolt from me, and their adherence to John. But I came upon them, and prevented them. For a messenger had come to me from Silas, whom I had made governor of Tiberias, and had told me of the inclinations of the people of Tiberias; and advised me to hasten thither: for that, if I made any delay, the city would come under another's jurisdiction. Upon the receipt of this letter, I took two hundred men along with me, and travelled all night: having sent before a messenger to let the people of Tiberias know, that I was coming to them. When I came near to the city, which was early in the morning, the multitude came out to meet me: and John* came with them, and saluted me; but in a most disturbed manner: as being afraid that my coming was to call him to an account for what I was now sensible he was doing. So he, in great haste, went to his lodging. But when I was in the open place of the city, having dismissed the guards I had about me, excepting one, and ten armed men that were with him, I attempted to make a speech to the multitude of the people of Tiberias: and, standing on a certain elevated place, I entreated them not to be so hasty in their revolt: for that such a change in their behaviour would be to their reproach: and that they would then justly be suspected by those that should be their governors hereafter, as if they were not likely to be faithful to them neither.

But before I had spoken all I designed, I heard one of my domestics bidding me come down: for that it was not a proper time to take care of retaining the good will of the people of Tiberias, but to provide for my own safety, and escape my enemies there. For John had chosen the most trusty of those armed men that were about him out of those thousand that he had with him, and had given them orders, when he sent them, to kill me; having learned that I was alone, excepting some of my domestics. So those that were sent came as they were ordered; and they had executed what they came about, had I not leaped down from the

* This is related otherwise, Of the War, II. 21.

elevation I stood on, and with one of my guards, whose name was James, been carried out of the crowd, upon the back of one Herod of Tiberias, and guided by him down to the lake : where I seized a ship, and got into it, and escaped my enemies unexpectedly; and came to Tarichææ.

Now as soon as the inhabitants of that city understood the perfidiousness of the people of Tiberias, they were greatly provoked at them. So they snatched up their arms, and desired me to be their leader against them. For they said, they would avenge their commander's cause upon them. They also carried the report of what had been done to me to all the Galileans; and eagerly endeavoured to irritate them against the people of Tiberias; and desired that vast numbers of them would get together, and come to them, that they might act in concert with their commander, what should be determined as fit to be done. Accordingly the Galileans came to me in great numbers from all parts, with their weapons; and besought me to assault Tiberias, to take it by force, and to demolish it till it lay even with the ground; and then to make slaves of its inhabitants, with their wives and children. Those that were friends also, and had escaped out of Tiberias, gave the same advice. But I did not comply with them: thinking it a terrible thing to begin a civil war among them. For I thought this contention ought not to proceed farther than words. Nay, I told them, that it was not for their own advantage to do what they would have me to do: while the Romans expected no other than that we should destroy one another by our mutual seditions. And by saying this I appeased the anger of the Galileans.

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

But now another great number of the Galileans came together again, with their weapons: as knowing the man, how wicked, and how sadly perjured, he was: and desired me to lead them against

him : and promised me that they would utterly destroy both him and Gischala. Hereupon I professed that I was obliged to them for their readiness to serve me : and that I would more than requite their good will. However, I entreated them to restrain themselves ; and begged of them to give me leave to do what I intended : which was to put an end to these troubles without bloodshed. And when I had prevailed with the multitude of the Galileans to let me do so, I came to Sepphoris.

But the inhabitants of this city, having determined to continue in their allegiance to the Romans, were afraid of my coming to them ; and tried, by putting me upon another action, to divert me ; that they might be freed from the terror they were in. Accordingly they sent to Jesus, the captain of those robbers who were in the confines of Ptolemais ; and promised to give him a great deal of money if he would come with those forces he had with him, which were in number eight hundred ; and fight with us. Accordingly he complied with what they desired, upon the promises they had made him ; and was desirous to fall upon us when we were unprepared for him, and knew nothing of his coming. So he sent to me, and desired I would give him leave to come and salute me. When I had given him that leave : (which I did without the least knowledge of his treacherous intentions,) he took his band of robbers, and made haste to come to me. Yet did not his knavery succeed well at last. For as he was already nearly approaching, one of those with him deserted, and came to me, and told me what he had undertaken to do. When I was informed of this, I went into the market-place ; and pretended to know nothing of his treacherous purpose. I took with me, however, many Galileans, that were armed : as also some of those of Tiberias. And when I had given orders that all the roads should be carefully guarded, I charged the keepers of the gates to give admittance to none but to Jesus, when he came, with the principal of his men : and to exclude the rest. And in case they aimed to force themselves in, to use stripes in order to repel them, Accordingly those that had received such a charge did as they were bidden ; and Jesus came in, with a few others. And when I had ordered him to throw down his arms immediately, and told him that if he refused so to do, he was a dead man ; he, seeing armed

men standing all round about him, was terrified, and complied. And as for those of his followers that were excluded, when they were informed that he was seized, they ran away. I then called Jesus to me by himself; and told him, that I was not a stranger to that treacherous design he had against me: nor was I ignorant by whom he was sent for. That, however, I would forgive what he had done already, if he would repent of it, and be faithful to me hereafter. And thus, upon his promising to do all that I desired, I let him go, and gave him leave to get those whom he had formerly had with him together again. But I threatened the inhabitants of Sepphoris, that if they would not leave off their ungrateful treatment of me, I would punish them severely.

At this time it was that two great men who were under the jurisdiction of king Agrippa, came to me, out of the region of Trachonitis, bringing their horses, and their arms; and carrying with them their money also. And when the Jews would *force them to be circumcised, if they would stay among them, I would not permit them to have any force put upon them, but said, "Every one ought to worship God according to his own inclinations, and not to be constrained by force; and these men, who have fled to us for protection, ought not to be so treated as to repent of their coming hither." And when I had pacified the multitude, I provided for the men that were come to us whatsoever it was they wanted, according to their usual way of living, and that in great plenty also.

Now king Agrippa sent an army to make themselves masters of the citadel of Gamala, and over it Equicolus Modius. But the forces that were sent were not sufficient to encompass the citadel quite round: but lay before it in the open places, and besieged it. But when Ebutius, the decurion, who was intrusted with the government of the great plain, heard that I was at Simonias, a village situate in the confines of Galilee, and was distant from him sixty furlongs, he took a hundred horsemen that were with him by

* Josephus's opinion is here well worth noting, that every one is to be permitted to worship God according to his own conscience: and is not to be compelled in matters of religion. As one may here observe, on the contrary, that the rest of the Jews were still for obliging all those who married Jews to be circumcised, and become Jews; and were ready to destroy all that would not submit to do so.

night, and about two hundred footmen ; and brought the inhabitants of the city Gibeā along with him, as auxiliaries, and marched in the night, and came to the village where I abode. Upon this I pitched my camp over against him ; which had a great number of forces in it. But Ebutius tried to draw us down into the plain ; as greatly depending on his horsemen. But we would not come down. But when I was satisfied of the advantage that his horse would have if we came down into the plain, while we were all footmen, I resolved to join battle with the enemy where I was.—Now Ebutius and his party made a courageous opposition for some time. But when he saw that his horse were useless to him in that place, he retired back to the city Gibeā, having lost three of his men in the fight. So I followed him directly, with two thousand armed men. And when I was at the city Besara, that lay in the confines of Ptolemais, but twenty furlongs from Gibeā, where Ebutius abode, I placed my armed men on the outside of the village, and gave orders that they should guard the passes with great care, that the enemy might not disturb us, until we should have carried off the corn : a great quantity of which lay there. It belonged to Bernice, the *queen ; and had been gathered together out of the neighbouring villages into Besara. So I loaded my camels and asses ; a great number of which I had brought along with me ; and sent the corn into Galilee. When I had done this, I offered Ebutius battle. But when he would not accept of the offer, (for he was terrified at our readiness and courage,) I altered my route, and marched towards Neopolitanus : because I had heard that the country about Tiberias was laid waste by him.—This Neopolitanus was captain of a troop of horse ; and had the custody of Scythopolis intrusted to his care by the enemy. And when I had hindered him from doing any farther mischief to Tiberias, I set myself to make provision for the affairs of Galilee.

But when John, the son of Levi, who abode at Gischala, was informed how all things had succeeded to my mind ; and that I was much in favour with those that were under me ; as also that the enemy were greatly afraid of me ; he was not pleased with it, as thinking my prosperity tended to his ruin. So he conceived a

* King Agrippa's sister.

bitter enmity against me. And, hoping that, if he could inflame those that were under me to hate me, he should put an end to the prosperity I was in, he tried to persuade the inhabitants of Tiberias, and of Sepphoris, (and for those of Gabara he supposed they would be of the same mind also with the others,) which were the greatest cities of Galilee, to revolt from their subjection to me, and to be of his party: and told them that he would command them better than I did. As for the people of Sepphoris, who belonged to neither of us, because they had chosen to be in subjection to the Romans, they did not comply with his proposal. And as for those of Tiberias, they did not indeed so far comply, as to make a revolt from under me, but they agreed to be his friends. While the inhabitants of Gabara did go over to John. And it was Simon that persuaded them so to do: one who was both the principal man in the city, and a particular friend and companion of John's. It is true these did not openly own the making a revolt; because they were in great fear of the Galileans; and had frequent experience of the good will they bore to me. Yet did they privately watch for a proper opportunity to lay snares for me. And, indeed, I thereby came into the greatest danger, on the following occasion.

There were some bold young men of the village Dabaritta, who observed that the wife of Ptolemy, the king's procurator, was to make a progress over the great plain, with a numerous retinue; and with some horsemen that followed, as a guard to them; and this out of a country that was subject to the king and queen, into the jurisdiction of the Romans: and fell upon them on the sudden: and obliged the wife of Ptolemy to flee away, and plundered all the carriages. They also came to me to Taricheæ, with four mules' loading of garments, and other furniture; and the weight of the silver they brought was not small: and there were five hundred pieces of gold also. Now I had a mind to preserve these spoils for Ptolemy, who was my countryman: and it is* prohibited us

* How Josephus could say here that the Jewish laws forbade them to spoil even their enemies; while yet a little before this time our Saviour had mentioned it as then a current maxim with them, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy, Matt. v. 43. is worth our inquiry. I take it, that Josephus, having been now for many years an Ebionite Christian, had learned this interpretation of the

by our laws even to spoil our enemies. So I said to those that brought these spoils, that they ought to be kept, in order to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, when they came to be sold. But the young men took it very ill that they did not receive a part of those spoils for themselves ; as they expected to have done. So they went among the villages, in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, and told the people, that I was going to betray their country to the Romans ; and that I used deceitful language to them when I said, that what had been thus gotten by rapine should be kept for the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem ; although I had resolved to restore these spoils again to their former owner. And indeed they were herein not mistaken as to my intentions. For when I had gotten clear of them, I sent for two of the principal men, Dassion, and Janneus, the son of Levi ; persons that were among the chief friends of the king ; and commanded them to take the furniture that had been plundered, and to send it to him. And I threatened that I would order them to be put to death by way of punishment, if they discovered this command to any other persons.

Now when all Galilee was filled with this rumour, that their country was about to be betrayed by me to the Romans ; and when all men were exasperated against me, and ready to bring me to punishment ; the inhabitants of Taricheæ did also suppose that what the young men said was true ; and persuaded my guards and armed men to leave me, when I was asleep ; and to come presently to the Hippodrome, in order there to take counsel against me their commander. And when they had prevailed with them, and they were gotten together, they found there a great company assembled ; who all joined in one clamour, to bring the man who was so wicked as to betray them, to his due punishment. And it was Jesus, the son of Sapphias, who principally set them on. He was ruler in Tiberias : a wicked man ; and naturally

law of Moses from Christ, whom he owned for the true Messiah : as it follows in the succeeding verses. Which, though he might not read in St. Matthew's Gospel, yet might he have read much the same exposition in their own Ebionite, or Nazarene Gospel. Of which improvements made by Josephus, after he was become a Christian, we have already had several examples in his life, and shall have many more before its conclusion, as well as we have them elsewhere in all his later writings.

disposed to make disturbances in matters of consequence. A seditious person he was indeed, and an innovator beyond every body else. He then took the laws of Moses into his hands, and came into the midst of the people, and said, "O my fellow citizens, if you are not disposed to hate Josephus of your own accord, have regard, however, to these laws of your country: which your commander-in-chief is going to betray. Hate him, therefore, on both these accounts; and bring the man who hath acted thus insolently to deserved punishment."

When he had said this, and the multitude had openly applauded him for what he had said, he took some of the armed men, and hastened to the house in which I lodged; as if he would kill me immediately: while I was wholly insensible of all till this disturbance happened; and by reason of the pains I had been taking was fallen fast asleep. But Simon, who was intrusted with the care of my body, and was the* only person that stayed with me, and saw the violent incursion the citizens made upon me, awakened me, and told me of the danger I was in; and desired me to let him kill me; that I might die bravely, and like a general, before my enemies came in, and forced me to kill myself, or killed me themselves. Thus did he discourse to me. But I committed the care of my life to God, and made haste to go out to the multitude. Accordingly I put on a black garment, and hung my sword at my neck, and went by a different way to the Hippodrome, wherein I thought none of my adversaries would meet me. So I appeared among them on the sudden; and fell down flat to the earth; and bedewed the ground with my tears. Then I seemed to them all an object of compassion. And when I perceived the change that was made in the multitude, I tried to divide their opinions, before the armed men should return from my house. So I granted them, that I had been as wicked as they supposed me to be. But still I entreated them, to let me first inform them for what use I had kept that money which arose from the plunder; and that they might then kill me if they pleased. And upon the multitude's ordering me to speak, the armed men came upon me: and when they saw me, they ran to kill me. But when the mul-

* It is elsewhere said there were three more with him.

itude bade them hold their hands, they complied ; and expected that as soon as I should own to them that I kept the money for the king, it would be looked on as a confession of my treason, and they should be then allowed to kill me.

When, therefore, silence was made by the whole multitude, I spake thus to them : " O my countrymen, I refuse not to die, if justice so require. However, I am desirous to tell you the truth of this matter before I die. For as I knew that this city of yours, Taricheæ, was a city of great hospitality, and filled with abundance of such men as have left their own countries, and are come hither to be partakers of your fortune, whatever it be ; I had a mind to build walls about it, out of this money, for which you are so angry with me : while yet it was to be expended in building your own walls." Upon my saying this, the people of Taricheæ, and the strangers cried out, that they gave me thanks, and desired me to be of good courage. Although the Galileans, and the people of Tiberias, continued in their wrath against me. Insomuch that there arose a tumult among them : while some threatened to kill me, and some bade me not to regard them. But when I promised that I would build them walls at Tiberias, and at other cities that wanted them, they gave credit to what I promised, and returned every one to his own home. So I escaped the aforementioned danger, beyond all my hopes ; and returned to my own house, accompanied with my friends, and twenty armed men.

However, those robbers, and other authors of this tumult, who were afraid on their own account, lest I should punish them for what they had done, took six hundred armed men, and came to the house where I abode, in order to set it on fire. When this insult was told me, I thought it indecent for me to run away, and I resolved to expose myself to danger, and to act with some boldness. So I gave order to shut the doors, and went up into an upper room, and desired that they would send some of their men in to receive the money from the spoils : for I told them they would then have no occasion to be angry with me. And when they had sent in one of the boldest men of them all, I had him whipped severely : and I commanded that one of his hands should be cut off, and hung about his neck : And in this case was he put out to those that sent him. At which procedure of mine they were great-

ly affrighted, and in no small consternation; and were afraid that they should themselves be served in like manner, if they stayed there. For they supposed that I had in the house more armed men than they had themselves, so they ran away immediately; while I, by this stratagem, escaped their second treacherous design against me.

But there were still some that irritated the multitude against me; and said, that those great men that belonged to the king ought not to be suffered to live, if they would not adopt the religion of those to whom they fled for safety. They spoke reproachfully of them also, and said, that they were *wizards, and such as called in the Romans upon them. So the multitude was soon deluded by such plausible pretences as were agreeable to their own inclinations, and were prevailed on by them. But when I was informed of this, I instructed the multitude again, that those who fled to them for refuge ought not to be persecuted. I also ridiculed the allegation about witchcraft, and told them that the Romans would not maintain so many thousand soldiers if they could overcome their enemies by wizards. Upon my saying this, the people assented for a while. But they returned again afterward, as irritated by some ill people against the great men. Nay, they once made an assault upon the house in which they dwelt at Tarichææ, in order to kill them. Which, when I was informed of, I was afraid lest so horrid a crime should take effect, and nobody else would make that city their refuge any more. I therefore came myself, and some others with me, to the house where these great men lived, and locked the doors; and had a trench drawn from their house leading to the lake; and sent for a ship, and embarked therein with them, and sailed to the confines of Hippos. I also paid them the value of their horses: as it was impossible in such a flight to have their horses brought to them. I then dismissed them, and begged of them earnestly that they would courageously bear this distress which befell them. I was also myself greatly displeased that I was compelled to expose those that had fled to me to go again into an enemy's country. Yet did I think it more eligible that they should perish among

* Here we may observe the vulgar Jewish notion of witchcraft; but that our Josephus was too wise to give any countenance to it.

the Romans if it should so happen, than in the country that was under my jurisdiction. However, they escaped at length ; and king Agrippa forgave them their offences. And this was the conclusion of what concerned these men.

But as for the inhabitants of the city of Tiberias, they wrote to the king, and desired him to send them forces sufficient to be a guard to their country : for that they were desirous to come over to them. This was what they wrote to him. But when I came to them, they desired me to build their walls ; as I had promised them to do. For they had heard that the walls of Taricheæ were already built. I agreed to their proposal accordingly.— And when I had made preparation for the entire building, I gave order to the architects to go to work. But on the third day, when I was gone to Taricheæ, which was thirty furlongs distant from Tiberias, it happened that some Roman horsemen were discovered on their march, not far from the city. Which made it to be supposed, that the forces were come from the king. Hereupon they shouted, and lifted up their voices in commendations of the king, and in reproaches against me : in consequence of which, one came running to me, and told me, what their dispositions were ; and that they had resolved to revolt from me. Upon hearing this news, I was very much alarmed. For I had already sent away my armed men from Taricheæ to their own homes : because the next day was our sabbath. For I would not have the people of Taricheæ disturbed on that day by a multitude of soldiers. And indeed, whenever I sojourned at this city, I never took any particular care for a guard about my own body ; because I had had frequent instances of the fidelity its inhabitants bore to me. I had now about me no more than seven armed men, besides some friends ; and was doubtful what to do. For to send to recall my own forces, I did not think proper ; because the present day was almost over. And had those forces been with me I could not take up arms on the next day : because our laws forbid us so to do ; even though our necessity should be very great. And if I should permit the people of Taricheæ, and the strangers with them, to guard the city, I saw that they would not be sufficient for that purpose ; and I perceived that I should be obliged to delay my assistance a great while. For I thought with myself that the forces that came from the king

would prevent me; and that I should be driven out of the city. I considered, therefore, how to get clear of these forces by a stratagem. So I immediately placed those my friends of Taricheæ, on whom I could best confide, at the gates; to watch those very carefully who went out at those gates. I also called to me the heads of families; and bade every one of them to seize upon a *ship, to go on board it, and to take a master with them, and follow him to the city of Tiberias. I also went on board one of those ships, with my friends, and the seven armed men already mentioned, and sailed for Tiberias.

But now, when the people of Tiberias perceived that there were no forces come from the king, and yet saw the whole lake full of ships; they were in fear what would become of their city, and were greatly terrified; as supposing that the ships were full of men. So they then changed their minds, and threw down their weapons, and met me with their wives and children, and made acclamations to me, with great commendations. For they imagined that I did not know their former inclinations to have been against me. So they persuaded me to spare the city. But when I was come near enough, I gave order to the masters of the ships to cast anchor, a good way off the land; that the people of Tiberias might not perceive that the ships had no men on board. But I went nearer to the people in one of the ships, and rebuked them for their folly, and that they were so fickle as, without any just occasion, to revolt from their fidelity to me. However, I assured them, that I would entirely forgive them for the time to come, if they would send ten of the ringleaders of the multitude to me. And when they complied readily with this proposal, and sent me the men, I put them on board a ship, and sent them away to Taricheæ; and ordered them to be kept in prison.

By this stratagem I gradually got all the senate of Tiberias into my power, and sent them to the aforementioned city, with many of the principal men among the populace; and those not fewer in

* In this paragraph, as well as some others, those small vessels that sailed on the sea of Galilee are called by Josephus *Νῆες*, and *Πλοῖα*, and *Σκάφη*, i. e. plainly ships. So that we need not wonder at our evangelists who still call them ships. Nor ought we to render them boats, as some do. Their number was in all 230. as we learn from our author elsewhere. See of the War. II. 21.

number than the other. But when the multitude saw into what great miseries they had brought themselves, they desired me to punish the [author of this sedition. His name was Clytus: a young man, bold^d and rash in his undertakings. Now since I thought it not agreeable to piety to put one of my own people to death, and yet found it necessary to punish him, I ordered Levi, one of my own guards, to go to him, and cut off one of Clytus's hands. But as he that was ordered to do this was afraid to go out of the ship alone, among so great a multitude, I was not willing that the timorousness of the soldier should appear to the people of Tiberias. So I called to Clytus, and said to him, "Since thou deservest to lose both thine hands, for thy ingratitude to me; be thou thine own executioner: lest, if thou refusest so to be, thou undergo a worse punishment." And when he earnestly begged of me to spare him one of his hands, it was with difficulty that I granted it. So in order to prevent the loss of both his hands, he willingly took his sword, and cut off his own left hand. And this put an end to the sedition.

Now the men of Tiberias, after I was gone to Taricheæ, perceived what stratagem I had used against them; and they admired how I had put an end to their foolish sedition, without shedding of blood. But now, when I had sent for some of those multitudes of the people of Tiberias out of prison, among whom were Justus, and his father Pistus, I made them sup with me. And during our supper time I said to them, that I knew the power of the Romans was superior to all others; but did not say so publicly, because of the robbers. So I advised them to do as I did, and to wait for a proper opportunity, and not to be uneasy at my being their commander; for that they could not expect to have another who would use the like moderation that I had done. I also put Justus in mind how the Galileans had cut off his brother's hands, before ever I came to Jerusalem, upon an accusation laid against him, as if he had been a rogue, and had forged some letters; as also how the people of Gamala, in a sedition they raised against the Babylonians, after the departure of Philip, slew Chares: who was a kinsman of Philip's: and withal, how they had wisely punished Jesus, (his brother Justus's sister's husband,) with death. When I had said this to them, during supper time, I, in the morn-

ing, ordered Justus, and all the rest that were in prison, to be liberated and sent away.

But before this, it happened that Philip, the son of Jacimus, went out of the citadel of Gamala, upon the following occasion. When Philip had been informed that Varus was put out of his government by king Agrippa; and that Modius Equiculus, a man that was of old his friend and companion, was come to succeed him; he wrote to him, and related what turns of fortune he had had; and desired him to forward the letters he sent to the king and queen. Now when Modius had received these letters, he was exceeding glad; and sent the letters to the king and queen; who were then about Berytus. But when king Agrippa knew that the story about Philip was false; (for it had been given out that the Jews had begun a war with the Romans; and that this Philip had been their commander in that war;) he sent some horsemen to conduct Philip to him; and when he was come, he saluted him very obligingly, and showed him to the Roman commanders, and told them, that this was the man of whom the report had gone about as if he had revolted from the Romans. He also bade him to take the horsemen with him, and to go quickly to the citadel of Gamala, and to bring out thence all his domestics, and to restore the Babylonians to Batanea, again. He also gave it him in charge, to take all possible care that none of his subjects should be guilty of making any innovation. Accordingly, upon these directions from the king, he made haste to do what he was commanded.

Now there was one Joseph, the son of a female physician, who excited a great many young men to join with him. He also insolently addressed himself to the principal persons at Gamala, and persuaded them to revolt from the king, and take up arms: and gave them hopes that they should, by his means, recover their liberty. And some they forced into the service: and those that would not acquiesce in what they had resolved on, they slew. They also slew Chares: and with him Jesus, one of his kinsmen, and a brother of Justus of Tiberias: as we have already said. Those of Gamala also wrote to me, desiring me to send them an armed force, and workmen to raise up the walls of their city. Nor did I reject either of their requests. The region of Gaulani-

tis did also revolt from the king, as far as the village Solyma. I also built a wall about Seleucia, and Soganni; which are villages naturally of very great strength. Moreover I, in like manner, walled several villages of Upper Galilee; though they were very rocky of themselves. Their names are Jamnia, Meroth, and Achabare. I also fortified, in the Lower Galilee, the cities Taricheæ, Tiberias, and Sepphoris; and the villages, the cave of Arbela, Bersobe, Selamin, Jotapata, Caphareccho, Sigo, and Japha, and *Mount Tabor. I also laid up a great quantity of corn in these places, and arms withal; that might be for their security afterward.

But the hatred that John, the son of Levi, bore to me, grew now more violent; while he could not bear my prosperity with patience. So he proposed to himself by all means possible to make away with me. And built the walls of Gischala, which was the place of his nativity. He then sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan, the son of Sisenna, and about a hundred armed men, to Jerusalem, to Simon, the son of Gamaliel;† in order to persuade him to induce the commonality of Jerusalem to take from me the government over the Galileans, and to give their suffrages for conferring that authority upon him. This Simon was of the city Jerusalem, and of a very noble family, of the sect of the Pharisees; which are supposed to excel others in the accurate knowledge of the laws of their country. He was a man of great wisdom and reason; and capable of restoring public affairs by his prudence when they were in an ill posture. He was also an old friend and companion of John's: but at that time he had a difference with me. When, therefore, he had received such an exhortation, he persuaded the high priests Ananus, and Jesus, the son of Gamala, and some others of the same seditious faction, to cut me down, now I was growing so great, and not to overlook me while I was aggrandizing myself to the height of glory. And

* Part of these fortifications on Mount Tabor, may be those still remaining; and which were seen by Mr. Maundrel. See his Travels, page 112.

† This Gamaliel may be the very same that is mentioned by the Rabbins in the Mishna, in Juchasin, and in Porta Mosis; as is observed in the Latin notes. He might be also that Gamaliel II. whose grandfather was Gamaliel I. who is mentioned, Acts v. 34. and at whose feet St. Paul was brought up. Acts xxii. 3. See at the year 446.

he said, that it would be for the advantage of the Galileans if I were deprived of my government there. Ananus also, and his friends, desired them to make no delay about the matter, lest I should get the knowledge of what was doing too soon, and should come and make an assault upon the city with a great army. This was the counsel of Simon. But Ananus, the high priest, demonstrated to them that this was not an easy thing to be done : because many of the high priests, and of the rulers of the people bore witness, that I had acted like an excellent general, and that it was the work of ill men, to accuse one against whom they had nothing to say.

When Simon heard Ananus say this, he desired that the messengers would conceal the thing, and not let it come among many. For that he would take care to have Josephus removed out of Galilee very quickly. So he called for John's brother, Simon, and charged him that they should send presents to Ananus, and his friends : for, as he said, they might probably by that means persuade them to change their minds. And indeed, Simon did at length thus compass what he aimed at. For Ananus, and those with him, being corrupted by bribes, agreed to expel me out of Galilee ; without making the rest of the citizens acquainted with what they were doing. Accordingly they resolved to send men of distinction as to their families, and of distinction as to their learning also. Two of these were of the populace, Jonathan,* and Ananias, by sect Pharisees : while the third, Jozar, was of the stock of the priests, and a Pharisee also : and Simon, the last of them, was the youngest of the high-priests. These had it given them in charge, that when they were come to the multitude of the Galileans, they should ask them what was the reason of their love to me ? And if they said, that it was because I was born at Jerusalem, they should reply, that they four were all born at the same place. And if they should say, it was because I was well versed in their law ; they should reply, that neither were they unacquainted with the practices of their country. But if, besides

* This Jonathan is also taken notice of in the Latin notes, as the same that is mentioned by the Rabbins in *Porta Mosi*.

these, they should say, they loved me because I was a priest, they should reply, that two of these were priests also.

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

Now, as my father wrote me an account of this, (for Jesus, the son of Gamala, who was present in that council, a friend and companion of mine, told him of it:) I was very much troubled: as discovering thereby that my fellow citizens proved so ungrateful to me, as out of envy to give order that I should be slain: my father earnestly pressed me also in his letter to come to him, for that he longed to see his son before he died. I informed my friends of these things; and that in three days' time I should leave the country, and go home. Upon hearing this, they were all very sorry, and desired me with tears in their eyes, not to leave them to be destroyed: for so they thought they should be if I were deprived of the command over them. But as I did not grant their request, but was taking care of my own safety, the Galileans, out of their dread of the consequence of my departure, that they should then be at the mercy of the robbers, sent messengers over all Galilee, to inform them of my resolution to leave them. Whereupon, as soon as they heard of it, they got together in great

numbers from all parts, with their wives and children : and this they did, as it appeared to me, not more out of affection to me than out of fear on their own account. For while I staid with them they supposed that they should suffer no harm. So they all came into the great plain, wherein I lived, the name of which was Asochis.

But wonderful it was, what a dream I saw that very night ; for when I had retired to my bed, so grieved and disturbed at the news that had been written to me, it seemed that a certain person stood by me* and said, " O Josephus ! leave off to afflict thy soul ; and put away all fear. For what now grieves thee will render thee very considerable ; and in all respects most happy. For thou shalt surmount not only these difficulties, but many others with great success. However, be not cast down ; but remember that thou art to fight with the Romans." When I had seen this dream I got up with an intention of going down to the plain. Now when the whole multitude of Galileans, among whom were the women and the children, saw me, they threw themselves down upon their faces ; and, with tears in their eyes, besought me, not to leave them exposed to their enemies ; nor to go away and permit their country to be injured by them. But when I did not comply with their entreaties, they compelled me to take an oath, that I would stay with them. They also cast abundance of reproaches upon the people of Jerusalem, that they would not let their country enjoy peace.

When I heard this, and saw what sorrow the people were in, I was moved to compassion to them, and thought it became me to undergo the most manifest hazards for the sake of so great a multitude. So I let them know I would stay with them. And when I had given order that five thousand of them should come to me armed, and with provisions for their maintenance, I sent the rest away to their own homes. And when those five thousand were come, I took them, together with three thousand of the soldiers that were with me before, and eighty horsemen, and marched to

* This I take to be the first of Josephus's remarkable or divine dreams, which were predictive of the great things that afterward came to pass. Of which see more in the notes on Antiq. III. 8. The other is in the War. III. 8. 3.

the village of* Chabolo ; situate in the confines of Ptolemais ; and there kept my forces together, pretending to get ready to fight with Placidus, who was to come with two cohorts of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, and was sent thither by Cestius Galus, to burn those villages of Galilee that were near Ptolemais. Upon whose casting up a bank before the city Ptolemais, I also pitched my camp, at about the distance of sixty furlongs from that village. And now we frequently brought out our forces, as if we would fight ; but proceeded no farther than skirmishes at a distance. For when Placidus perceived that I was earnest to come to a battle, he was afraid, and avoided it. Yet did he not remove from the neighbourhood of Ptolemais.

About this time it was that Jonathan and his fellow legates came. They were sent, as we have said already, by Simon, and Ananus the high-priest. And Jonathan contrived how he might catch me by treachery. For he durst not make any attempt upon me openly. So he wrote me the following epistle :

“ Jonathan and those that are with him, and are sent by the people of Jerusalem, to Josephus send greeting. We are sent by the principal men of Jerusalem : who have heard that John of Gischala hath laid many snares for thee ; to rebuke him, and to exhort him to be subject to thee hereafter. We are also desirous to consult with thee about our common concerns : and what is fit to be done. We therefore desire thee to come to us, quickly : and to bring only a few men with thee ; for this village will not contain a great number of soldiers.

Thus it was that they wrote : as expecting one of these two things ; either that I should come without armed men, and then they should have me under their power ; or if I came with a great number they should judge me to be a public enemy. Now it was a horseman who brought the letter ; a man at other times bold, and one that had served in the army under the king. It was the

* If the reading of Chabolo be admitted, for so all the MSS. have it, whatever conjectures there are to the contrary, I see no sufficient reason why this may not be supposed to be the chief town or village of the land of Chabul, given to Hiram, by Solomon, but refused by him, and called thence the land of Chabul : or not desirable, 1 Kings ix. 13. * It was certainly not very remote from this place ; or in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais.

second hour of the night that he came : when I was feasting with my friends and the principal of the Galileans. This man, upon my servant's telling me that a certain horseman of the Jewish nation was come, was called in at my command, but did not so much as salute me at all ; but held out a letter, and said, "This letter is sent thee by those who are come from Jerusalem. Do thou write an answer to it quickly, for I am obliged to return to them very soon." Now my guests could not but wonder at the boldness of the soldier. But I desired him to sit down and sup with us. But when he refused so to do, I held the letter in my hands, as I received it, and began talking with my guests about other matters. But a few hours afterward I got up ; and when I had dismissed the rest to go to their beds, I bade only four of my intimate friends to stay : and ordered my servant to get some wine ready. I also opened the letter so that nobody could perceive it. And understanding thereby presently the purport of the writing, I sealed it up again ; and appeared as if I had not yet read it ; but only held it in my hands. I then ordered twenty drachmæ should be given the soldier for the charges of his journey. And when he took the money, and said that he thanked me for it, I perceived that he loved money ; and that he was to be caught chiefly by that means, and I said to him, "If thou wilt but drink with us, thou shalt have a drachma for every glass thou drinkest." So he gladly embraced this proposal, and drank a great deal of wine, in order to get the more money ; and was so completely intoxicated, that at last he could not keep the secrets he was intrusted with, but discovered them, without my putting questions to him ; viz. that a treacherous design was contrived against me ; and that I was doomed to die by those that sent him. When I heard this, I wrote back this answer :

"Josephus to Jonathan, and those that are with him, sendeth greeting. Upon the information that you are come in health into Galilee, I rejoice ; and this especially, because I can now resign the care of public affairs here into your hands, and return into my native country, which is what I have desired to do a great while. And I confess I ought not only to come to you as far as Xaloth, but farther ; and this without your commands. But I desire you to excuse me, because I cannot do it now, since I watch

the motions of Placidus ; who hath a mind to go up into Galilee ; and this I do here at Chabolo. Do you, therefore, on the receipt of this epistle, come hither to me. Farewell."

When I had written thus, and given the letter to be carried by the soldier, I sent along with him thirty of the Galileans of the best characters ; and gave them instructions to salute those ambassadors, but to say nothing else to them. I also gave orders to as many of those armed men whom I esteemed most faithful to me, to go along with the others : every one with him whom he was to guard ; lest some conversation might pass between those whom I sent, and those that were with Jonathan. So these men went to Jonathan. But when Jonathan and his partners had failed in their first attempt, they sent me another letter : the contents of which were as follow :

"Jonathan, and those with him, to Josephus, send greeting : We require thee to come to us, to the village of Gabaroth, on the third day, without any armed men, that we may hear what thou hast to lay to the charge of John of Gischala."

When they had written this letter, they saluted the Galileans whom I sent, and came to Japha : which was the largest village of all Galilee, and encompassed with very strong walls, and had a great number of inhabitants in it. There the multitude of men, with their wives and children, met them, and exclaimed loudly against them, and desired them to be gone, and not to envy them the advantage of an excellent commander. With these clamours Jonathan and his partners were greatly provoked, although they durst not show their anger openly. So they made them no answer, but went to other villages. But still the same clamours met them from all the people, who said, that nobody should persuade them to have any other commander besides Josephus. So Jonathan and his partners went away from them, without success ; and came to Sepphoris, the greatest city of all Galilee. Now the men of that city, who inclined to the Romans in their sentiments, met them indeed : but neither praised nor reproached me. And when they were gone down from Sepphoris to Asochis, the people of that place made a clamour against them, as those of Japha had done. Whereupon they were able to contain themselves no longer ; but ordered the armed men that were with them, to beat those

that made the clamour with their clubs. And when they came to Gabara, John met them with three thousand armed men. But as I understood by their letter, that they had resolved to fight against me, I arose from Chabolo, with three thousand armed men also, but left in my camp one of my most sincere friends, and came to Jotapata : as desirous to be near them : the distance being no more than forty furlongs. Whence I wrote thus to them :

“If you are very desirous that I should come to you, you know that there are two hundred and forty cities and villages in Galilee : I will come to any of them, which you please, excepting Gabara and Gischala : the one of which is John’s native city : and the other in confederacy and friendship with him.”

When Jonathan and his partners had received this letter, they wrote me no more answers ; but called a council of their friends : and, taking John into their consultation, they took counsel by what means they might attack me. John’s opinion was, that they should write to all the cities and villages that were in Galilee. For that there must be certainly one or two persons in every one of them that was at variance with me : and that they should be invited to come to oppose me, as an enemy. He would also have them send this resolution of theirs to Jerusalem : that its citizens, upon the knowledge of my being adjudged to be an enemy by the Galileans, might themselves also confirm that determination. He said also that when this was done, even those Galileans who were well affected to me, would desert me out of fear. When John had given them this counsel, what he had said was very agreeable to the rest of them. I was also made acquainted with these affairs about the third hour of the night : by means of one Saccheus, who had belonged to them, but now deserted them, and came over to me, and told me what they were about. So I perceived that no time was to be lost. Accordingly I gave command to Jacob, an armed man of my guard, whom I esteemed faithful to me, to take two hundred armed men, and to guard the passages that led from Gabara to Galilee, and to seize upon the passengers, and send them to me : especially such as were caught with letters about them. I also sent Jeremias, one of my friends, with six hundred armed men, to the borders of Galilee, in order to watch the roads that led from this country to Jerusalem : and gave him a charge

to lay hold of such as travelled with letters about them ; to keep the men in bonds upon the place, but to send me the letters.

When I had laid these commands upon them, I gave them orders to take their arms, and bring three days' provision with them, and be with me the next day. I also parted those that were about me into four parts; and ordered those of them that were most faithful to me, to be my body-guards. I also set over them centurions: and commanded them to take care that not a soldier which they did not know should mingle himself among them. Now on the fifth day following, when I was in Gabaroth, I found the entire plain that was before the village, full of armed men; who were come out of Galilee to assist me. Many others of the multitude also out of the village, ran along with me. But as soon as I had taken my place, and begun to speak to them, they all made an acclamation, and called me the benefactor and saviour of the country. And when I had made them my acknowledgments, and thanked them for their affection to me, I also advised them to *fight with nobody, nor to spoil the country: but to pitch their tents in the plain, and be content with their sustenance they had brought with them. For I told them that I had a mind to compose these troubles without shedding any blood. Now it came to pass that on the very same day those who were sent by John with letters, fell among the guards whom I had appointed to watch the roads. So the men were themselves kept upon the place, as my orders were; but I got the letters, which were full of reproaches and lies: and I intended to fall upon these men without saying a word of these matters to any body.

Now as soon as Jonathan and his companions heard of my coming, they took all their own friends, and John with them, and retired to the house of Jesus: which, indeed, was a large castle, and no way unlike a citadel. So they privately laid a band of armed men therein, and shut all the doors but one; which they kept open: and they expected that I should come out to the road to

* Josephus's directions to his soldiers here are much the same that John the Baptist gave, Luke iii. 14. Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely: and be content with your wages. Whence Dr. Hudson confirms his conjecture, that Josephus, in some things, was even now, a follower of John the Baptist: which is no way improbable.

them, to salute them. And, indeed, they had given orders to the armed men, that when I came they should let nobody besides me come in : but should exclude others. As supposing that, by this means, they should easily get me under their power. But they were deceived in their expectation : for I perceived what snares they had laid for me. Now as soon as I was got off my journey, I took up my lodging over against them ; and pretended to be asleep. So Jonathan and his party, thinking that I was really asleep, and at rest, made haste to go down into the plain, to persuade the people that I was an ill governor. But the matter proved otherwise. For upon their appearance, there was a cry made by the Galileans immediately : declaring their good opinion of me as their-governor. And they made a clamour against Jonathan, and his partners, for coming to them, when they had suffered no harm ; and as though they would overturn their happy settlement ; and desired them by all means to go back again. For that they would never be persuaded to have any other to rule over them but myself. When I heard of this, I did not fear to go down into the midst of them. I went, therefore, down presently, to hear what Jonathan and his companions said. As soon as I appeared, there was immediately an acclamation made to me by the whole multitude ; and a cry in my commendation by them ; who confessed their thanks were owing to me for my good government of them.

When Jonathan and his companions heard this, they were in fear of their own lives ; and in danger lest they should be assaulted by the Galileans on my account. So they contrived how they might run away. But as they were not able to get off, (for I desired them to stay,) they looked down with concern at my words to them. I ordered, therefore, the multitude to restrain their acclamations : and placed the most faithful of my armed men upon the avenues, to be a guard to us, lest John should unexpectedly fall upon us : and I encouraged the Galileans to take their weapons, lest they should be disturbed by their enemies, if any sudden assault should be made upon them. And then, in the first place, I put Jonathan and his partners in mind of their former letter, and after what manner they had written to me : and declared they were sent by the common consent of the people of Jerusalem, to make

up the differences I had with John : and how they had desired me to come to them. And as I spake thus, I publicly showed the letter they had written, till they could not at all deny what they had done : the letter itself convicting them. I then said, "O Jonathan, and you that are sent with him as his colleagues : if I were to be judged as to my behaviour, compared with that of John's, and had brought no more than *two or three witnesses, good men and true, it is plain you had been forced, upon the examination of their characters beforehand, to discharge the accusations. That, therefore, you may be informed that I have acted well in the affairs of Galilee, I think three witnesses too few to be brought by a man that has done as he ought to do. So I gave you all these witnesses. †Inquire of them, how I have lived : and whether I have not behaved myself with all decency, and after a virtuous manner, among them. And I farther conjure you, O Galileans, to hide no part of the truth ; but to speak before these men, as before judges ; whether I have in any thing acted otherwise than well.

While I was thus speaking, the united voices of all the people joined together, and called me their benefactor, and saviour : and attested to my former behaviour : and exhorted me to continue so to do hereafter. And they all said, upon their oaths, that their wives had been preserved free from injuries : and that no one had ever been aggrieved by me. After this I read to the Galileans two of those epistles which had been sent by Jonathan, and his colleagues ; and which those whom I had appointed to guard the road had taken, and sent to me. These were full of reproaches, and of lies : as if I had acted more like a tyrant than a governor among them. With many other things besides therein contained, which were no better indeed than impudent falsities. I also informed

* We here learn the practice of the Jews, in the days of Josephus, to inquire into the characters of witnesses, before they were admitted ; and that their number ought to be three, or two at the least ; exactly as in the law of Moses, and in the Apostolical Constitutions, II. 37.

† This appeal to the whole body of the Galileans, by Josephus, and the testimony they gave him of integrity in his conduct, as their governor, is very like that appeal and testimony in the case of the prophet Samuel ; 1 Sam. xii. 1—5, and perhaps was made by Josephus in imitation of him.

the multitude, how I came by these letters : and that those who carried them delivered them up voluntarily. For I was not willing that my enemies should know any thing of the guards I had set, lest they should be afraid, and leave off writing hereafter.

When the multitude heard these things, they were greatly provoked at Jonathan, and his colleagues that were with him ; and were going to attack and kill them. And this they had certainly done, unless I had restrained the anger of the Galileans, and said, that I forgave Jonathan and his colleagues what was past, if they would repent, and go to their own country, and tell those who sent them the truth as to my conduct. When I had said this, I let them go : although I knew they would do nothing of what they had promised. But the multitude were very much enraged against them, and entreated me to give them leave to punish them for their insolence. Yet did I try all methods to persuade them to spare the men. For I knew that every instance of sedition was pernicious to the public welfare. But the multitude were too angry with them to be dissuaded : and all of them went immediately to the house in which Jonathan and his colleagues abode. However, when I perceived that their rage could not be restrained, I got on horseback, and ordered the multitude to follow me to the village Sogane, which was twenty furlongs off Gabara. And by using this stratagem, I so managed myself as not to appear to begin a civil war amongst them.

But when I was come near Sogane, I caused the multitude to make a halt ; and exhorted them not to be so easily provoked to anger, and to the inflicting such punishments as could not be afterward recalled : I also gave order that a hundred men, who were already in years, and were principal men among them, should get themselves ready to go to the city Jerusalem, and should make a complaint before the people, of such as raised seditions in the country. And I said to them, “ in case they be moved with what you say, you shall desire the community to write to me, and to enjoin me to continue in Galilee ; and to order Jonathan and his colleagues to depart out of it.” When I had suggested these instructions, and while they were getting themselves ready, as fast as they could ; I sent them on this errand the third day after they had been assembled. I also sent five hundred armed men with

them, as a guard. I then wrote to my friends in Samaria, to take care that they might safely pass through the country. For Samaria was already under the Romans : and it was absolutely necessary for those that would go quickly to Jerusalem to pass through that country. For in that road they might, in three days' time, go from Galilee to Jerusalem. I also went myself, and conducted the old men as far as the bounds of Galilee ; and set guards in the roads, that it might not easily be known by any one that these men were gone. And when I had thus done, I went and abode at Japha.

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

So I suspected nothing, and went away to Taricheæ : yet did I leave some to make inquiry in the city, how matters went, and whether any thing were said about me. I also set many persons all the way that led from Taricheæ to Tiberias, that they might communicate from one to another, if they learned any news from those that were left in the city. On the next day, therefore, they all came into the *Proseucha. It was a large edifice ; and capable of receiving a great number of people. Thither Jonathan went in : and though he durst not openly speak of a revolt, yet did he say that their city stood in need of a better governor than it then had. But Jesus, who was the ruler, made no scruple to speak out : and said openly, " O fellow citizens ! it is better for you to be in subjection to four than to one : and those such as are of high birth, and not without reputation for their wisdom : " and pointed to Jonathan and his colleagues. Upon his saying this, Justus came in, and commended him for what he had said ; and persuaded some of the people to be of his mind. But the multitude were not pleased with what was said ; and had certainly gone into a tumult, unless the sixth hour, which was now come, had dissolved the assembly : at which hour our law requires us to go to dinner on sabbath days. So Jonathan, and his colleagues, put off their council till the next day, and went off without success. When I was informed of these affairs, I determined to go to the city of Tiberias in the morning. Accordingly, on the morrow, about the first hour of the day, I came from Taricheæ ; and found the multitude already assembled in the Proseucha : but on what account they were gotten together those that were assembled did not know. But when Jonathan and his colleagues saw me there unexpectedly, they were in disorder. After which they raised a report of their own contrivance, that Roman horsemen were seen at a place called Union, in the borders of Galilee ; thirty furlongs distant from the city. Upon which report Jonathan and his col-

* It is worth noting here, that there was now a great Proseucha or place of prayer in the city Tiberias : though such Proseucha used to be out of cities ; as the synagogues were within them. Of them see Le Moine on Polycarp's Epistle, page 76. It is also worthy our remark, that the Jews, in the days of Josephus, used to dine at the sixth hour, or noon : and that in obedience to their notions of the law of Moses.

leagues, cunningly exhorted me not to neglect this matter, nor to suffer the land to be spoiled by the enemy. And this they said with a design to remove me out of the city, under the pretence of the want of extraordinary assistance: while they might dispose the city to be my enemy.

As for myself, although I knew of their design, yet did I comply with what they proposed: lest the people of Tiberias should have occasion to suppose, that I was not careful of their security. I therefore went out: but when I was at the place, I found not the least appearance of any enemy; so I returned as fast as I could, and found the whole council assembled, and the body of the people gotten together, and Jonathan and his colleagues bringing vehement accusations against me: as one that had no concern to ease them of the burdens of war, and as one that lived luxuriously. And as they were discoursing thus, they produced four letters, as written to them from some people that lived at the borders of Galilee, imploring that they would come to their assistance: for that there was an army of Romans, both horsemen and footmen, who would come and lay waste the country on the third day. They desired them also to make haste, and not to overlook them. When the people of Tiberias heard this, they thought they spake truth; and made a clamour against me, and said, I ought not to sit still: but to go away to the assistance of their countrymen. Hereupon I said, (for I understood the meaning of Jonathan, and his colleagues,) that I was ready to comply with what they proposed, and, without delay, to march to the war which they spake of. Yet did I advise them, at the same time, that since these letters declared, that the Romans would make their assault in four several places, they should part their forces into five bodies; and make Jonathan and his colleagues generals of each body of them: because it was fit for brave men not only to give counsel, but to take the place of leaders, and assist their countrymen when such a necessity pressed them. "For," said I, "it is not possible for me to lead more than one party." This advice of mine greatly pleased the multitude. So they compelled them to go forth to the war. But their designs were thrown into disorder, because they had not done what they designed to do, on account of my stratagem, which was opposite to their undertakings.

Now there was one whose name was Ananias, a wicked man, and very mischievous: he *proposed that a general religious fast should be appointed the next day for all the people; and gave order that at the same hour they should come to the same place, without any weapons, to make it manifest before God, that while they obtained his assistance, they thought all those weapons useless. This he said, not out of piety, but that they might catch me and my friends unarmed. Now I was hereupon forced to comply, lest I should appear to despise a proposal that tended to piety. As soon, therefore, as we were gone home, Jonathan and his colleagues wrote to John, to come to them in the morning; and desiring him to come with as many soldiers as he possibly could: for that they should then be able easily to get me into their hands, and to do all that they desired. When John had received this letter, he resolved to comply with it. As for myself, on the next day, I ordered two of the guards of my body, whom I esteemed the most courageous, and most faithful, to conceal daggers under their garments, and to go along with me: that we might defend ourselves, if any attack should be made upon us by our enemies. I also took my breast-plate, and girded on my sword so that it might be, as far as was possible, concealed; and came into the Proseucha.

Now Jesus, who was the ruler, commanded that they should exclude all that came with me: for he kept the door himself, and suffered none but his friends to go in. And while we were engaged in the duties of the day, and had betaken ourselves to our prayers, Jesus got up, and inquired of me what was become of the vessels that were taken out of the king's palace, when it was burnt down; and of that uncoined silver; and in whose possession they now were? This he said, in order to drive away time, till John should come. I said that Capellus, and the ten principal men of Tiberias had them all; and I told him that he might ask them whether I told a falsehood or not. And when they said they had them, he asked me, what is become of those twenty

* One may here observe, that this lay Pharisee, Ananias, took upon him to appoint a fast at Tiberias, and was obeyed. Though, indeed, it was not out of religion, but knavish policy.

pieces of gold which thou didst receive upon the sale of a certain weight of uncoined money? I replied, that I had given them to those ambassadors of theirs, as a maintenance for them, when they were sent by them to Jerusalem. So Jonathan and his colleagues said, that I had not done well to pay the ambassadors out of the public money. And when the multitude were very angry at them for this; for they perceived the wickedness of the men; I understood that a tumult was going to arise: and being desirous to provoke the people to a greater rage against the men, I said, "But if I have not done well in paying our ambassadors out of the public stock, leave off your anger at me: for I will repay the twenty pieces of gold myself."

When I had said this, Jonathan and his colleagues held their peace: but the people were still more irritated against them, upon their openly showing their unjust ill will to me. When Jesus saw this change in the people, he ordered them to depart; but desired the senate to stay: for that they could not examine things of such a nature in a tumult. And as the people were crying out, that they would not leave me alone, there came one, and told Jesus, and his friends, privately, that John, and his armed men, were at hand. Whereupon Jonathan and his colleagues, being able to contain themselves no longer, and perhaps the providence of God hereby procured my deliverance; (for had this not been so, I had certainly been destroyed by John;) said, "O ye people of Tiberias; leave of this inquiry about the twenty pieces of gold. For Josephus hath not deserved to die for them. But he hath deserved it by his desire of tyrannizing, and by cheating the multitude of the Galileans with his speeches, in order to gain the dominion over them." When he had said this, they presently laid hands upon me, and endeavoured to kill me. But as soon as those that were with me saw what they did, they drew their swords, and threatened to smite them, if they offered any violence to me. The people also took up stones; and were about to throw them at Jonathan; and so they rescued me from the violence of my enemies.

But as I was gone out a little way, I was just upon meeting John, who was marching with his armed men. So I was afraid of him; and turned aside, and escaped by a narrow passage to the lake,

and seized on a ship, and embarked in it, and sailed over to Taricheæ. So, beyond my expectation, I escaped this danger. Whereupon I presently sent for the chief of the Galileans, and told them, after what manner, against all faith given, I had been very near to destruction from Jonathan and his colleagues, and the people of Tiberias. Upon this the multitude of the Galileans were very angry, and encouraged me to delay no longer to make war upon them, but to permit them to go against John, and utterly to destroy him; as well as Jonathan and his colleagues. However, I restrained them, though they were in such a rage; and desired them to tarry awhile, till we should be informed what orders those ambassadors that were sent by them to the city of Jerusalem should bring thence: for I told them, that it was best for them to act according to their determination. Whereupon they were prevailed on. At which time also John, when the snares he had laid did not take effect, returned back to Gischala.

Now in a few days those ambassadors whom we had sent came back again; and informed us that the people were greatly provoked at Ananus, and Simon, the son of Gamaliel, and their friends, that, without any public determination, they had sent to Galilee, and had done their endeavours that I might be turned out of the government. The ambassadors said farther, that the people were ready to burn their houses. They also brought letters, whereby the chief men of Jerusalem, at the earnest petition of the people, confirmed me in the government of Galilee; and enjoined Jonathan and his colleagues to return home quickly. When I had gotten these letters, I came to the village Arbela, where I procured an assembly of the Galileans to meet: and bade the ambassadors declare to them the anger of the people of Jerusalem at what had been done by Jonathan and his colleagues, and how much they hated their wicked doings: and how they had confirmed me in the government of their country: as also what related to the order they had in writing for Jonathan and his colleagues to return home. So I immediately sent them the letter, and bade him that carried it to inquire, as well as he could, how they intended to act on this occasion.

Now when they had received that letter, and were thereby greatly disturbed, they sent for John, and for the senators of Tibe-

rias, and for the principal men of the Gabarens, and proposed to hold a council; and desired them to consider what was to be done by them. However, the governors of Tiberias were greatly disposed to keep the government to themselves: for they said, that it was not fit to desert their city, now it was committed to their trust; and that otherwise I should not delay to fall upon them. For they pretended falsely, that so I had threatened to do. Now John was not only of their opinion; but advised that two of them should go to accuse me before the multitude at Jerusalem; that I did not manage the affairs of Galilee as I ought to do: and that they would easily persuade the people, because of their dignity; and because the whole multitude were very mutable. When, therefore, it appeared that John had suggested the wisest advice to them, they resolved that two of them, Jonathan and Ananias, should go to the people of Jerusalem: and the other* two should be left behind to tarry at Tiberias. They also took along with them a hundred soldiers for their guard.

However, the governors of Tiberias took care to have their city secured with walls: and commanded their inhabitants to take their arms. They also sent for a great many soldiers from John to assist them against me, if there should be occasion for them. Now John was at Gischala. Jonathan, therefore, and those that were with him, when they were departed from Tiberias, and as soon as they were come to Dabaritta, a village that lay in the utmost parts of Galilee, in the great plain, they about midnight fell among the guards I had set. Who both commanded them to lay aside their weapons, and kept them in bonds upon the place, as I had charged them to do. This news was written to me by Levi; who had the command of that guard committed to him by me. Hereupon I said nothing of it for two days; and pretending to know nothing about it, I sent a message to the people of Tiberias; and advised them to lay their arms aside, and to dismiss their men, that they might go home. But supposing that Jonathan, and those that were with him, were already arrived at Jerusalem, they made reproachful answers to me; yet was I not terrified thereby, but contrived another stratagem against them. For I

* Simon and Joazar.

did not think it agreeable with piety to kindle the fire of war against the citizens. As I was desirous to draw those men away from Tiberias, I chose out ten thousand of the best of my armed men ; and divided them into three bodies ; and ordered them to go privately, and lie still, as an ambush, in the villages. I also led a thousand unto another village, which lay, indeed, in the mountains, as did the others, but only four furlongs distant from Tiberias ; and gave order that when they saw my signal they should come down immediately : while I myself lay with my soldiers in the sight of every body. Hereupon the people of Tiberias at the sight of me came running out of the city perpetually, and abused me greatly. Nay, their madness was come to that height, that they made a decent bier for me : and standing about it, they mourned over me in the way of jest and sport. And I could not but be myself in a pleasant humour, upon the sight of this madness of theirs.

And now, being desirous to catch Simon by a wile, and Joazar with him, I sent a message to them, and desired them to come a little way out of the city, with many of their friends to guard them. For I said I would come down to them, and make a league with them, and divide the government of Galilee with them. Accordingly Simon was deluded, on account of his imprudence, and out of the hopes of gain ; and did not delay to come : but Joazar, suspecting snares were laid for him, stayed behind. So when Simon was come out, and his friends with him for his guard, I met him, and saluted him, with great civility, and professed that I was obliged to him for his coming up to me. But a little while afterward I walked along with him, as though I would say something to him by himself ; and when I had drawn him a good way from his friends, I took him about the middle, and gave him to my friends that were with me, to carry him into a village ; and commanding my armed men to come down, I, with them, made an assault upon Tiberias. Now as the fight grew hot on both sides, and the soldiers belonging to Tiberias were in a fair way to conquer me ; (for my armed men were already fled away ;) I saw the posture of my affairs ; and encouraging those that were with me, I pursued those of Tiberias, even when they were already conquerors, into the city. I also sent another band of soldiers into

the city by the lake ; and gave them orders to set on fire the first house they could seize upon. When this was done, the people of Tiberias thought that their city was taken by force ; and so threw down their arms for fear ; and implored, they, their wives and children, that I would spare their city. So I was over-persuaded by their entreaties ; and restrained the soldiers from the vehemency with which they persued them. While I myself, upon the coming on of the evening, returned back with my soldiers ; and went to refresh myself. I also invited Simon to sup with me, and comforted him, on occasion of what had happened. And I promised that I would send him safely to Jerusalem ; and withal would give him provisions for his journey thither.

But on the next day, I brought ten thousand armed men with me, and came to Tiberias. I then sent for the principal men of the multitude into the public place, and enjoined them to tell me who were the authors of the revolt ; and when they had told me who the men were, I sent them bound to the city Jotapata. But as to Jonathan and Ananias, I freed them from their bonds, and gave them provisions for their journey ; together with Simon and Joazar, and five hundred armed men who should guard them ; and so I sent them to Jerusalem. The people of Tiberias also came to me again, and desired that I would forgive them for what they had done : and they said they would amend what they had done amiss with regard to me, by their fidelity for the time to come : and they besought me to preserve what spoils remained upon the plunder of the city for those that had lost them. Accordingly I enjoined those that had got them, to bring them all before us. And when they did not comply for a great while, and I saw one of the soldiers that were about me with a garment on, that was more splendid than ordinary, I asked him, whence he had it ? And when he replied that he had it out of the plunder of the city, I had him punished with stripes : and I threatened all the rest to inflict a severer punishment upon them, unless they produced before us whatsoever they had plundered. And when a great many spoils were brought together, I restored to every one of Tiberias what they claimed to be their own.

And now I am come to this part of my narration, I am inclined to say a few things to Justus ; who hath himself written a histor-

concerning these affairs ; as also to others who profess to write history, but have little regard to truth ; and are not afraid, either out of ill will, or good will to some persons, to relate falsehoods. These men do like those who compose forged deeds and conveyances : and because they are not brought to the like punishment with them, they have no regard to truth,

When, therefore, Justus undertook to write about these facts, and about the Jewish war, that he might appear to have been an industrious man ; he falsified in what he related about me : and could not speak truth, even about his own country. Whence it is that being belied by him, I am under a necessity to make my defence : and so I shall say what I have concealed till now. And let no one wonder that I have not told the world these things a great while ago. For although it be necessary for a historian to write the truth ; yet is such a one not bound severely to animadvert on the wickedness of certain men : not out of any favour to them ; but out of an author's own moderation. " How then comes it to pass, O Justus, thou most sagacious of writers, (that I may address myself to him, as if he were here present ;) for so thou boastest of thyself ; that I and the Galileans have been the authors of that sedition which thy country engaged in, both against the Romans, and against the king ?* For before ever I was appointed governor of Galilee by the community of Jerusalem, both thou, and all the people of Tiberias, had not only taken up arms, but had made war with †Decapolis of Syria. Accordingly thou hadst ordered their villages to be burnt, and a domestic servant of thine fell in the battle. Nor is it I only who say this : but so it is written in the commentaries of Vespasian, the emperor. As also how the inhabitants of Decapolis came clamouring to Vespasian, at Ptolemais : and desired that thou, who wast the author of that war, mightest be brought to punishment. And thou hadst certainly been punished at the command of Vespasian, had not king Agrippa, who had power given him to have thee put to death, at the earnest entreaty of his sister Bernice, changed the punishment from death into a long imprisonment. Thy political administration

* Agrippa, jun.

† This Decapolis is several times mentioned in the New Testament.

of affairs afterward, also did clearly discover both thy other behaviour in life, and that thou wast the occasion of thy country's revolt from the Romans: plain signs of which I will produce presently. I have also a mind to say a few things to the rest of the people of Tiberias on thy account: and to demonstrate to those who may read this history, that you bear no good will, either to the Romans, or to the king. To be sure the greatest cities of Galilee, O Justus! were Sepphoris: and thy country, Tiberias. But Sepphoris, situate in the very midst of Galilee, and having many villages about it, and able, with ease, to have been bold and troublesome to the Romans, if they had so pleased, yet did it resolve to continue faithful to those their masters, and at the same time excluded me out of their city; and prohibited all their citizens from joining with the Jews in the war. And that they might be out of danger from me, they, by a wile, got leave of me to fortify their city with walls. They also, of their own accord, admitted of a garrison of Roman legions, sent them by Cestius Gallus, who was then president of Syria; and so held me in contempt: though I was then very powerful, and all very greatly afraid of me. And at the same time that the greatest of our cities, Jerusalem, was besieged, and that temple of ours which belonged to us all, was in danger of falling under the enemies' power, they sent no assistance thither; as not willing to have it thought they would bear arms against the Romans. But as for thy country, O Justus! situate upon the lake of Gennesareth, and distant from Hippos thirty furlongs: from Gadara sixty; and from Scythopolis, which was under the king's jurisdiction, a hundred and twenty; when there was no Jewish city near, it might easily have preserved its fidelity to the Romans, if it had so pleased them to do. For the city and its people had plenty of weapons. But as thou sayest, I was then the author of their revolt. And pray, O Justus, who was that author afterward? For thou knowest that I was in the power of the Romans before Jerusalem was besieged; and before the same time Jotapata was taken by force; as well as many other fortresses; and a great many of the Galileans fell in the war. It was, therefore, then a proper time, when you were certainly freed from any fear on my account, to throw away your weapons; and to demonstrate to the king, and to the

Romans, that it was not out of choice, but as forced by necessity, that you fell into the war against them. But you staid till Vespasian came himself as far as your walls, with his whole army; and then you did, indeed, lay aside your weapons, out of fear; and your city had, for certain, been taken by force, unless Vespasian had complied with the king's supplication for you: and had excused your madness. It was not I, therefore, who was the author of this, but your own inclinations to war. Do not you remember how often I got you under my power, and yet put none of you to death? Nay, you once fell into a tumult one against another, and slew one hundred and eighty-five of your citizens; not on account of your good will to the king, and to the Romans; but on account of your own wickedness. And this while I was besieged by the Romans in Jotapata. Nay, indeed, were there not reckoned up two thousand of the people of Tiberias, during the siege of Jerusalem; some of whom were slain, and the rest caught, and carried captives? But thou wilt pretend, that thou didst not engage in the war; since thou didst flee to the king. Yes, indeed, thou didst flee to him: but I say, it was out of fear of me. Thou sayest, indeed, that it is I who am a wicked man. But then, for what reason was it that king Agrippa, who procured thee thy life, when thou wast condemned to die by Vespasian, and who bestowed so much riches upon thee; did twice afterward put thee into bonds, and as often obliged thee to run away from thy country? And when he had once ordered thee to be put to death, he granted thee a pardon, at the earnest desire of Bernice. And when, after so many of thy wicked pranks, he had made thee his secretary, he caught thee falsifying his epistles, and drove thee away from his sight. But I shall not inquire accurately into these matters of scandal against thee. Yet cannot I but wonder at thy impudence; when thou hast the assurance to say, that thou hast better related these affairs of the war than have all the others that have written about them. Whilst thou didst not know what was done in Galilee: for thou wast then at Berytus, with the king; nor didst thou know how much the Romans suffered at the siege of Jotapata; or what miseries they brought upon us. Nor couldst thou learn by inquiry what I did during that

siege myself. For *all those that might afford such information were quite destroyed in that siege. But perhaps thou wilt say, thou hast written of what was done against the people of Jerusalem exactly. But how should that be? For neither wast thou concerned in that war, nor hast thou read the commentaries of Cæsar : of which we have evident proof : because thou hast contradicted those commentaries of Cæsar in thy history. But if thou art so hardy as to affirm, that thou hast written that history better than all the rest ; why didst thou not publish thy history while the emperors Vespasian and Titus, the generals in that war, as well as king Agrippa, and his family, who were men very well skilled in the learning of the Greeks, were all alive ? For thou hast had it written these twenty years : and then mightest thou have had the testimony of thy accuracy. But now when these men are no longer with us, and thou thinkest thou canst not be contradicted, thou venturdest to publish it. But then, I was not in like manner afraid of my own writing, but I offered my books to the emperors themselves, when the facts were almost under men's eyes. For I was conscious to myself that I had observed the truth of the facts ; and as I expected to have their attestation to them, so I was not deceived in such expectation. Moreover, I immediately presented my history to many other persons, some of whom were concerned in the war ; as was king Agrippa, and some of his kindred. Now the emperor Titus was so desirous that the knowledge of these affairs should be taken from these books alone, that he subscribed his own hand to them, and ordered that they should be published. And king Agrippa wrote me sixty-two letters : and attested to the truth of what I had therein delivered : two of which letters I have here subjoined, and thou mayest thereby know their contents."

" King Agrippa to Josephus, his dear friend, sendeth greeting. I have read over thy book, with great pleasure : and it appears to me that thou hast done it much more accurately, and with greater care than have the other writers. Send me the rest of these books. Farewell, my dear friend."

" King Agrippa to Josephus, his dear friend, sendeth greeting.

* Of the War, III. 7.

It seems by what thou hast written, that thou standest in need of no instruction, in order to our information from the beginning. However, when thou comest to me, I will inform thee of a great many things which thou dost know."

So when this history was perfected, Agrippa neither by way of flattery, which was not agreeable to him ; nor by way of irony, as thou wilt say ; for he was entirely a stranger to such an evil disposition of mind ; but he wrote thus by way of attestation to what was true ; as all that read histories may do. And so much shall be said concerning Justus ; which I am obliged to add by way of digression.

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

But about this time the people of Sepphoris grew insolent, and took up arms ; out of a confidence they had in the strength of their walls : and because they saw me engaged in other affairs. So they sent to Cestius Gallus, who was president of Syria, and desired that he would either come quickly to them, and take their

city under his protection ; or send them a garrison. Accordingly Gallus promised them to come : but did not send word when he would come. And when I had learned so much, I took the soldiers that were with me, and made an assault upon the people of Sepphoris, and took the city by force. The Galileans took this opportunity, as thinking they had now a proper time for showing their hatred to them ; since they bore ill will to this city also. They then exerted themselves, as if they would destroy them all utterly with those that sojourned there. So they ran upon them, and set their houses on fire : as finding them without inhabitants. For the men, out of fear, ran together to the citadel. So the Galileans carried off every thing : and omitted no kind of desolation which they could bring upon their countrymen. When I saw this, I was exceedingly troubled ; and commanded them to leave off : and put them in mind that it was not agreeable to piety to do such things to their countrymen. But since they neither would hearken to what I exhorted, nor to what I commanded them to do ; (for the hatred they bore to the people there was too hard for my exhortations to them :) I bade those of my friends who were most faithful to me and were about me, to give out reports as if the Romans were falling upon the other part of the city, with a great army. And this I did, that by such a report being spread abroad, I might restrain the violence of the Galileans, and preserve the city of Sepphoris. This stratagem had the desired effect. For upon hearing this report, they were in fear for themselves : and so left off plundering, and ran away : and this more especially because they saw me, their general, do the same also. For that I might cause this report to be believed, I pretended to be in fear as well as they. Thus were the inhabitants of Sepphoris unexpectedly preserved by my contrivance.

Nay, indeed, Tiberias had like to have been plundered by the Galileans also, upon the following occasion. The chief men of the senate wrote to the king, and desired that he would come to them, and take possession of their city. Accordingly the king promised to come : and wrote a letter in answer to theirs, and gave it to one of his bed-chamber, whose name was Crispus ; and who was by birth a Jew ; to carry it to Tiberias. When the Galileans knew that this man carried such a letter, they caught him, and brought him to me. But as soon as the whole multitude h

of it, they were enraged, and betook themselves to their arms. So a great many of them got together from all quarters the next day, and came to the city Asochis; where I then lodged; and made heavy clamours; and called the citizens of Tiberias traitors to them, and freinds to the king: and desired leave of me to go down, and utterly destroy them. For they bore the like ill will to the people of Tiberias, as they did to those of Sepphoris.

When I heard this, I was in doubt what to do, and hesitated by what means I might deliver Tiberias from the rage of the Galileans. For I could not deny that those of Tiberias had written to the king, and invited him to come to them. For his letters to them in answer thereto would fully prove the truth of that. So I sat a long while musing with myself, and then said to them, "I know well enough that the people of Tiberias have offended: nor shall I forbid you to plunder the city. However, such things ought to be done with discretion. For they of Tiberias have not been the only betrayers of our liberty: but many of the most eminent patriots of the Galileans, as they pretended to be, have done the same. Tarry, therefore, till I shall thoroughly find out those authors of our danger: and then you shall have them all at once under your power, with all such as you shall yourselves bring in also." Upon saying this, I pacified the multitude; and they left off their anger and went their ways. And I gave orders that he who brought the king's letters should be put into bonds: but in a few days I pretended that I was obliged, by a necessary affair of my own, to go out of the kingdom. I then called Crispus privately, and ordered him to make the soldier that kept him intoxicated, and to run away to the king. So when Tiberias was in danger of being utterly destroyed a second time, it escaped the danger by my skilful management, and the care that I had for its preservation.

About this time, Justus, the son of Pistus, without my knowledge, ran away to the king. The occasion of which I will here relate. Upon the beginning of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the people of Tiberias resolved to submit to the king; and not to revolt from the Romans. While Justus tried to persuade them to betake themselves to their arms: as being himself desirous of innovations: and having hopes of obtaining the govern-

ment of Galilee, as well as of his own country, Tiberias, also. Yet did he not obtain what he hoped for. Because the Galileans bore ill will to those of Tiberias : and this on account of their anger at the miseries they had suffered from them before the war. Thence it was that they would not endure that Justus should be their governor. I myself also, who had been intrusted by the community of Jerusalem with the government of Galilee, did frequently come to that degree of rage at Justus, that I had almost resolved to kill him : as not able to bear his mischievous disposition. He was, therefore, much afraid of me, lest at length my passion should come to extremity. So he went to the king, as supposing that he should dwell better, and more safely with him.

Now when the people of Sepphoris had, in so surprising a manner, escaped their first danger, they sent to Cestius Gallus, and desired him to come to them immediately, and take possession of their city ; or else to send forces sufficient to repress all their enemies' incursions upon them. And at last they did prevail with Gallus to send them a considerable army, both of horse and foot : which came in the night time ; and which they admitted into the city. But when the circumjacent country was harassed by the Roman army, I took these soldiers that were about me, and came to Garisme, where I cast up a bank, a good way off the city Sepphoris. And when I was at twenty furlongs distance I came upon it by night, and made an assault upon its walls with my forces. And when I had ordered a considerable number of my soldiers to scale them with ladders, I became master of the greatest part of the city. But soon after, our ignorance of the places forced us to retire ; after we had killed twelve of the Roman footmen, and two horsemen, and a few of the people of Sepphoris ; with the loss of only a single man of our own. And when it afterward came to a battle in the plain against the horsemen, and we had undergone the dangers of it courageously for a long time, we were beaten: For upon the Romans encompassing me about, my soldiers were afraid, and fled back. There fell in that battle one of those that had been intrusted to guard my body : his name was Justus, who at this time had the same post with the king. At the same time also there came forces, both horsemen and footmen from the king ; and Sylla their commander, who

the captain of his guard. This Sylla pitched his camp at five furlongs distance from Julias, and set a guard upon the roads; both that which led to Cana, and that which led to the fortress Gamala: that he might hinder their inhabitants from getting provisions out of Galilee.

As soon as I had received intelligence of this, I sent two thousand armed men, and a captain over them, whose name was Jeremiah; who raised a bank a furlong off Julias, near to the river Jordan: and did no more than skirmish with the enemy; till I took three thousand soldiers myself, and came to them. But on the next day, when I had laid an ambush in a certain valley, not far from the bank, I provoked those that belonged to the king to come to a battle: and gave orders to my own soldiers to turn their backs upon them until they should have drawn the enemy away from their camp, and brought them out into the field. This was done accordingly. For Sylla, supposing that our party did really run away, was ready to pursue them. When our soldiers that lay in ambush took them on their backs, and put them all into great disorder, I also immediately made a sudden turn with my own forces, and met those of the king's party, and put them to flight. And I had performed great things that day, if a certain fate had not been my hinderance. For the horse on which I rode, and upon whose back I fought, fell into a quagmire; and threw me on the ground. And I was bruised on my wrist, and carried into a village, named *Cepharnome. When my soldiers heard of this, they were afraid I had been worse hurt than I was; and so they did not go on with their pursuit any farther: but returned in great concern for me. I therefore sent for the physicians; and while I was under their care, I continued feverish that day; and, as the physicians directed, I was at night removed to Taricheæ.

When Sylla and his party were informed of what had happened to me they took courage again: and understanding that the watch was negligently kept in our camp, they, by night, placed a body of horsemen in ambush, beyond Jordan; and when it was day they provoked us to fight. And as we did not refuse it, but came

* Or Capernaum, so often mentioned in the New Testament.

into the plain, their horsemen appeared out of that ambush in which they had lain, and put our men into disorder: and made them run away. So they slew six men of our side. Yet did they not go off with the victory at last. For when they heard that some armed men were sailed from Taricheæ, to Julias, they were afraid and retired.

It was now not long before Vespasian came to Tyre; and king Agrippa with him. But the Tyrians began to speak reproachfully of the king: and called him an enemy to the Romans. For they said, that Philip, the general of his army, had betrayed the royal palace, and the Roman forces that were in Jerusalem; and that it was done by his command. When Vespasian heard of this report, he rebuked the Tyrians, for abusing a man who was both a king and a friend to the Romans. But he exhorted the king to send Philip to Rome, for answer to what he had done before Nero. But when Philip was sent thither, he did not come into the sight of Nero. For he found him very near death, on account of the troubles that then happened, and a civil war; and so he returned to the king. But when Vespasian was come to Ptolemais, the chief men of Decapolis of Syria made a clamour against Justus of Tiberias, because he had set their villages on fire. So Vespasian delivered him to the king to be put to death by those under the king's jurisdiction. Yet did the king only put him into bonds, and concealed what he had done from Vespasian as I have before related. But the people of Sepphoris met Vespasian, and saluted him, and had forces sent them, with Placidus their commander. He also went up with them, as I also followed them; till Vespasian came into Galilee. As to which coming of his, and after what manner it was ordered, and how he fought his first battle with me near the village Taricheæ, and how from thence they went to Jotapata, and how I was taken alive, and bound, and how I was afterward loosed; with all that was done by me in the Jewish war, and during the siege of Jerusalem, I have accurately related them in the books concerning the war of the Jews. However, it will, I think, be proper to add an account of those actions of my life, which I have not related in that book of the Jewish war.

When the siege of Jotapata was over, and I was am

Romans, I was kept with much care by means of the great respect that Vespasian showed me. At his command, also, I married a *virgin who was from among the captives of that country. Yet did she not live with me long ; but was divorced, upon my being freed from my bonds, and my going to Alexandria. However, I married another wife at Alexandria ; and was thence sent, together with Titus, to the siege of Jerusalem : and was frequently in danger of being put to death. While both the Jews were very desirous to get me into their power, in order to have me punished : and the Romans also whenever they were beaten, supposed that it was occasioned by my treachery ; and made continual clamours to the emperors, and desired that they would bring me to punishment, as a traitor to them. But Titus Cæsar was well acquainted with the uncertain fortune of war, and returned no answer to the soldiers' vehement solicitations against me. Moreover, when the city of Jerusalem was taken by force, Titus Cæsar persuaded me frequently to take whatsoever I would out of the ruins of my country ; and said that he gave me leave so to do. But when my country was destroyed, I thought nothing else to be of any value, which I could take and keep as a comfort under my calamities ; so I made this request to Titus, that my family might have their liberty. I had also the holy books by Titus's concession. Nor was it long after that I asked of him the life of my brother, and of fifty friends with him, and was not denied. When I also went once to the temple, by the permission of Titus, where there were a great multitude of captive women and children ; I got all those that I remembered as among my own friends and acquaintance, to be set free, being in number about one hundred and ninety : and so I delivered them without their paying any price of redemption ; and restored them to their former fortune. And when I was sent by Titus Cæsar, with Cerialius, and a thousand horsemen, to a certain village, called The-

* Here Josephus, a priest, honestly confesses that he did that at the command of Vespasian, which he had before told us was not lawful for a priest to do by the law of Moses. Antiq. III. 13. I mean the taking a captive woman to wife. But he seems to have been quickly sensible that his compliance with the command of an emperor would not excuse him ; for he soon put her away ; as Reland justly observes.

koa, in order to know whether it were a place fit for a camp ; as I came back I saw many captives crucified : and remembered three of them, as my former acquaintance. I was very sorry at this in my mind ; and went with tears in my eyes to Titus, and told him of them. So he immediately commanded them to be taken down, and to have the greatest care taken of them in order to their recovery. Yet two of them died under the physician's hands ; while the third recovered.

But when Titus had composed the troubles in Judea, and conjectured that the lands which I had in Judea, would bring me in no profit, because a garrison to guard the country was afterward to pitch there, he gave me another country in the plain. And when he was going away to Rome, he made choice of me to sail along with him ; and paid me great respect. And when we were come to Rome, I had great care taken of me by Vespasian. For he gave me an apartment in his own house, which he lived in before he came to the empire. He also honoured me with the privilege of a Roman citizen ; and gave me an annual pension : and continued to respect me to the end of his life, without any abatement of his kindness. This circumstance made me envied, and brought me into danger. For a certain Jew, named Jonathan, who had raised a tumult in Cyrene, and had persuaded two thousand men of that country to join with him, was the occasion of their ruin. But when he was bound by the governor of that country, and sent to the emperor, he told him, that I had sent him both weapons and money. However he could not conceal his being a liar from Vespasian ; who condemned him to die. According to which sentence he was put to death. Nay, after that, when those that envied my good fortune, did frequently bring accusations against me, by God's providence I escaped them all. I also received from Vespasian no small-quantity of land, as a free gift in Judea. About which time I divorced my wife also, as not pleased with her behaviour ; though not till she had been the mother of three children ; two of which are dead, and one, whom I named Hyrcanus, is alive. After this I married a wife who had lived at Crete, but a Jew by birth : a woman she was of eminent parents, and such as were the most illustrious in all the country : and whose character was beyond that of most other women : as

her future life did demonstrate. By her I had two sons : the name of the elder was Justus, and the next, Simonides, who was also named Agrippa. And these were the circumstances of my domestic affairs. However, the kindness of the emperor to me continued still the same. For when Vespasian was dead, Titus, who succeeded him in the government, kept up the same respect for me which I had from his father : and when I had frequent accusations laid against me, he would not believe them. And Domitian, who succeeded, still augmented his respects to me : for he punished those Jews that were my accusers ; and gave command that a servant of mine who was an eunuch, and my accuser, should be punished. He also made that country I had in *Judea* tax-free : which is a mark of the greatest honour to him who hath it. Nay, Domitia, the wife of Caesar, continued to do me kindness. And this is the account of the actions of my whole life. And let others judge of my character by them as they please.

OF THE

JEWISH

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES,

PARTICULARLY OF THOSE MENTIONED IN

JOSEPHUS'S WORKS.

BEFORE I can authentically state these Jewish weights and measures I must first set down all the pages I have met with in Josephus's writings that can give any light to these matters.

Antiq. III. 1. Josephus makes Assaron the same measure which we render a tenth deal: i. e. the tenth part of a Bath, or Ephah. It is otherwise styled an Omer.

6. He says that this Assaron, or Omer, was equal to 7 Attic Cotulæ.

He also says, that the Talent was called Cinchares by the Hebrews, and was equal to 100 Manehs, Mnas, or Pounds.

8. He affirms that the Siclus or Shekel was equal to 4 Attic Drachmæ: and in the same chapter mentions the coins called Darics.

9. He informs us, that the Hin was equal to 2 Attic Chouses; or 2 Roman Congii.

15. He reckons 70 Cori or Chomers equal to 31 Sicilian, and to 41 Attic Medimni.

VIII. 2. He says, that the Badus, or Bath, was equal to 72 Xestæ or Sextaries.

IX. 4. He says Seah and Saton was equal to an Italian Modius, and an half.

XIV. 7. He affirms, Maneh or Mna to be equal to 2½ Litræ: [Libræ, or Pounds, each of 12 avoirdupois ounces.]

XV. 9. He affirms, the Corus or Chomer to be equal to 10 Attic Medimni.

Of the War, II. 21. He mentions a Tyrian Coin: and says it was equal to 4 Attic Drachmæ; which is the same weight that he gives to the Jewish Siclus, or Shekel.

N. B. Antonius Augustinus weighed two Carthaginian Coins; which proved to be full 4 Drachmæ apiece; or equal to Josephus's shekel. Now it is well known, that the Carthaginians were a colony of the Tyrians. See Cumberland's Weights and Measures, page 106.

OF THE JEWISH MEASURES OF LENGTH.

Since I have always determined, both in my Description of the Temples, Chap. VIII. and in my Authentic Records, Part II. page 875—877, that the Jewish Cubit was nearly 21 inches, English measure; nor see any cause to believe the Jews ever had any other, or larger Cubit among them; the Jewish measures of length derived from it will be easily determined. Nor is there any thing, that I know of, in Josephus's writings, that contradicts these determinations. But as to the origin of Cubits, and other like measures of length, and their differences; and how they were

taken from the members of human bodies, of different statures, in different ages; see Lamy, *De Tabernac. and Templ.* L. I. c. 1. § 3, and c. 8, 9. with the forecited place of the Authentic Records.

	<i>cubits.</i>	<i>inches.</i>	<i>feet.</i>	<i>inch.</i>
Cubit: the Standard,	=	21	=	1 9
Zereth, or large span,	$\frac{1}{2}$ =	10,5	=	0 0
Small span,	$\frac{1}{3}$ =	7	=	0 0
Palm, or hand's breadth,	$\frac{1}{4}$ =	3,5	=	0 0
Inch, or thumb's breadth,	$\frac{1}{5}$ =	1,16	=	0 0
Digit, or finger's breadth,	$\frac{1}{6}$ =	8,75	=	0 0
Fathom,	4 =	84	=	7 0
Ezekiel's Cannah, or reed,	6 =	126	=	10 6
Arabian Cannah, or pole,	8 =	168	=	14 0
Schoenus, line, or chain,	80 =	1680	=	149 0
Sab. day's journey,	2000 =	42000	=	3500 0
Jewish mile,	4000 =	84000	=	7000 0
Stadium, or furlong, $\frac{1}{8}$	400 =	8400	=	700 0
Parasang,	12000 =	252000	=	21000 0

See Cumberland's *Weights and Measures*, pages 57, 58, 135, 136.

OF THE JEWISH MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

Before I can authentically state the Jewish measures of capacity, I must set down such English, Attic, and Roman measures, as the Jewish are usually compared with; together with the best determinations of their quantity, in cubical inches; as also in such pints or pounds, as contain 29 cubical inches: which is very near our wine pint. Whence they may be reduced into any other measures, at every one's pleasure.

	<i>cub. inches.</i>	<i>pts. or pds.</i>
Wine gallon contains	= 231	= 7,96
Corn gallon contains	= 272	= 9,38
Culceus Romanus	= 33129,6	
Medimnus Atticus	= 2484,72	= 85,68
Amphora Romana	= 1656,48	
Modius Italicus = 16 Sextaries	= 522	= 18,8
Attic Chous, or Roman Congius, } equal to 120 ounces of water } avordupois }	= 207,06	= 7,14
Chenix = 30 ounces of water	= 51,66	= 1,78
Cotyla Attica = 10 ounces of water	= 17,25	= ,58
Xestes or Roman Sextary = 2 } Cotylæ = 20 ounces of water }	= 34,5	= 1,18

N. B. Josephus, from his own knowledge, and the Old Testament, assures us, in all his copies, both Greek and Latin, seen by Dr. Hudson, that the brazen sea in the temple was an hemisphere: and contained 3000 Baths: that it was ten cubits in diameter; and consequently about 30 cubits, by a gross estimation, in circumference. Our Hebrew and Greek copies, 1 Kings vii. 23—26, also agree to the same diameter, circumference, and depth; and that it was round all about, or a real hemisphere. Only they say that it contained but 2000 Baths. While the same Hebrew and Greek copies in 2 Chron. iv. 2—5, agree in all things with the Book of Kings; excepting the number of Baths this sea contained: which is there constantly 3000, as in Josephus's copies. It is true, the Geneva edition of Josephus has but 2000. But then Dr. Hudson thinks the editors took that number not from any MS. but from the Bible, in the place already mentioned of the Kings. However, because Josephus himself gives us the contents of Assaron or Omer, the known $\frac{1}{10}$ of Bath or Ephah, Exod. xvi. 36, to be seven Attic Cotylæ, or 1207,5 cubical inches, this only agrees to the number 2000 as in the book of Kings. Now I confess I see no other foundation for doubt in this matter, but only about the number of the Baths contain-

ed in this sea; whether they were 2000 or 3000. In which the direct evidences appear to me so equally balanced, that I am not able to determine between them. I shall therefore wave the more uncertain authority of the modern Rabbins, and modern writers depending on them; and state the Jewish Bath, or Epha, by geometrical calculation from these surer premises: and thence deduce the rest of the Jewish measures of capacity, which bear a known proportion to it: and this upon both the hypotheses, that the brazen sea held only 2000, or that it held 3000 Baths. The cube of 10 cubits, or of 210 inches = 9261,000 solid or cubical inches. Now Geometricians know, that as 1 to .552 decimals: or as 1000 to 552 integers; so is that Cube, to a sphere of the same diameter: = 4843503 solid or cubical inches. Its half, or the hemisphere, is therefore 2421751 such inches. Divide that sum by 2000, and by 3000: the numbers of the Baths contained in that hemisphere, upon the two hypotheses beforementioned, the quotients will be equal to one Bath or Epha: i. e. either to 1210,811 or to 807,274, i. e. such inches: they will, in the former case, be equal to $\frac{2}{3}$, or above $\frac{1}{2}$, and in the second case to $\frac{2}{3}$, or exactly to the mean, between the $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the cube of the cubit; i. e. in English measure, either 41, 74, or 27,83 English pints or pounds. Accordingly my Table is double; and contains the Jewish measures of capacity, according to both these estimations: and that as well in cubical inches, as in pints, or pounds.

N. B. Josephus's present copies, Antiq. VIII. 2, affirm, that the Badus, or Bath, the tenth part of Corus or Chomer, was equal to 72 Xestæ, or Sextaries: i. e. to about 2484,72 cubical inches: which is the content of the Medimnus Atticus. As also XV. 9, they affirm, that the Corus or Chomer, which is 10 Baths, contained 10 Medimni: both which estimations agree; although they be wide from all our computations in excess. Yet do the same copies say elsewhere, III. 15, that 70 Cori, or Chomers, are equal to no more than 31 Sicilian, and to 41 Attic Medimni: which is but 1454 solid or cubical inches, for a single Corus or Chomer. As if the same measure were equal to 24847,2 and to no more than 1454 cubical inches; or were above 17 times as large as itself. This number is very wide from all our computations in defect. These quantities are therefore so entirely contradictory to one another, that I must be forced to drop them on both sides in my present determinations: and to proceed upon the foregoing principles only.

	At 3000 Baths.		At 2000 Baths.	
	cub. inches.	pints, or pounds.	cub. inches.	pints, or pounds.
Bath, or Epha,	807,274	27,83	1210,911	41,74
Corus, or Chomer, = 10 Baths	8072,74	278,3	12109,11	417,4
or Ephas,				
Seah, or Saton, $\frac{1}{2}$ of Epha,	269,091	9,266	403,64	13,994
Seah, or Saton, according to Josephus, $1\frac{1}{2}$ Modius Italicus,	328,	28,3	328,	28,3
Hin, according to the Rabbins,	134,54	4,4633	201,31	6,694
$\frac{1}{2}$ of Epha,				
Hin, according to Josephus, =	414,12	14,3	414,12	14,3
to 2 Attic Chouses,				
Omer, or Assaron, $\frac{1}{10}$ of Epha	80,727	2,78	121,09	4,17
Cab, $\frac{1}{10}$ of Epha,	44,859	1,544	67,238	2,316
Log, $\frac{1}{10}$ of Epha,	11,21	,39	16,81	,585
Metretes, or Syrian Firkin, Joh	207,	7,125	207,	7,125
ii. 6,				

N. B. Josephus's Seah, or Saton, is so far from being only $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Bath or Epha, as the Rabbins esteem it; that it is larger than the Bath or Epha itself, upon the hypothesis of the brazen sea's containing 3000 Baths or Ephas. And even upon the hypothesis of its containing but 2000, it contains above $\frac{2}{3}$ of it. So we are still greatly at a loss in this matter.

N. B. Since Josephus's larger quantity of the Hin best agree with the 1500 shekels, or 750 ounces, or 47 pounds weight of dry spices, to be moistened for a holy oil or ointment, by a Hin of olive: Exod. xxx. 22, 23. And since the Rabbins' smaller quantity best agrees with the $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Hin of beaten oil, commanded to be mingled with a tenth deal, or Omer of flour, for a cake at the daily meat offering, Exod. xxix. 40. I cannot by those calculations determine between these different mea-

sures, either of the Hin, or of the 3000 and 2000 Baths in the brahma sea. So I suffer those computations to balance one another, without preponderating one above another. Yet shall I venture to propose another argument, which has nothing, that I know of, to counterbalance it; and which is directly on the side of the 3000 Baths, and its first series of measures: which argument I have elsewhere insisted on for the same purpose. This is taken from the quantity of the manna which was allotted by God himself to be every man's daily portion in the wilderness; an Omer apiece: this is full as large, on that hypothesis, as every man required; and much too large on the other hypothesis. Of which see Authent. Records, Part II. p. 880, 881, and Cumberland, p. 87, 88. And thus upon the whole, I am still obliged to prefer the number 3000, and its first series of measures; before the number 2000, and its second series: as I did formerly also.

OF THE JEWISH WEIGHTS AND COINS.

Now before I can authentically determine the weight and value of the Jewish shekel, and other weights and coins derived therefrom, I must set down such other weights and coins as the shekel hath been esteemed very nearly equal to: which are as follows:—

	s. d.
Four Attic Drachms, according to Breerwood,	2 6
—, according to Bernard,	2 8½
Four Attic Drachms, according to Graves, 67 grains,	2 9½
The mean quantity is =	2 8
Two Alexandrian Drachms equal to four Attic Drachms =	2 8
A Tyrian coin =	2 8
Four Drachms, Troy weight, equal 240 grains	2 7
Four Drachms, Avoirdupois, equal 219 grains, or half an ounce =	2 4½
Four Roman Denarii, or pence =	2 7
Shekel itself, as weighed by Bernard, about	3 0
— by Cumberland	2 4½
— by Villalpandus	2 9½
— by Abp. Usher	2 5
Duke of Devonshire's Shekel, weighed by Mr. Barker,	2 4½
The mean weight of the Shekel, excepting that of Dr. Bernard's,	2 5½
Mean quantity of 4 Attic and 2 Alexandrian Drachms; of 4 Drachms Troy, and as many Avoirdupois; of a Tyrian coin; of 4 Denarii; and of the several shekels themselves, very nearly	2 6
Hence I state the Jewish Coins and weights as follows:—	

	s. d.
Stater, Siclus, or Shekel of the Sanctuary, the Standard,	2 6
Tyrian coin, equal to the Shekel,	2 6
Bekah, one half of the Shekel,	1 3
Drachma Attica, one fourth	0 7½
Drachma Alexandrina, or Drachmon, or Adarchmon, one half,	1 3
Gerah, or Obolus, ⅓	0 1½
Maneh or Mna, equal 100 Shekels in weight, 21900 grains Troy.	

	L. s. d.
Maneh, or Mna, Mina, as a coin, equal 60 Shekels,	7 10
Talent of silver, equal 3000 Shekels	375 0 0
Drachma of gold, not more than	0 1 1
Shekel of gold, not more than	0 4 4
Daric of gold,	1 0 4
Talent of gold, not more than	648 0 0

N. B. The Roman coins mentioned in the New Testament, are to be thus valued. See Cumberland, pages 117, 118, 139.

The Denarius	7½
— Ass, or Assis,	3⅓ farthings.
— Assarium	1½ farthings.
— Quadrans	¼ of a farthing.
— Mite	⅓ of a farthing.

N. B. Since our ancient testimonies, and the weights of our present Shekels conspire to assure us, that a Hebrew Shekel was nearly equal to 4 Attic and 2 Alexandrian Drachmæ to 4 Drachmæ Troy, and to as many Avoirdupois; to a Tyrian coin; and to 4 Denarii; I thence deduce its mean quantity to have been 2s. 6d. Allowing somewhat for the wearing of such shekels as are now extant, while they passed as coin and laying aside that unexampled quantity in Dr. Bernard, as some way mistaken: on which single example yet, so far as appears to me, the Shekel is supposed, both by himself and by Dean Prideaux, to have been no less than 3s. in value. See *Prid. Connection*, Pref. pages 20, 21.

Some of the learned Jews pretend, that their later Shekels were $\frac{1}{2}$ larger than their ancient ones: which later Shekels might be then at least 2s. 10d. But since no much larger shekels have been yet seen, (unless that weighed by Dr. Bernard were of that sort,) I cannot depend upon such a Rabbinical assertion, without farther evidence.

And though there should have been any such coined in later times, the estimate of the Shekel under the Old and New Testament, in the days of Josephus, will hardly be affected by it. See the note on Joseph. *Antiq.* III. 8.

As for the Drachma, Shekel, and Talent of Gold among the Jews, I state them no higher than as 19 to 11, (the specific gravity of Gold, to that of Silver) larger than those of silver. Which yet have been hitherto most unhappily and extravagantly esteemed 14, or 15, or even 16 times as high in value as silver: and this without due consideration of the several instances wherein such pieces of gold have been mentioned in the old Testament.

As to those golden Darics mentioned by Josephus when he supplies them in Numb. vii. instead of Shekels, which we supply; I follow Bishop Cumberland in their estimation. See his Book, page 115.

N. B. It being so evident, and known by all that a Hebrew Talent of silver was just 3000 Shekels; when Josephus's present copies say, that such Talent was equal to 100 Manehs, Mnas, or Minæ, which we should render pounds; of 30 ounces, or 60 shekels apiece; this Talent will still be as large again as it ought to be. Though I cannot easily suppose, that Josephus could himself be guilty of so great a mistake. But whence it has arisen I cannot tell. Nor do I find, that the correctors or corruptors, of Josephus's numbers have been less busy, or less successful in those belonging to his Weights and Measures, than they have been in those relating to his Chronology.

A TABLE OF THE JEWISH MONTHS IN JOSEPHUS AND OTHERS: WITH THE NAMES OF THE SYROMACEDONIAN NAMES JOSEPHUS GIVES THEM: AND OF THE JULIAN OR ROMAN MONTHS CORRESPONDING TO THEM.

<i>Hebrew Names.</i>	<i>Syromacedonian Names.</i>	<i>Roman Names.</i>
1 Nisan	Xanthicus	March and April
2 Jyar	Artemisius	April and May
3 Sivan	Dæsius	May and June
4 Tamuz	Panemus	June and July
5 Ab	Lous	July and August
6 Elul	Gorpeias	August and September
7 Tisri	Hyperberetæus	September and October
8 Marhesvan	Dius	October and November
9 Casleu	Apellæus	November and December
10 Tebeth	Audinaeus	December and January
11 Shebet	Peritius	January and February
12 Adar	Dystrus	February and March

N. B. The years I make use of in this version of Josephus under the bare character of An. are those before the Christian era: as those under the character of A. D. are those since. And if the reader desires to know the Annus Mundi, or the Year of the World corresponding to any such year, according to my notes on Josephus, he must deduct the year given from 4485 (about the latter end of the next year, to which A. M. 1. I suppose Adam to have been created) and the remainder will be

the Annus Mundi, or year of the world : but in strictness, the year from that in which Adam was created inclusive. Thus, in order to find the A. M. wherein Moses died, and Joshua entered Canaan ; which is there An. 1492. Deduct that number out of 4485, the remainder 2993, is the A. M. in their note 1. But if any desire the A. M. by the shorter Samaritan chronology, which I suppose to be the most exact, deduct 249 years from the former A. M. and the remainder will give the remainder by that chronology. Thus from 2993, just now found, deduct 249, the remainder is 2744, is the A. M. sought. And if any desire the Julian Period corresponding to any year before the Christian era, they are to deduct the last year out of 4714, which is the first year of the Christian era. The remainder will be the current year of the Julian Period. Thus deduct 1492, the year wherein Moses died, and Joshua entered the land of Canaan, from 4714, the remainder is 3222 the year of the Julian Period required.

AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
JUDGES, KINGS, GOVERNORS, &c.
OF THE
JEWISH NATION.

This nation in their beginning was governed by the following Judges.

Moses	Jair
Joshua	Jephtha
Othniel	Absan
Adol	Abdon
Baruch and Debora	Elon
Gideon	Samson
Ahimelech	Eli
Thola	Samuel.

After them they had these Kings.

Saul	Amasai
David	Ozias
Solomon	Jonathan
Rehoboam	Ahaz
Abijam	Hezekiah
Asa	Eliakim
Jehoshaphat	Amon
Jehoram	Josias
Manasses	Joahaz
Ochozias	Joachim
Athalia	Zedechias
Joas	

The Captivity of Babylon continued seventy years. The Governors after the Captivity were

Zorobabel	Nagge
Rhesa	Hngaieli

John Ben Rhesa	Nahum
Judas Hircanus	Amos
Joseph	Mattathias
Abner	Joseph Arses
Heli	Jannes Hircanus
Mahath	Mattathias.

The Maccabees, who were both Princes and Priests.

Judas	Simon
Jonathan	John Hyrcanus.

The following were both Kings and Princes.

Aristobulus 1.	Hyrceanus
John Alexander	Aristob. son of Aristob.
Alexander	Aristobulus 3.
Aristobulus 2.	Hircanus.

The Race of Herod.

Antipater	Archelaus the Great
Herod the Great	Agrippa son of Agrippa.

The names of the High-priests, from the departure out of Egypt till the building of the Temple of Solomon.

Aaron	Achitob
Eleazar	Achimelech
Phineas	Abiathar
Abishua	Sadoc
Busqui	Achimaas
Oses	Azarias
Heli.	

From the building of the Temple till the Captivity of Babylon.

Joram	Urijah
Joazeb	Neraiah
Axioram	Odeas
Sudeas	Sellum
Jonathan	Helcias.

From the return out of Babylon till the Maccabees' time.

Saraiah	Joiada
Sosedech	Jonathan
Joshua	Jadus
Joachim	Onias
Eliasib	Simon
Eleazar	Jason
Manasses	Onias
Onias	Lysimachus
Simon	Alcimus.
Onias	

High-priests from the Maccabees' time, till the final destruction of Jerusalem.

Simon Boethus	Joseph 3.
Joseph 1.	Ananias
Joseph 2.	Ismael
Joazar	Joseph
Eleazar	Annas
Joshua son of Sias	Eleazar
Joazar	Simon
Ananus	Joseph Caiaphas
Ismael	Jonathan
Theophilus	Joshua son of Danneus
Simon	Joshua son of Gamaliel
Mattathias	Mattathias
Elion	Phineas or Panaas.

Kings of Israel, otherwise called Kings of the ten Tribes, or of Samaria.

Jeroboam 1.	Jehoahaz
Nadab	Joash
Baasha	Jeroboam 2.
Elah	Zachariah
Zimri	Menahem
Omri	{ Pekahiah son of Menahem
Ahab	Pekah son of Rameliah.
Jehoram	
Jehu	

Kings of Assyria and Babylon.

Phulbelcus	Nabuchodonozor 1.
Phulasser	Nebuchodonozor the Great

Salmanaser	Evil-Merodach
Sennacherib	Neriglissar
Eserhaddon	Labosardach
Berodach Ben-merodach	{ Baltassar.

Kings of Prussia.

Cyrus	Xerxes
Cambyses	Sogdianus
Smerdus Magnus	{ Darius the Bastard
Darius son of Histaspis	{ Artaxerxes Mnemon
Xerxes son of Darius	{ Artaxerxes Ochus
Artabanus the Tyrant	{ Arsames
Artaxerxes with a long hand	{ Darius son of Armes.

Kings of Syria, after the death of Alexander the Great.

Seleucus Nicanor	Alexander Epiphanes
Antiochus Soter	Demetrius Nicanor
Antiochus	Antiochus Sedetes
Seleucus Callinicus	{ Demetrius Nicanor
Seleucus Ceraunus	{ Alexander Zebina
Antiochus the Great	{ Antiochus Gryphus
Seleucus Philopater	{ Antiochus Cynicus
Antiochus Epiphanes	{ Seleucus Gryphus
Antiochus Eupator	Antiochus Pius.
Demetrius Soter	

Sovereigns of Egypt after the death of Alexander the Great.

Ptolemy Soter	Euergetes Ptolemaeus
Philadelphus	Lathyrus
Euergetes	Alexander
Philopater	Auletes
Epiphanes	Cleopatra
Philometor.	

Kings of the Tyrians.

Abibalus	Phelletes
Hiram	Ithoballus
Bellastartus	Badezor
Abdastartus	Merimus
Astartus	Pigmalion.
Astarimus.	

INDEX.

- AARON meets his brother Moses by the Divine appointment, i. 129, obtains the high-priesthood, 181, a calamity befalls him in his children, 184, his priesthood publicly approved by God, 217, his death, 222.
- Abdon, judge of Israel, after Elon, i. 329.
- Abednego, ii. 209.
- Abel, his sacrifice and death, i. 20.
- Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech, i. 409, saves his life, and flies to David, 409, is high-priest, 480, is deprived of the high-priesthood, ii. 5.
- Abigail, i. 417, married to David, 419.
- , Amasa's mother, i. 261.
- Abihu, son of Aaron, destroyed by fire, i. 185.
- Abijah, son of Rehoboam, i. 490, ii. 63, succeeds his father, ib. conquers the ten tribes, ii. 71, his posterity, 64.
- Ahimelech, king of Gerar, falls in love with Sarah, but returns her to Abraham at the command of God, i. 48, makes a covenant with Abraham at Beersheba, ib. receives Isaac kindly, but afterward becomes envious of his posterity, i. 59, makes a new covenant with Isaac, ib.
- , tyrannizes over the Shechemites, i. 321, is expelled, 322, destroys them all, ib. is killed by a woman, 325.
- Abinadab, i. 352, ii. 11.
- Abiram, i. 214.
- Abishag, a virgin, David's nurse, i. 512, Adonijah desires her in marriage, ii. 4.
- Abishai, i. 457.
- Abner, son of Ner, espouses the cause of Ishbosheth against David, i. 435, kills Asahel, 436, reconciles the Israelites to David, 439, assassinated by Joab, 440.
- Abram, or Abraham, son of Terah, i. 36, marries Sarah, 37, leaves Chaldea and goes to Canaan, 38, lives at Damascus, ib. removes into Egypt in consequence of a famine, 39, instructs the Egyptians in arithmetic and astronomy, 40, returns into Canaan, and divides the country between himself and Lot, ib. rescues Lot and his friends from the Assyrians, 42, is honourably treated by Melchisedeck, king of Salem, ib. God promises him a son, and ordains the rite of circumcision, 45, entertains three angels in Mambre, and intercedes for the preservation of Sodom, ib. removes to Gerar, and dissembles respecting his wife, 47, sends away Hagar and Ishmael, 50, prepares to sacrifice Isaac at the command of God, 51, buries Sarah in Hebron, 53, his posterity by Keturah, 54, sends his servant to betroth Rebecca to his son Isaac, 55, his death and burial, 58, testimonies of Berosus, Hecateus, and Nicolaus of Damascus, concerning him, 38.
- Absalom revenges the violation of his sister Tamar, i. 474, flies to Geshur, 475, is recalled by a stratagem of Joab's, 477, rebels against David, 478—487, his army is put to flight, 489, hangs on a tree by his hair, ib. is stabbed by Joab, and dies, ib.
- Achar, guilty of theft, 277, remarks on his name, ib. note (†), his punishment, 280.
- Achish, king of Gath, i. 427.
- Achmon, son of Araph, of the race of the giants, attacks David, i. 502, is killed by Abishai, ib.
- Actium, battle of, ii. 539, in the seventh year of Herod's reign, ib.
- Ada, wife of Lamech, i. 22.
- Adam, creation of, i. 16, his fall, 18, his expulsion from Paradise, 20, his posterity, ib. his death, 23.
- Adonibezek, king, taken prisoner, and punished with the amputation of his fingers and toes, i. 296.
- Adonijah pretends to the crown, i. 512, takes sanctuary at the altar, 515, demands Abishag in marriage, ii. 4, is refused and put to death, 5.
- Adoram, ii. 17.

- Adultery, how detected by the Jewish law, i. 197.**
Adultery, law of, i. 197.
Agag, king of the Amalekites, i. 381, put to death, 384.
Agones, or games every fifth year, in honour of Cæsar, instituted by Herod, ii. 561.
Agrippa's, Marcus, bounty towards the Jews, ii. 312, is splendidly entertained by Herod, iii. 5, makes equal returns to him at Sinhope, 7, his expedition to the Bosphorus, ib. he confirms their privileges 12, his letters in favour of the Jews, 31.
Agrippa the great, Herod's grandson, iii. 73, his various adventures, 159, is manacled and imprisoned, 166, his future liberty and happiness foretold, 167, is released and made lord of two tetrarchies, with the title of king, 173, gives Caius a sumptuous entertainment at Rome, 188, is sent by the senate to Claudius, 239, is sent back to his kingdom, 244, Claudius bestows on him almost all the dominions of his grandfather, ib. his bounty towards those of Berytus, 253, he treats several kings splendidly, 254, enters Cæsarea with shows, appears himself upon the stage in a magnificent dress, and is applauded as a god, 255, dies soon after an unnatural death, 256, his posterity, 487.
Agrippa, son of the former, by Cypros, iii. 487.
Agrippa, son of the former, by Cypros, iii. 487, did not immediately succeed in his father's kingdom, 258, Claudius gave him that of Chalcis, 488, to which he added the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, 281, he is hurt by a sling stone at the siege of Gamala, iv. 98, his letters to Josephus, 5, his famous speech to the Jews, to dissuade them from a war with the Romans, iii. 509—518.
Ahab, king of Israel, ii. 78, is reproved by Elijah, 179, fights with Benhadad, and beats him, 93, pardons him, 94, is afterward killed himself by the Syrians, 101, his sons destroyed by order of Jehu, 131.
Ahaz, king of Judah, ii. 156.
Abaziah, son of Ahab, king of Juah, ii. 102.
Ahijah the prophet, 68, his prophecy, ib.
Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok, i. 480.
Ahimelech, the high priest, slain by the order of Saul, i. 407.
Ahitub, ii. 5.
Ahitophel, or Achitophel, i. 249, gives evil counsel, 483, hangs himself, 486.
Ai besieged and taken, i. 280.
Alcimus, or Jacimus, ii. 354, a wicked high-priest, calumniates Judas before Demetrius, 355; dies, 359.
Alexander, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, ii. 376, surnamed Balas, 383, king of Syria, 376, his letters to Jonathan, 377, engages in a battle with Demetrius, ib. demands Ptolemy Philometor's daughter in marriage, ib. is killed in Arabia, and his head sent to Ptolemy, 382.
———, and Aristobulus, Herod's sons, iii. 51, put in prison, 54, strangled by their father's order, 64.
———, son of Aristobulus, iii. 456, troubles Syria, 459, makes war upon the Romans, and is conquered by Gabinus, ib. killed by Pompey's order, 463.
——— Janneus succeeds his brother Aristobulus, ii. 421, a sedition raised against him, 428, his expedition against Ptolemais, 422, he is called a Thracian, for his barbarious cruelty, 431, dies of a quartan ague, after three years' sickness, 434.
——— the Great succeeds his father Philip, ii. 286, conquers Darius, 287, pursues his victories through Asia, ib. sends a letter to the high-priest at Jerusalem, ib. goes himself to Jerusalem, 288, his dream, 290, adores the name of God on the high-priest's forehead, 289, enters the temple, 290, grants privileges to the Jews, ib.; the Pamphylian sea gives way to his army, i. 145, note; his arms divided and armour kept in the temple of Diana at Elymais, ii. 349, his empire after his death, 293.
——— Tiberius succeeds Cuspius Fadus, as procurator of Judea, iii. 276, procurator of Egypt, 503, is made chief commander of the Roman army under Vespasian, iv. 168.
Alexandra, Alexander Janneus's widow, holds the administration after his death, ii. 435, falls sick and dies, 433—440, her character, ib.
———, daughter of Hyrcanus, wife of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus Hyrcanus's brother, and mother of another Aristobulus, and Mariamme, ii. 524, writes a letter to Cleopatra, ib. sends the picture of her son and daughter to Antony, by the advice of Dellius, ib. is feignedly reconciled to Herod, 526, is suspect

ed by Herod, 527, prepares to flee into Egypt, *ib.* bemoans the death of Aristobulus, 529, acquaints Cleopatra with the snares of Herod, and the death of her son, 530, is put into prison, 533, her indecent behaviour towards her daughter Mariamne, 556, is killed by Herod's order, 558.

Alexandria, great part of assigned to the Jews, *ii.* 461, the Jews declared its citizens, on a brazen pillar, by Julius Cæsar, 474.

Alliance between Ptolemy and Antiochus, *ii.* 326.

Altar of incense, *i.* 171, the brazen altar, *ib.* to be built of unhewn stone, 244, built by the two tribes and a half on the banks of Jordan, 292.

Amalekites, their hostilities against the Hebrews, and their complete defeat, *i.* 154.

Amasa, general of the army, *i.* 487, killed by Joab, 498.

Amathus, *i.* 35.

Amaziah, king of Judah, *ii.* 143, makes war on Joash, king of Israel, 145, is beaten and murdered in a conspiracy, 146.

Ambassadors sent with presents to Hezekiah, *ii.* 176, ambassadors of the Jews slain by the Arabs, 541, this a violation of the law of nations, *ib.* ambassadors had a right to sit among the Roman senators in the theatre, 477.

Ambassage sent by Jonathan to the Lacedæmonians, *ii.* 389, sent by the Jews to Rome, 359.

Ambition and Avarice, causes of many mischiefs, *i.* 442.

Aminadab, or Abinadab, *i.* 352.

Ammon, progenitor of the Ammonites, *i.* 47.

Amon, king of Judah, *ii.* 180, slain, *ib.*

Amnon, David's son, *i.* 437, falls in love with his sister Tamar, 472, slain by Absalom's order, 474.

Amorites given to the tribes of Reuben, and Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, *i.* 238.

Amphitheatre built at Jerusalem, and another in the adjoining plain, by Herod the Great, *ii.* 561, another at Jericho, *iii.* 103.

Amram, father of Moses, *i.* 117.

Ananias, son of Nebedeus, made high-priest, *iii.* 276, his son Ananus, 491, both sent in fetters to Rome, *ib.* slain together with his brother Hezekiah, 523.

— (different from the former,) *ii.* 249.

Ananus, senior, a high-priest, *iii.* 292.

—, junior, the son of Ananus, made high-priest, *iii.* 292, accused of the murder of James the bishop, 293, deprived of the high-priesthood, *ib.* his death, *ib.*

—, son of Bamadas, one of Simon's life-guard, *iv.* 245, flies to Titus, 279.

Andreas, captain of Philadelphus's life-guard, *ii.* 297.

Andronicus, son of Messalamus, *ii.* 375.

Angels, fallen, supposed to have been the fathers of the antediluvian giants, *i.* 24.

Antigonus governs Asia, after Alexander's death, *ii.* 293.

—, son of Aristobulus, *ii.* 458, impeaches Hyrcanus and Antipater, 465, is conquered by Herod, 491, invades Judea by the help of the Parthians, 496, cuts off Hyrcanus's ears, and causes the death of Phasaelus, 501, surrenders himself to Sosius, 517, is sent in fetters to Marcus Antonius, 519, was the first king whose head was cut off by the Romans, 521, reigned before Herod, *ib.*

Antioch, the chief city of Syria, and the third in the Roman empire, *iv.* 38, the Jews made citizens thereof by Seleucus Nicator, *ii.* 311, burned down, *iv.* 316, 317.

Ammonius, rebels against Demetrius, *ii.* 381.

Antiochus, king of Commagena, *iii.* 141, part of Cilicia, together with Commagena, granted him by Claudius, 245.

— Cyzicenus, *ii.* 411, assists the Samaritans, but is put to flight, 412, is taken prisoner and put to death by Seleucus, 428.

— Dionysius, fourth son of Antiochus Grypus, king of Syria, makes an expedition against the Jews, *ii.* 432.

— the Great, *ii.* 312, his letters in favour of the Jews, 316, his wars with Ptolemy Philopator, and Physcon, 313, marries his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy, 317.

— Epiphanes makes an expedition into Egypt, *ii.* 329, takes Jerusalem, and plunders the temple, 330, goes into Persia, 339, designs to destroy the Jews upon his return, *ib.* his answer to the Samaritans, 333, he dies and leaves the administration to Philip, 350.

- Antiochus Eupator invades Judea, ii. 351, fights with Judas, 352, makes peace with the Jews, 353, breaks it, ib.
- Pius, makes war with Seleucus, i. 423, is slain in battle, ib.
- Eusebes, the brother of Demetrius, besieges Jerusalem, ii. 404, raises the siege, 406, makes an expedition against the Parthians, is defeated and killed, 407.
- , grandson of Seleucus, and son of Alexander, commonly called the god, ii. 312.
- Antipas, Herod's son by Malthace, a Samaritan, iii. 70, is tetrarch of Galilee, 448, goes to Rome to get to be a king, 454, what was left him by Herod, 102, what was given him by Cæsar, 124, once declared king by Herod, 443.
- Antipater, Herod's father, called Antipas, excites troubles, ii. 442, 443, is sent ambassador to Aretas, by Scaurus, 456, his wife Cypros, an Arabian, and his children, 462, his valour, 464, he advises Hyrcanus to put himself under the protection of Aretas, iii. 332, makes his son Phasaelus governor of Jerusalem, and Herod of Galilee, ii. 468, is honoured by Cæsar, and made citizen of Rome, 465, his defence against Antigonus, ib. is made governor of Judea, ib. is greatly esteemed among the Jews, 470, is poisoned, 488.
- , son of Herod, iii. 15, is sent to Rome to Cæsar, 17, while he is there, he, by letters, sets his father against his brethren, 402, is recalled by Herod, 82, is hated by every body, after the slaughter of his brethren, 83, 435, attempts his father's life, 68, is concerned for himself, 442, appears before Varus's tribunal, 84, is bound, 442, is put to death, 101.
- Antonia, the tower, called Baris before, iii. 323, is taken by Titus, 381.
- Antony, Mark, his valour, ii. 457, his and Dolabella's decree in favour of the Jews, 478 he marches into Asia, after Cassius's defeat, 491, his letter to Hyrcanus, 492, to the Tyrians, 493, he falls in love with Cleopatra, 495, makes Phasaelus and Herod tetrarchs, ib. orders their accusers to be put to death, ib. sojourns at Athens, 509.
- Antonius, Lucius, Mark Antony's son, sends a letter to the Sardians, in favour of the Jews, ii. 481.
- Anubis, a god, iii. 145.
- Apame, Darius's concubine, ii. 239.
- Apion, ambassador for the Alexandrians to Caius, iii. 178.
- Apollo's temple at Gaza, ii. 427.
- Apollonius Daus, governor of Coele Syria, ii. 377, challenges Jonathan to an engagement, and is defeated, 378, 379.
- , governor of Samaria, ii. 333.
- Arabians circumcise their children when thirteen years old, i. 49, twelve towns taken from them by Alexander, king of the Jews, iii. 444, Arabia borders on Judea, ib. Petra the king's residence, ib. Zabdiel their lord, 382, are defeated, 543.
- Aram, ancestor of the Syrians, i. 36.
- Araske, a temple, ii. 174.
- Arauna, the Jebusite, i. 508, his threshing-floor, ib. the place where Isaac was to have been sacrificed, and where the temple was afterward built, 509.
- Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, comes to Herod, iii. 45, goes with him to Antioch, 415, reconciles Herod to his son Alexander, and to his brother Pheroras, 414.
- , son of Herod the Great, 70, is made ethnarch, iii. 124, marries Glaphyra, 129, is proclaimed king, after Herod's death, 103, his speech to the people, 104, he endeavours to appease the people, ib. goes to Rome, 168, is accused there by the deputies of the people, 111, is banished to Vienna in Gaul, 130, his dreams and Glaphyra's, ib.
- Aretas, king of the Arabians, ii. 427, makes an expedition against Aristobulus, 444, succeeds Obodas, iii. 50, affords succours to Hyrcanus, 332, impeaches Syllenus, jointly with Antipater, before Cæsar, 77.
- , king of Coele Syria, makes an expedition into Judea, ii. 433.
- Arces, king of the Lacedæmonians, ii. 326.
- Arioch, captain of Nebuchadnezzar's life-guard, ii. 210.
- Aristæas, or Aristæus, one of Ptolemy Philadelphus's life-guard, ii. 296.
- Aristobulus, son of Hyrcanus I. ii. 418, the first high-priest who assumed the title of king of the Jews, ib. called a lover of the Greeks, 421.
- , son of Alexander Jannæus, an enterprising and bold man, ii. 436, complains of the Pharisees, ib. reproaches his mother Alexandra, 437, endeavours to

- take possession of the kingdom during his mother's life, 438, 439, fights with his elder brother Hyrcanus, for the crown, 442, brings him to an accommodation, 444, sends a golden vine to Pompey, 447, is, with his children, brought captive to Rome by Pompey, 456, escapes out of prison, but is retaken, and sent back to Rome by Gabinius, 458, is poisoned by the partizans of Pompey, 463, his children, *ib.*
- , son of Herod the Great, *ii.* 573, marries Bernice, Salome's daughter, *iii.* 5, is put in prison, 51, accused by his father in an assembly at Berytus, and condemned, 59, is strangled, 64, his children, 69.
- , son of Aristobulus, and brother to the famous Mariamne, a beautiful youth, is made high-priest by Herod, *ii.* 527, drowned by the secret order of the same Herod, 529.
- Aristocracy the best form of government, *i.* 243, 249, instituted in Judea by Gabinius, *iii.* 342.
- Arithmetic and astronomy came from Chaldea to Egypt, and thence into Greece, *i.* 40.
- Ark of God, description of the, *i.* 167, taken by the Philistines, 347, restored to the Israelites, 352, carried to Jerusalem, and lodged in the house of Obed-Edom, after it had been with Aminadab, 448.
- , contrived for the preservation of Noah and his family, *i.* 24, the place where it rested, 27, noticed by profane historians, 28, its remains long preserved, *ib.*
- Armenia founded by Ul, *i.* 36, conquered by Antonius, *ii.* 535.
- Armory of David in the temple, *ii.* 135.
- Arophæus, high-priest, *ii.* 5.
- Arphaxad, founder of the Chaldeans, *i.* 36.
- Artabanus, king of the Parthians, *iii.* 150, he flies to Izates, 269, is kindly received by him, and restored to his kingdom, 269, 270, dies, *ib.*
- Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, *ii.* 261, his edict against the Jews, 265, contradicted, 278.
- Artorius cunningly saves his own life, *iv.* 274.
- Asa, king of Jerusalem, *ii.* 72, makes an alliance with the king of Damascus, 75.
- Asael, killed by Abner, *i.* 436.
- Ascalonites punished for their stubbornness, *ii.* 320.
- Aschanax, founder of the Rheginians, *i.* 33.
- Ashdod, or Azotus, taken by Jonathan, *ii.* 379, its inhabitants plagued on account of the ark of God, *i.* 349.
- Asher, son of Jacob and Zilpha, *i.* 68.
- Ashpenaz, an eunuch, *ii.* 209.
- Asia, its convention at Anasyra, *iii.* 30, five hundred towns of Asia, 513.
- Asmonians, end of their reign, *ii.* 519.
- Asmoneus, *ii.* 334.
- Assemblies forbidden to all at Rome but to the Jews only, by Julius Cæsar, *ii.* 478.
- Assyrian empire overthrown, *ii.* 176.
- Astarte's temple, *i.* 431, *ii.* 38.
- Astronomy, for its improvement the first men lived near a thousand years, *i.* 30, came out of Chaldea into Egypt, and thence into Greece, 40.
- Athaliah, the tyrant, *ii.* 134.
- Athronges, a shepherd, crowns himself king of Judea, *iii.* 118, is conquered, with his brethren, 119.
- Augustus arrives in Syria, *ii.* 576, his letter to Herod, *iii.* 59, holds a council about the affairs of Judea, 109, his edict and letter in favour of the Jews, 29, 30, is reconciled to him, by the means of Nicolaus of Damascus, 56, divides Herod's dominions, 466, his death, 481.
- Axioramus, high-priest, *ii.* 201.
- Azariah, the prophet, *ii.* 74.
- Azarias, high-priest, *ii.* 201.
- , one of Daniel's companions, *ii.* 209.
- Azizus, king of Emesa, *iii.* 282, circumcised and marries Drusilla, the sister of Agrippa, *jun.* *ib.* dies, 285.
- Azotus, or Ashdod, its inhabitants plagued on account of the ark of God, *i.* 349, taken by Jonathan, *ii.* 379.
- Azricam, *ii.* 157.

B.

- Beal**, god of the Tyrians, ii. 133.
Bealia, king of the Ammonites, ii. 204.
Baasha, king of Israel, ii. 74, kills Nadab his predecessor, *ib.* dies, 76.
Babylon, derived from Babel, (confusion of languages,) i. 32, taken by Cyrus, under the reign of Balthazar, ii. 223, the great number of Jews who lived there, 522, Nebuchadnezzar's buildings at Babylon, ii. 218, its pensile gardens erected by Nebuchadnezzar, in imitation of the mountains of Media, 219.
Badus, or Bath, a Jewish measure, ii. 16.
Bagooses, an enemy of the Jews, ii. 235.
Babadan, king of Babylon, ii. 176.
Balak, king of Moab, his conduct towards the Hebrews, i. 225, 226.
Balaam, the prophet, employed by Balak to curse the Hebrews, i. 226, his ass speaks with a man's voice, 227, his sacrifices and predictions, 229, his advice to Balak and the Midianites, 231.
Ballas, or Bera, king of Sodom, i. 40.
Balm, or Balsam, near Jericho, ii. 450.
Balthazar, or Nabonadulus, king of Babylon, ii. 219, his terrible vision and its interpretation, 220—223, his death, 223.
 ———, Daniel's name, ii. 209.
Banacates, ii. 11.
Baris, a tower built at Ecbatana by Daniel, ii. 226.
Baris, king of Gomorrah, i. 40.
Baruch, well skilled in the Hebrew tongue, and left with Jeremiah, the prophet, in Judea, at the Babylonian captivity, ii. 202.
Barzillai, i. 486.
Basan, or Baasha, king of Israel, ii. 74, slays Nadab, his predecessor, *ib.*
Basima, or Basmath, Solomon's daughter, ii. 11.
Baskets carried upon the head, i. 89.
Bassus, Ventidius, see Ventidius.
 ———, Lucilius, sent with an army into Judea; he besieges and takes Macherus, iv. 331.
Batha, hot, at Calirrhoe, beyond Jordan, iii. 99.
Bathsheba, i. 463—466.
Bath, or Badus, a Jewish measure, ii. 16.
Bathyllus, Antipater's freedman, iii. 81.
Battering ram, its description, iv. 59.
Battle at Taricheæ, upon the lake of Gennesareth, iv. 86.
Beast, a distressed, to be assisted, i. 258.
Bells, golden, at the bottom of the high-priest's garment, i. 176, their probable use, *ib.* note.
Belshazzar, or Balthazar, king of Babylon, ii. 219, his terrible vision, and its interpretation, 220, 221, his death, 223.
Belus, the god of the Babylonians, and his temple, ii. 218.
Benaiah, a priest by birth, and a man of valour, i. 505, son of Jehoiada, 458; made commander of some troops of Solomon's, ii. 11.
Beneficence, its commendation, and reward, i. 426.
Benefits to be commemorated by the Hebrews, twice a day, i. 246.
Benhadad, or the son of Hadad, king of Syria, besieges Samaria, ii. 118, falls sick, and is smothered by Hazael, 123.
Benjamin, son of Jacob and Rachel, i. 75.
Benjamites, attacked for their enormous crime at Gibeah, and at last terribly defeated, and cut off, i. 304, 305, their tribe restored, 307.
Berachah, valley of, ii. 106.
Bernice, the widow of Herod, marries Polemo, iii. 283, leaves him, *ib.*
 ———, Agrippa, senior's daughter, in danger of her life, iii. 503.
Berytus, where the cause between Herod and his sons was debated in a counsel or court, iii. 60, Romans living at Berytus, 57.
Besaleel and **Aholiab**, sacred workmen, i. 183.
Bethuel, i. 56.
Bigthan, ii. 266

- Bilba, Rachel's handmaid, i. 68, her sons, ib.
 Birthday of Ptolemy's son, kept by the Syrians, ii. 322, presents made thereupon, 323.
 Blasphemer, how to be punished, i. 245.
 Blessings and curses pronounced by the Hebrews, and written by Moses, i. 264.
 Blind or dumb persons not to be reviled, i. 258.
 Blood, the river Nile turned into, i. 132, forbidden to be eaten by Hebrews, 195.
 Bobelo, ii. 249.
 Book of the law found, ii. 182.
 Books composed by Solomon, ii. 12.
 Booz, of Elimelech's family, i. 341, his kindness towards Ruth, ib. he marries her, 343.
 Boundaries not to be removed, i. 249.
 Brazen vessels more valuable than gold, ii. 253.
 Breast-plate of the high-priest, i. 178, its signification, 179, why called the oracle, 187.
 Bride, how she was to part from one that refused to marry her, according to the law of Moses, i. 343.
 Britons, iv. 292.
 Brother, a title which Alexander Balas gave to Jonathan the high priest, ii. 369, the same title was also given him by Demetrius Soter, 384.
 Buckle, or button, a golden, sent to Jonathan by Alexander king of Syria, i. 380, and by Demetrius, 387.
 Bukki, son of Abishua, high-priest, ii. 5.
 Burnt-offerings, i. 189.
 Burrus, Nero's Greek secretary, iii. 290.

C.

- Cæsar, Julius, makes war in Egypt, ii. 463, his decrees in favour of the Jews, 474, murdered by Brutus and Cassius, 487.
 Cæsarea built by Herod, ii. 572, it was six hundred furlongs from Jerusalem, 420.
 Cæsarean games instituted by Herod, ii. 561.
 Cahanea, or priestly garments, i. 174.
 Cain murders his brother Abel, i. 21, his punishment, ib. he peoples the land of Nod, 22.
 Caius, son of Germanicus, is made emperor, iii. 171, puts Tiberius, the grandson of Tiberius the emperor, to death, ib. his behaviour in the government, 176, he orders his statue to be erected in the temple of Jerusalem, 178, gratifies Agrippa, and forbids its erection, 185, his letter to Petronius, ib. he rages against the Jews, 201, calls himself the brother of Jupiter, 202, a conspiracy formed against him, 203, the conspirators increase in number, 210, his death, 216, 217, his character, 232.
 Caleb, one of the spies sent into Canaan, i. 298.
 Calf, golden, near Daphne, or Dan, ii. 57.
 Callistus, a freedman of Caius's, iii. 212.
 Cambyses succeeds Cyrus, ii. 235, dies after a reign of six years, 236.
 Canaan, fourth son of Ham, gives name to Judea, i. 35, his posterity, 36.
 ———, famine in, i. 110, its description and division, 289.
 Canaanites, excision of the, occasioned by their wickedness, i. 224, * note, *Canaanites distress the tribe of Dan, 307, are spared contrary to the command of God, 298, war denounced against them by the tribes of Judah and Simeon, 296.
 Candlestick, golden, in the tabernacle, i. 173.
 Capito, a centurion, or captain of a hundred soldiers, iii. 501.
 Capitol, the end of the triumphal shows, iv. 327.
 Captives, Jewish, how many killed, and how many kept alive, iv. 303, carried in triumph, 304.
 Captivities of the ten, and of the two tribes, ii. 207.
 Cassander governs Macedonia, after Alexander's death, ii. 293.
 Cassius Longinus, president of Syria, ii. 487, favours Antipater and Herod, 488, repels the Parthians, and then retires to Judea, 462, is defeated at Philippi, 491.
 Castles, or citadels, near Jerusalem, ii. 350.
 Castor, the Jew's cunning trick, iv. 216.
 Castration of men and beasts forbidden by the law of Moses i. 261, young men of

- royal blood castrated by Nebuchadnezzar's order; and among others Daniel, the prophet, ii. 208.
- Catullus, governor of Libya Pentapolitana, iv. 359, his calumny against the Jews, his death, and the Divine vengeance on him, 360.
- Celtic legion, iii. 219.
- Cerealis, Petilius, lays waste the upper Idumea, burns Caphethra, and besieges Capharabim, iv. 161, marches towards Hebron, ib. is ordered to attack the temple, 267, called to a council of war about the temple, 280.
- Cestius Gallus, president of Syria, iii. 498, he gathers an army against the Jews, iv. 10, enters Jerusalem, 13, is beaten, 17.
- Cethimus, i. 34.
- Chalcol, ii. 12.
- Chedorlaomer, i. 41.
- Cherea, Cassius, is stirred up against Caius, iii. 204, draws others into the conspiracy, 208, 209, executed, 243.
- Cherubim, their shape not known, ii. 21.
- Chesed, Nabor's son, i. 37.
- Children, undutiful, laws respecting, i. 256, 257.
- , not always like their parents, i. 357.
- Christ and Christians, iii. 144.
- Chus, ancestor of Chusites or Ethiopians, i. 34.
- Chusan, king of Assyria, oppresses the Israelites, i. 308.
- Cilicia, anciently called Tharsus, i. 33.
- Circumcision, institution of, i. 45, the Arabians circumcise their children after the thirteenth year of their age, 49, the Syrians in Palestine received circumcision from the Egyptians, according to Herodotus, ii. 66, not to be forced upon any body, in the opinion of Josephus, iv. 500, the Idumeans forced to be circumcised, and become Jews, or leave their country, by John Hyrcanus, ii. 408, the Iturians forced to be circumcised, by Aristobulus, 421.
- Cities of refuge built by Moses, i. 290.
- Claudius Caesar, dragged out of a corner to the imperial dignity, iii. 225, favoured by the army, 242, his liberality to Agrippa, 245, his edict in favour of the Jews, ib. his letter to the Jews, 262, he dies, 284, his wife and children, 493.
- Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus, married to Ptolemy, ii. 317.
- , wife of Philometor, ii. 373, takes up arms against Ptolemy Lathyras, 425, makes an alliance with Alexander, 426, takes Ptolemais, ib.
- , queen of Egypt, meets Antony in Cilicia, ii. 495, her cruelty and avarice, 530, kills her sister Arsinoe, 534, obtains from Antony a part of Arabia and Judea, 535, attempts to seduce Herod, ib. Herod conducts her towards Egypt, 536.
- Clytus, author of a rebellion at Tiberias, iv. 493, cuts off his own left hand, by the order of Josephus, ib.
- Colonies, how sent out by the posterity of Noah, i. 32.
- Columns, or pillars in the land of Syriad, i. 24, of the Corinthian order, in Solomon's palace, ii. 35.
- Commandments, written upon two tables, i. 165, written by the hand of God, ib. not to have their very words published, ib.
- Conscience of good actions, is safer to be relied on, than on the concealment of evil ones, i. 85.
- Conspiracy against Herod, ii. 561.
- Convention of Asia, at Ancyra, iii. 30.
- Coracinus, a fish, iv. 92.
- Corban, or sacred treasure, iii. 480.
- Corah raises a sedition against Moses, i. 209, perishes with his faction, 217.
- Cori, a measure so called, i. 206.
- Corinthian order of architecture, ii. 35.
- Corus, a Jewish measure, of ten Attic medimni, i. 206.
- Coetobarus, a ringleader of the robbers, iii. 295.
- Cow, the red, for purification, i. 221.
- Cozbi, a Midianitish woman, i. 234, slain by Phinehas, 236.
- Crasus, governor of the east, succeeds Gabinus, ii. 459, arrives in Judea, and plunders the temple of its treasures, 460, perishes in an expedition against the Parthians, 462.

- Creation, account of the, i. 15, some parts of the narrative understood enigmatically, 16, note (*)
- Crown, or Mitre, of the high-priest, i. 160.
- Curses denounced from mount Ebal, i. 264.
- Curtain of the tabernacle, i. 168.
- Customs or taxes of Syria, Phœnicia, Judea and Samaria, eight thousand talents, ii. 320.
- Cyrus, king of Persia, ii. 230, purposes to rebuild the Jewish temple, 232, releases the Jews from their captivity by an edict, 233, his death, 234.
- , son of Xerxes, called by the Greeks Artaxerxes, made king, ii. 261, his letter rescinding the edict of Haman, 278.

D.

- Dagon, the god of Ashdod, i. 349, his temple burnt, ii. 390.
- Damascene colonies transported into higher Media, ii. 159.
- Damascus, founded by Uz, i. 36, taken by Tiglath-Pileser, ii. 159, taken by the Romans, 446.
- Dan, son of Jacob and Bilha, i. 68.
- , misfortunes brought upon the tribe of, i. 307.
- , built by the Danites, i. 308.
- Daniel, the prophet, ii. 203, is castrated, with his companions, ib. his austerity of life, 209, predicts future events, 212, tells Nebuchadnezzar his dream, and interprets it to him, 213, is honoured for it, 214, his companions are cast into a fiery furnace, ib. explains the hand-writing upon the wall, 222, is carried into Media by Darius, 224, is made one of the presidents of the kingdom, ib. a conspiracy against him, ib. is thrown into the lion's den, 225, builds a tower at Ecbatana, 226, the manner and certainty of his prophecies, ib. his vision of the ram and the he-goat, 228, his prophecy of the destruction of the Jews by the Romans, ib. of the profanation of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, ii. 343.
- Darda, ii. 12.
- Darics, old coins, so called, i. 183.
- Darius, son of Astyages, called by another name among the Greeks, ii. 224.
- , son of Hystaspes, made king, ii. 236, makes a splendid entertainment, 237, proposes questions to be resolved, ib. his letters in favour of Zorobabel, for rebuilding the temple, 241, has Cyrus's records searched about that temple, 247, gives orders for its rebuilding, 248, his edict against the Samaritans, 249.
- , Codomanus, the last king of Persia, ii. 286, defeated by Alexander the Great, who puts an end to the empire of the Persians, 287.
- Darkness, in Egypt, plague of, i. 136.
- Dathan, i. 210.
- David's genealogy, i. 343, is anointed by Samuel, 386, plays upon the harp before Saul, 387, fights Goliath, 392, his and Jonathan's friendship, 396, is reconciled to Saul by Jonathan, 397, is in danger of being killed by Saul, ib. his flight, 398, he spares Saul's life, 413, promises to assist the king of Gath, 421, pursues after the Amalekites, and puts them to flight, 429, makes a funeral oration for Saul and Jonathan, 434, is made king of Judea, ib. and of the Israelites, 444, takes Jerusalem, 446, casts the Jebusites out of it, 447, marries several wives, and begets eleven children, 448, conquers the Philistines, 449, has the ark carried to Jerusalem, 450, is reproached by Michael, 452, purposes to build the temple, 453, his victories, 454, his liberality to Mephibosheth, 459, falls in love with Bathsheba, 463, causes Uriah to be slain, 465, marries Bathsheba, 467, is reproved for all by Nathan the prophet, ib. his son by Bathsheba dies, 469, he mourns for Absalom's death, 491, orders the people to be numbered, 506, chooses the pestilence, rather than famine, or the sword, 507, makes great preparations for the building of the temple, 510, exhorts Solomon to build it, ib. divides the priests and Levites into twenty-four courses, 516, he dies, 521, is buried with great pomp, ib. the treasures hidden in his monument, 523.
- Day, unusually lengthened, i. 283.
- Deborah, the prophetess, obtains deliverance for Israel, i. 313.
- Decree of Antiochus the Great, for keeping the Jewish temple without profanation, ii. 316, the first of the Roman senate for a league with the Jews, 359, another for

- the same purpose, 409, another for renewing their league with the Jews under Hyrcanus, 466, a decree of the Athenians in favour of the Jews, 467, decrees of Julius Cæsar to the same purpose, 474, 475, a decree of Caius Julius, prætor and consul to the Parians, on behalf of the Jews, 477, of Antonius and Dolabella, 478, of Lucius Lentulus, the Roman consul, 481, 482, of the Roman Senate, 481, of the Pergamens, 482, of the Halicarnassians, 484, of the Sardinians, *ib.* of the Ephesians, 485, many other decrees on the same subject omitted by Josephus, 485.
- Deluge, account of the, i. 27.
- Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, joins with Jonathan and Ptolemy his father-in-law, and conquers Alexander, ii. 377, 378, called Nicator, 383, his letter in favour of the Jews, 384, is hated by the Antiochians, 385, breaks friendship with Jonathan, 386, is conquered by Antiochus, and flies into Cilicia, 387, is made prisoner by Arsaces, and released, 393, Trypho rebels against him, 399, is hated by the army, 410, is defeated, and flies in vain to Cleopatra his wife, *ib.* goes thence to Tyre, is made a prisoner, and dies, *ib.*
- , Eucerus, fourth son of Antiochus Grypus, is made king of Syria, Damascus, ii. 423, his assistance desired by the Jews, 429, he makes war upon Alexander, and conquers him, 430, makes war with his brother Philip, is carried prisoner into Parthia, and dies there, 431.
- of Gadara, Pompey's freedman, obtains the rebuilding of that city, ii. 454.
- Phalereus, keeper of the Alexandrian library, ii. 295, his petition to king Philadelphus, 296, he places the seventy-two interpreters near the sea-side, 309.
- Soter, son of Seleucus, made king of Syria, ii. 354, puts king Antiochus to death, 355, sends Bacchides and Nicanor against the Jews, *ib.* his character, 363, his letter to Jonathan, 369, is killed in the war against Alexander, 372.
- Diana's temple at Elymais, in Persia, ii. 350, in Egypt, 373.
- Dinah, Jacob's daughter, i. 69, violation of, by Shechem, prince of the Shechemites, 74.
- Dioclerus, ii. 11.
- Diodotus, or Trypho, ii. 385.
- Divorce, the cause of, i. 253, whether it be lawful for a wife to send a bill of divorce to her husband, 254.
- Dius, the Macedonian name of the Jewish month Marhesvan, i. 28.
- Doeg, the Syrian, i. 405.
- Dolabella's letter to the Ephesians, in favour of the Jews, ii. 479.
- Domitian, son of Vespasian, made regent in his father's absence, iv. 173, is kind to Josephus, 528, his expedition against the Germans, 320.
- Dorians erect Cæsar's statue in a Jewish synagogue, iii. 248, Petronius's edict against them, *ib.*
- Dove, sent forth out of the ark, i. 27.
- Dreams, of Jacob, i. 63, Laban, 66, Josephus, 78, of Pharaoh's cup-bearer, 88, Pharaoh's chief baker, 89, of Pharaoh, 91, of Nebuchadnezzar, ii. 210,—380.
- Drusilla, a daughter of Agrippa, senior, by Cyprus, iii. 156, married to Azizus, king of Emesa, 281, afterward to Felix, procurator of Judea, 282.

E.

- Eagles, golden, pulled down from the front of the temple, iii. 95, holding a dragon in his claws, in the seal of the Lacedæmonians, ii. 327.
- Earthquake, wherein the followers of Dathan and Abiram were swallowed up, i. 216.
- , a very great one in Judea, ii. 539.
- Eating the sinew upon the hip, why refused by the Jews, i. 73.
- Ebal, i. 264.
- Eban, David's son, i. 448.
- Eclipse of the moon, iii. 97.
- Edict, a cruel, for the destruction of the Hebrew children in Egypt, i. 115—116.
- Eglon, king of Moab, oppresses the Israelites, i. 309, is killed by Ehud, 310.
- Ehud delivers the Israelites from the Moabites, i. 311, is made a judge, *ib.*
- Elah succeeds Baasha in the kingdom of Israel, ii. 76.
- Elani, ancestor of the Persians, i. 36.
- Eleazar, commander of the zealots, iii. 520.
- , son of Aaron, i. 182,

- Eleazar, son of Dodo, i. 504.
 —, casts out a demon, ii. 13.
 —, brother of Judas Maccabeus, called Auran, ii. 334, is crushed to death by an elephant, iii. 317.
 —, a ringleader of the robbers, iv. 338, is taken prisoner, and sent to Rome, iii. 494.
 —, the high-priest, in the days of Joshua, i. 222, he dies, 295.
 —, the high-priest, in the days of Philadelphus, ii. 309.
 Elements, disposition of the, i. 15.
 Eli, the high-priest, ii. 5, is judge in Israel after Samson, ib. his profligate sons, i. 344.
 Eliakim, ii. 169.
 Eliashib, the high-priest, ii. 256, dies, 284.
 Elicias, the high-priest, ii. 201.
 Elien, David's son, i. 448.
 Elijah the prophet, ii. 79, his miracles wrought for the widow of Sarepta, 80, he presents himself to Ahab, 81, foretells rain, 80, the false prophets are killed by his order, 85, calls for fire from heaven, 110, is taken up, 111, his letter to king Jehoram, 125.
 Elim, encampment of the Israelites at, i. 150.
 Elimeleck, i. 340.
 Eliphale, or Eliphelet, David's son, i. 448.
 Elisa, founder of the Eliseans or Eolians, i. 33.
 Elisha the prophet, the son of Shaphat, ii. 87, his miracles, 117, &c. his death and eulogium, 142, his cure of the barren fountain, iv. 151.
 Elkanah, i. 157, Samuel's father, 345.
 Elon, judge of Israel after Ibzan, i. 329.
 Emnos, David's son, i. 448.
 Eunaphen, David's son, i. 448.
 Enemies, when conquered, may be lawfully killed, ii. 118.
 Enoch, eldest son of Cain, i. 22, a city so called from his name, ib.
 Enoch and Elijah translated, ii. 111.
 Ensins of the Romans, with Cæsar's image, iii. 142, sacrifices offered to them, iv. 291.
 Epheaians, their decrees in favour of the Jews, ii. 485.
 Ephod of the high-priest, i. 175.
 Epicureans, their error concerning Providence confuted, ii. 229.
 Epistle of Jonathan the high-priest to the Lacedæmonians, ii. 390, of Philadelphus for freeing the captive Jews, 298, to Eleazar the high-priest, 300, of Solomon and Hiram, king of the Tyrians, 14—15, of Xerxes to Esdras, 251, of Artaxerxes, to the governors near Judea, 278, of Antiochus the Great, to Ptolemy Epiphanes, 314, of the Samaritans, to Antiochus Theos, 332, of Alexander Balas, to Jonathan, 369, of Onias to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, 373, of Demetrius, to Jonathan, and the Jews, 384, of Julius Cæsar, to the Roman magistrates, 474, of Mark Antony, to Hyrcanus, 492, to the Tyrians, 493.
 Esau, birth of, i. 59, his marriage, 60, disappointed of his father's blessing, 62, divides his inheritance with Jacob, 77, his posterity, ib.
 Esdras, ii. 251, his grief for the foreign marriages, 254, he reads the law of Moses to the people, 256, dies, ib.
 Essenes honoured by Herod, ii. 318, enemies to swearing, iii. 415, their manners, rites, and doctrines, described, ii. 391, they have all things common, iii. 471, 472, their diligence in reading their sacred books, 473.
 Esther, ii. 264, married to the king, 265, is concerned for the Jews, 270—271, invites the king and Haman to an entertainment, 272.
 Ethan, ii. 12.
 Ethbaal, or Ithobalus, king of Tyre, ii. 80.
 Ethiopians defeated by Moses, i. 122, 123.
 Eve, creation of, i. 17, her fall, 18, her expulsion from Paradise, 20.
 Evi, king of the Midianites, i. 237.
 Evil-merodach, ii. 219.
 Evilas, ancestor of the Evilians or Getuli, i. 33.
 Euphrates, or Phrath, a river so called, i. 18.
 Eupolemus, ii. 360.
 Exorcisms, or forms for casting out demons, composed by Solomon, i. 13.
 Expistion, Jewish feast of, i. 191.

Ezechias. See Hezekias.

Ezekiel the prophet, ii. 188, his prophecy concerning the destruction of the Jews, 199, his prophecy reconciled to that of Jeremiah, *ib.*

F.]

Factions, three in Jerusalem, iv. 175.

Famine, in Egypt, i. 94, in Judea in the thirteenth year of Herod's reign, ii. 566, a dismal one in Jerusalem, iv. 231, for Saul's cruelty to the Gibeonites, i. 501, at Samaria, ii. 118—119, famine and pestilence, dreadful, among the Jews, iv. 242.

Fast observed at Jerusalem on the day on which Pompey took Jerusalem, ii. 452—453.

Fate unavoidable, ii. 102.

Feast of unleavened bread. See Passover; guests placed at feasts according to their condition, ii. 324, funeral feasts among the Jews, iii. 431.

Felicity, too great, the cause of many evils, ii. 64.

Felix, iii. 492, brother of Pallaus, the procurator of Judea, 281, he punishes the mutineers, 286, is accused at Rome, 290.

Festivals, Jewish, and how observed, i. 191—192, three great ones, iii. 149,—150, at those festivals Roman guards were posted at the temple, 488, immunity granted them at those festivals by Demetrius Soter, ii. 371, and on them did no manner of work, i. 192, celebrated by the Gentiles in idleness and pleasure, 74, no mourning among the Jews, at such times, ii. 256, nor did they then travel far, 407, Egyptian women appeared, at such times, in public, i. 84, wood carried on a festival-day for the altar, iii. 522, festival of dedication of the temple by Judas, Maccabeus, ii. 344.

Finding of articles, laws respecting, i. 258.

First-fruits offered to God, i. 250.

Flesh of horses, mules, &c. forbidden to be brought within the walls of Jerusalem, ii. 315.

Flies the god of, i. e. Beelzebub, the god of Ekron, ii. 107.

Florus, Gessius, procurator of Judea, iii. 296, is the cause of the Jewish war, iii. 137, he is derided by the people, 502, plunders the city, *ib.* calumniates the Jews before Cestius, 507.

Flour the finest, required in the Jewish sacrifices, i. 191.

Fountain near Jericho, iv. 151, made wholesome by Elisha, *ib.* its wonderful virtue, 152.

Friends, never free from envy, i. 363.

Frogs, a plague of, in Egypt, i. 132.

Fruit-trees, laws respecting, i. 250, not to be cut down in a siege, 263.

G.

Gaal assists the Shechemites against Abimelech, i. 323.

Gabaris, or Gabares, ii. 11.

Gad, son of Jacob and Zilpha, i. 68.

—, the prophet, i. 508.

Gadara taken by Vespasian, iv. 146, the Gadarens made prisoners and killed, 50.

Gaddis, John, ii. 334.

Galba succeeds Nero, iv. 155, is murdered in a conspiracy, *ib.*

Galilee comes under the Roman dominion, iv. 96.

Gamala besieged, iv. 92.

Games of the circus, iii. 205, Olympic, restored by Herod, 27, Cæsarean, instituted by Herod, iii. 395, ordained by Titus on the birth-days of his father and brother, iv. 314.

Garizzim, the temple of, deserted, ii. 408.

Garments, sacerdotal, i. 174, their signification, 179—180.

—, linscy-woolsey, prohibited, i. 246.

Gauls, iii. 514, possess at home the sources of happiness, *ib.*

Gaza, taken and demolished, ii. 427.

Gentile gods, not to be derided, i. 246.

Geometry, invented by the long-lived patriarchs, i. 30.

Geon, or the Nile, *ib.*

- Germanicus, his house, iii. 219, the father of Caius, 169, sent into the east, 141, is poisoned by Piso, 142.
- Germans described iii. 514, enslaved by the Romans, iv. 292, they mutiny, 319, a German's predictions concerning Agrippa, iii. 197, German guards, 514.
- Gather, i. 36.
- Giants, remains of, in Hebron, i. 203.
- Gibeonites obtained a league, by stratagem, with Joshua, i. 261,—282, delivered from the kings of the Canaanites, 282, they are satisfied for the attempt of Saul to slay them, 501.
- Gidon exhorted to attempt the emancipation of Israel, i. 316, encouraged by the dream of a Midianitish soldier, 318, defeats the enemy, 319, confirmed in the government of Israel, 320.
- Circle of the high-priest, i. 175, its signification, 179,—180.
- Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, married to Alexander, the son of Herod, iii. 5, enmity with Salome, 407, her pride, ib. her lamentation, when her husband was put in chains, 55, she is married to Juba, king of Libya, and afterwards to Archelaus, ethnarch of Judea, 130, his dream, and death, 130,—131.
- God, his presence in the tabernacle, i. 134, his mercy only obtained by religion, 294, his foreknowledge, and that his decrees cannot be avoided, 214, his will is irresistible, 117, without his will nothing can happen, 100, his providence asserted against the Epicureans, ii. 229, that nothing is concealed from him, i. 81, it is dangerous to disobey him, 381, whether it is easier to serve God or man? ii. 65, he uses beasts to punish the wicked, 226, judged to be only the God of the hills by the Syrians, 93, is not to be imposed upon by the wicked, i. 260, delights not in sacrifices, but in good men, 383, is called on in time of danger by even bad men, iii. 90, foretells futurities, that men may provide against them, i. 92, affords assistance only when the case is desperate, 143, delights in those that promote his worship, iii. 9, discovers his ineffable name to Moses, i. 128, is by nature merciful to the poor, 257, is omnipresent, 80, his bounty the cause of all men's happiness, 241.
- Gods of Laban stolen, i. 69—71, of Cutha, in Persia, brought to Samaria, ii. 166, of the conquered Amalekites, worshipped by Amaziah, 144, of the heathen, not to be cursed or blasphemed, i. 246, Beelzebub, the god of flies, at Ekron, ii. 107.
- Gods, foreign, not to be blasphemed by the Hebrews, i. 246.
- Goliath of Gath, a giant, i. 388, challenges the Jews to a single combat, 389, is slain by David, 392—393.
- Gomer, founder of the Gomerites or Galatians, i. 33.
- Gorgias, governor of Jamnia, is put to flight, ii. 342, has better success afterward, 348.
- Gorion, son of Josephus, and Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, exhort the people to attack the mutineers, iv. 115.
- Government, form of, settled by Moses previous to his decease, i. 243.
- Gratus, procurator of Judea, iii. 164, puts Simon, Herod's old slave, to death, 118, meets Varus coming to Jerusalem, 463, one Gratus discovers Claudius, and brings him out to be emperor, 285.
- Greeks called old nations by names of their own, i. 33, and put the Hebrew names into their own form, ib.
- Guards placed about the temple by the Romans, iii. 276.

H.

- Habits of the sexes not to be worn by each other, i. 263.
- Hadad, king of Syria and Damascus, i. 455.
- , or Hadar, Edomite, becomes Solomon's enemy, ii. 51.
- Hadadezer, king of Sophene, or Zobabo, i. 52.
- Hagar and her son sent away by Abraham, i. 49, an angel appears to her, 50.
- Haggai, a prophet, after the captivity, ii. 247, he and Zechariah encourage the Jews to rebuild their temple, ib.
- Haggith, David's wife, i. 512.
- Hail, plague of, in Egypt, i. 135.
- Heliocarpusians' decree in favour of the Jews, ii. 484.

- Haman**, an enemy of the Jews, ii. 266, his edict against the Jews, in the name of Artaxerxes, 267, he orders a gibbet to be erected for Mordecai, 273, is obliged to honour Mordecai, 276, the edict is contradicted, 276, he is hanged on his own gibbet, 277.
- Hannah**, the wife of Elcanah, i. 344.
- Haran**, the father of Lot, i. 37.
- Haran**, or Charran, a city in Mesopotamia, i. 37.
- Harlot**, sacrifices not to be offered out of the hire of a, i. 245.
- Harlots**, common, excluded from marriage, i. 253.
- Hamael**, king of Syria, ii. 87, he plunders Judea, ii. 140, he dies, 142.
- Heber**, the son of Sala, gives name to the Hebrews, i. 36.
- Hebrews**, removal of, into Egypt, i. 108, twice carried captive beyond Euphrates, ii. 207, thought by some to have come originally from Egypt, and not from Chaldaea, i. 108, not put to servile labour in the days Solomon, iii. 42, of those Hebrews that came to offer their sacrifices from beyond Euphrates, i. 205, they have peculiar rules about meats and drinks, 233, they fight the Canaanites against Moses' order, 208, ten tribes lived beyond Euphrates, and out of the bounds of the Roman empire, ii. 252, their language and character come near to the Syriac, ii. 296, their nouns have all the same formation and termination, i. 34, they have but one temple and altar, 244, met at Shiloh, thrice in a year, 306, only the two tribes under dominion of the Romans, ii. 252, an unexampled sedition among them, i. 209, their wise men in the days of Solomon, ii. 12.
- Hedron**, the city of, given to the Levites, i. 290.
- Hecatontomachi**, soldiers so called, ii. 424.
- Heliopolis**, a city, i. 94.
- Helon**, son of Zebulon, i. 108.
- Heman**, a wise man, ii. 12.
- Hercules**, temple of, ii. 38.
- Herod**, son of Antipater, ii. 462, began to rule in Galilee in the fifteenth, (twenty-fifth,) year of his age, 468, puts Hezekias and other robbers to death, 469, being accused of it, he takes his trial, 471, makes his escape, 472, goes to Sextus Cæsar, and is by him made governor of Coele Syria, ib. is in favour with Cassius and the Romans, 488, is made a governor of Syria by him, ib. puts Malichus to death, 490, beats Antigonus out of Judea, 491, bribes Mark Antony, 492, is impeached by the Jews, but is notwithstanding made a tetrarch by Antony, 495, gets the better of the Jews that oppose him, ib. escapes the snares of the Parthians, 500, goes to Egypt, thence to Rhodes, and thence to Rome, 502, made king by the Roman senate, at the desire of Antony, 504, sails back to Judea, and fights against Antigonus, 505, orders Pheroras to repair Alexandrium, 508, takes Sepphoris, 509, conquers his enemies, and the robbers in Judea, ib. joins his troops with Antony's at the siege of Samosata, and is received there with great honour, 511—512, is providentially delivered from great dangers, 514, defeats Pappus, 515, besieges Jerusalem, takes it, makes Antigonus prisoner, and sends him in chains to Antony, 517, 519, promotes his friends, and destroys those of Antigonus, 520, marries the famous Mariamne, the daughter of Alexandra, 524, complains of Alexandra, his mother-in-law, 525, causes his wife's brother Aristobulus to be drowned at Jericho, 529, is summoned by Antony to take his trial for it, 530, brings Antony over to his interest by bribes, 532, puts Joseph to death, 533, is solicited to adultery by Cleopatra, 535, makes war against the Arabians, by Antony's order, 537, his army in distress, after he had been beaten, 538, he beats the Arabians in battle, 544, puts Hyrcanus to death, 547, orders Mariamne to be put to death, if he himself comes to an ill end, 549, his presence of mind before Augustus Cæsar, ib. he is confirmed in his kingdom by Cæsar, 550, receives more favours from Cæsar, and has his dominions enlarged, 553, he puts Mariamne his wife to death, 556, he is very uneasy at her death, 557, he was afflicted with a kind of madness, by Divine vengeance, ib. departs from the manners and customs of the Jews, 561, builds theatres and exhibits shows to the people, ib. a conspiracy against him, 564, builds a temple at Samaria, 566, a palace at Jerusalem, 569, and a citadel sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, 570, relieves the people in a great famine, 568, marries Simon's daughter, 570, his policy, ib. he builds Cæsarea, 572, sends his sons to Rome, 573, builds a temple to Cæsar, 577, eases the people of a third part of their taxes, ib. forbids the people to meet together privately, ib. keeps his spies, and becomes one himself, 578, honours the Essenes, ib. rebuilds the temple at Jerusalem, 579—580, makes

- a new law concerning thieves, iii. 3, goes to Cæsar, brings home his sons, and marries them, 5, entertains Marcus Agrippa, ib. is in great favour with Agrippa, 6, eases his subjects of a fourth part of their taxes, 13, the quarrels in his family, ib. he favours Antipater, in opposition to the sons of Mariamne, 15, goes to Aquileia, and impeaches his sons at Rome before Cæsar, 18, is reconciled to them, 23, celebrates games in honour of Cæsar, 25, builds towns and castles, 26—27, builds Apollo's temple, and renews the Olympic games, 27, his temper described, ib. he opens David's sepulchre, 33, suspects all his kindred, 40—46, is accused by Sylleus before Cæsar, 49, his cruelty to his sons, 59—64, he accuses them in a council at Berytus, 60, inquires of Nicolaus of Damascus, what they think of him and his sons at Rome, 61, orders them both to be strangled, 60, provides for their children, 69—70, his wives and children, 70, he contracts marriage for Mariamne's children, ib. alters those contracts, 426, sends Antipater to Cæsar, 77, is made to believe that his brother Pheroras was poisoned, 79, finds the poison was for himself, 80, tries Antipater, and puts him in chains, 91, his bitterness in his old age, 93, he makes his will, ib. his terrible sickness, 97—98, his barbarous order for murdering the principal of the Jews, 99, he attempts to murder himself, 101, alters his will, 102, his character, ib. his death and burial, 103, his will not to take place, till confirmed by Cæsar, ib.
- Herod, son of Herod, made tetrarch, iii. 137—479, he builds towns in honour of Cæsar, 138, sends a letter to Cæsar, 151, makes war upon Aretas, king of Arabia, 152, is banished, 481.
- , Agrippa senior's brother, king of Chalcis, iii. 245, he marries Mariamne, daughter of Josephus, by Olympias, king Herod's daughter, 157, he has the power over the temple given him by Claudius, 262, his death, and children, 276.
- Herodias, daughter of Aristobulus, by Bernice, Salome's daughter, iii. 157—423, Agrippa senior's sister, and wife of Herod the tetrarch, envies Agrippa his royal dignity, 174, follows her husband in his banishment, 177, married to Herod, son of Herod the Great by Mariamne, Simon's daughter, 158, afterward married to Herod the former husband's brother, while her former husband was alive, 156.
- Hezekiah, king of Judah, ii. 160, his religious speech to the people, 161, his lustration of the temple, and solemn celebration of the Passover, 162—163, defends himself from Sennacherib, 163—170, recovers from sickness, 174, dies, 178.
- Hezekias, a ringleader of the robbers, ii. 469.
- Hieronimus Ægyptus, his testimony concerning the deluge, i. 30.
- Hin, a Hebrew measure, i. 183.
- Hippus wasted by the Jews, iv. 3.
- Hiram, king of Tyre, David's friend, i. 447, sends ambassadors to Solomon, ii. 14.
- Historians, their duty, ii. 441.
- Hophni, son of Eli, i. 344, is slain in battle, 348.
- House of the forest of Lebanon, ii. 43.
- Hoshea, king of Israel, ii. 160, he is made a prisoner, 164.
- Huldah, the prophetess, ii. 182.
- Human sacrifice, ii. 114.
- Hur, a prince of the Midianites, i. 237.
- Hushai, i. 436.
- Hymus, composed by David in various sorts of metre, i. 503.
- Hyoseyamus. See Saccharus.
- Hyperberetæus of the Macedonians, the same with the Jewish month Tisri, ii. 27.
- Hyrcanus, son of Joseph Tobias, ii. 321, his artful invention, ib. he is sent to Ptolemy, and kindly received by him, 323, his actions and death, 328.
- , John, son of Simon the Maccabæe, escapes being slain, ii. 402, attacks Ptolemy, ib. is made high-priest, ib. is besieged by Antiochus, 404, buys a peace with five hundred talents, taken out of David's sepulchre, 406, marches into Syria, and recovers the towns that had been taken away, and renews the alliance with the Romans, 408, besieges Samaria, takes it, and demolishes it, 412, his intercourse with God, ib. his dream concerning his sons, 413, he was ethnarch, high-priest, and prophet, iii. 322, his death and character, ii. 417.
- , II. son of Alexander Janneus, made high-priest, ii. 436, agrees to leave the civil government to his brother, 442, his inactive genius, and why he fled to Aretas, 443, he in vain tries to bribe Scaurus to be for him, 446, pleads against his brother before Pompey, 448, recovers the high-priesthood, 454, is confirmed there-

in by Caesar, 465, is honoured by the Romans and Athenians, 467, and by Julius Caesar, 474, is taken prisoner, and has his ears cut off by Antigonus, 501, is released by the Parthians, and returns to Herod, 522, is perfidiously treated, 523.

I & J.

Jabeah-Gilead demolished, i. 305.

Jabin, king of Canaan, enslaves the Israelites, i. 312, slain by Barak, 315.

Jachin, son of Simeon, i. 108.

Jacob, birth of, i. 59, his flight into Mesopotamia, 63, his singular dream, *ib.* he is hospitably received by Laban, 66, contracts with him for Rachel, 67, marries Leah by the artifice of her father, and serves seven years more for Rachel, *ib.* quits the service of Laban, and is pursued by him, 69, wrestles with an angel, 73, his name changed to Israel, *ib.* interview with Esau, *ib.* removes to Shechem, 74, divides his inheritance with Esau, 77, laments the supposed death of Joseph, 83, weeps at parting from Benjamin, 98, removes into Egypt, 107—108, his death, 111.

——, son of Sosas, *iv.* 124.

——, an Idumean, betrays his country, *iv.* 158.

Jaddus, or Jaddua, son of John, high-priest, *ii.* 235, meets Alexander in his pontifical garments, 239, dies, 292.

Jadon, the prophet *ii.* 59, killed by a lion, 61.

Jael, wife of Heber, kills Sisera, i. 314.

Jahaziel, the prophet, *ii.* 105.

Jair succeeds Abimelech in the government of the Israelites, i. 320.

Jalel, son of Zabulon, i. 108.

James, the brother of Jesus Christ, stoned, *iii.* 293.

Jamin, son of Simeon, i. 108.

Jamuel, son of Simeon, i. 108.

Japhet, i. 30, his posterity, and the countries they possessed, 33.

Jared, son of Enoch, i. 22.

——, the son of Maleleel, i. 22.

Jasub, son of Issachar, i. 108.

Jason, son, of Eleazer, *ii.* 359.

Iberes, whence descended, i. 33.

Ibis, an animal in Egypt that destroys serpents, i. 123.

Ibzan, judge of Israel after Jephthah, i. 329.

Idumeans, *ii.* 345, turn Jews, 408, are but half Jews, 507, Koze, their former idol, 589, receive the Jewish customs, *ib.*

Ieban, or Ibhar, David's son, i. 448.

Jedidath, king Josias's mother, *ii.* 181.

Jehoahaz, king of Judah, *ii.* 188, he dies in Egypt, *ib.*

——, son of Jehu, king of Israel, *ii.* 138.

Jehoash, son of Ahaziah, saved from Athaliah, *ii.* 134, is made king, 135, murdered, 140.

Jehoiachin, or Jechoniah, king of Judah, *ii.* 191.

Jehoiada, the high-priest, *ii.* 134.

Jehoiakim, king of Judah, *ii.* 188, he rebels against the Babylonians, 189, he is slain by Nebuchadnezzar, and cast out of the gate of Jerusalem, 191.

Jehonadab, an old friend of Jehu's, *ii.* 132.

Jehoram, king of Judah, *ii.* 114.

——, king of Israel, *ii.* 111, his expedition against the Moabites, 112—113, his distemper and death, 126.

Jehoshaphat, a pious king of Judah, *ii.* 96—103, pardoned for making an alliance with Ahab, *ib.* his fleet broken to pieces, 106, his death, 114.

Jehosheba, sister of Ahaziah, king of Judah, *ii.* 134.

Jehu, son of Nimsi, *ii.* 87, is made king of Israel, 126, his actions, 130—131, he puts Baal's priests to death, 133.

——, the prophet, the son of Hanani, *ii.* 74.

Jenae, David's son, i. 448.

Jephthah delivers Israel from the Ammonites, i. 328, sacrifices his daughter, *ib.* makes a great slaughter among the Ephraimites, 329, dies, *ib.*

Jericho, walls of, fall down at the blowing of the priests' trumpets, i. 276, curse pronounced upon him who should attempt to rebuild it, *ib.*

Jeremiah the prophet, ii. 187, his lamentations upon the death of Josiah, ib. his prophecy against Jerusalem, 188, his scribe Baruch, 190, he is accused, and discharged, ib. his prophecy read in the temple, and his roll burnt, 191, his prophecy of the Jews' release from captivity, 195, he is put in prison, and thrown into the dungeon, ib. is left with Baruch in Judea, after Zedekiah's captivity, 202.

Jeroboam, son of Nebat, conspires against Solomon, ii. 52, is made king of the ten tribes, 56, erects golden calves, 57, his hand withers, 59, his expedition against Abijah, 69, his death, 72.

— II. son of Jehoahaz, king of Israel, ii. 146, makes war against the Syrians, 147, dies, 150.

Jerusalem, taken by David, i. 446, whence that name was derived, 447, besieged and taken by the Babylonians, ii. 98, visited by Alexander the Great, 288, besieged and taken by Pompey, 451, by Herod and Sosias, 517, by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, 293, how many times taken, iv. 307, made tributary to the Romans, ii. 454, levelled with the ground, iv. 308, declared holy, inviolable, and free, by Demetrius, king of Syria, ii. 371, who first built it, iv. 307, set on fire by the Romans, 302, a fast kept there yearly, ii. 519, as also when it was taken by Pompey, and by Herod and Sosias, 452, a Jebusite king of Jerusalem, with four others, make war on the Gibeonites, i. 203, they are put to flight by Joshua, ib. described, iv. 192—198.

Jasel, son of Naphthali, i. 108.

Jes, son of Benjamin, i. 108.

Jeshua, son of Josedek, ii. 243.

Jesse, son of Obed, and father of David, i. 343.

Jesus Christ, a testimony to him, iii. 144.

—, brother of John, and friend of Bagoses, ii. 284.

—, son of Saphat, ringleader of the robbers, iv. 508.

Jetur, son of Ishmael, i. 50.

Jews, governed of old by an Aristocracy, ii. 457, at Alexandria, had equal privileges with the Greeks, iv. 7, are in great danger at Antioch, 315, at Ecbatana, near Galilee, ii. 261, are cut off at Cæsarea, iv. 3, at Scythopolis, 4, are in factions on account of the high-priesthood, 329, are killed on the Sabbath day, 335, Jews beyond Euphrates, 206, at Alexandria in Egypt and Cyprus, 413, go to war under Alexander the Great, 291, are carried into Egypt by Ptolemy Lagus, 294, are banished Rome, iii. 147, desire to be a Roman province, 123, are favoured by Seleucus Nicator, ii. 311, by Vespasian and Titus, 312, by Marcus Agrippa, ib. by Antiochus the Great, ib. are shut up in the Hippodrome, but afterward released, iii. 103, pray for the welfare of the Spartans, ii. 389, Antiochus, a Jew, accuses his own father at Antioch, iv. 316, Demetrius remits them part of their tribute, ii. 370, Jews at Alexandria are allowed an ethnarch, or alabarch, 461, are allowed to gather their sacred collections at Rome, 478, are derived from the same origin with the Spartans, 326, have their own laws under Alexander the Great, 290, are prohibited to meddle with foreign women, 321, their ambassadors' place at Rome in the theatre, 477, are numerous at Alexandria, ii. 461, at Babylon, 522, the forms of their government, 249, their quarrel with the Syrians at Cæsarea, about their privileges, iii. 288, they had a synagogue at Antioch, iv. 315, their privileges under the Romans, iii. 9, they send an embassy to Cæsar against Archelaus, iii. 121, the Asiatic Jews send an embassy to Cæsar, 29, a great slaughter of the Jews, 199, 381, iv. 345, their calamities in Mesopotamia and Babylonia, 186, beginning of the Jewish war, 315, antiquities of the Jewish rites, ii. 434, towns in Syria, Phœnicia, and Idumea, belonging to the Jews, 433.

Jezaniah, ii. 204.

Jezebel, Ahab's wife, ii. 78, is torn to pieces by dogs, 131.

Images, or brazen oxen, were not lawful to be made by Solomon, in the opinion of Josephus, ii. 501, images of animals are against the Jewish law, 562, to set them up or consecrate them, was forbidden the Jews, i. 165.

Impostors throughout Judea, iii. 288.

Incense, only to be offered by the posterity of Aaron, ii. 152.

Infants, murdered in Egypt, i. 115—116.

Joab, general of David's army, i. 437, takes the citadel of Jerusalem, 447, kills

Abalom, 489, kills Amasa, 498, conspires with Adonijah, 513, is put to death, ii. 5.

Joash, see Jehoash.

- Joathan, or Jotham, high-priest, ii. 5.
 Jectan, son of Heber, i. 36, his posterity, ib.
 Jehanan, son of Kareah, ii. 204, pursues after Ishmael, 205—206.
 John the Baptist, put to death by Herod, iii. 154.
 —, called Gaddis, Jonathan's brother, is killed, ii. 365.
 —, son of Levi, rebuilds Gischala, iv. 474, an enemy to Josephus, 478, aims at absolute dominion, 143.
 —, son of Judas, high-priest, ii. 284, murders his brother in the temple, ib.
 Jomne, son of Aser, i. 109.
 Jonadab, Ammon's kinsman, i. 472.
 Jonah the prophet, ii. 147—148.
 Jonathan, the son of Ananus, iii. 250, refuses the high-priesthood, ib. his actions, 491, he is murdered by the Sicarii, 494.
 —, son of Saul, beats a garrison of the Philistines, i. 376, reconciles Saul to David, 402, his conference with David, 403, is slain in battle by the Philistines, 430.
 —, a Sadducee, provokes Hyrcanus against the Pharisees, ii. 414.
 —, the son of Shimei, i. 502.
 —, a Jew, challenges the Romans to a single combat, iv. 272, he is killed by Ariscus, ib.
 —, a ringleader of the Sicarii, iv. 359.
 —, the Maccabee, made commander of the Jews after Judas, ii. 364, with his brother Simon defeats the Nabateans, 365, makes peace with Bacchides 367, restores the Divine worship, 369, defeats Demetrius's captains, 388, renews the league with the Romans and Spartans, 390, his letter to the Spartans, ib. he is killed by Trypho, 398.
 Joppa taken by the Romans, ifi. 10, described, iv. 81.
 Joram, king of Israel, ii. 111, high-priest, 201.
 Jordan, the river divides for the passage of the Hebrews, i. 274.
 Josedek, high-priest at the captivity, ii. 201.
 Joseph, son of Zacharias, ii. 348.
 —, son of a female physician, stirs up a sedition at Gamala, iv. 494.
 —, Herod's uncle, ii. 530, marries Salome, Herod's sister, iii. 400, discovers his injunction to kill Mariamne, and is put to death, 400.
 —, son of Tobias, reproaches his uncle Onias, ii. 319, goes on an embassy to Ptolemy, ib. becomes his tax-gatherer, 320, goes to Syria to gather the taxes, ib. his wealth and children, 321, 322, has Hyrcanus by his brother's daughter, 322, dies, 326.
 —, son of Jacob and Rachel, i. 69, enjoys the peculiar affection of his father, 78, is envied by his brethren, ib. his ominous dreams, ib. he is sold to the Arabians, 80, his signal continency, 83, his imprisonment, 87, his liberation and interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams, 92, is honoured by the king, and makes provision against the famine, 94, marries an Egyptian woman, ib. discovers his brethren, 99, tries them, 100, makes himself known, and sends for his father, 104, his death, 112, removal of his bones from Egypt, 113.
 Josephus, son of Matthias, made governor of Galilee, iv. 20, his danger at Tarichæa, 25, reduces Tiberias by a stratagem, 31, is in great danger again, 246, his mother laments him as dead, ib. his father put in prison, 245, he is betrayed by a woman, 73, surrenders himself to Nicanor, 79, his speech to his companions, 78, he is in danger of his life, ib. advises the casting of lots, 78, is carried to Vespasian, 79, he is honoured by Vespasian and Titus, 80, by Domitian and Domitia, iv. 528, he is set at liberty, 170, his speeches to the Jews, advising them to surrender, 223, Titus gives him lands in Judea, 527, he was greatly skilled in Hebrew and Greek learning, iii. 302, his design in writing the Antiquities, ii. 441, his diligence in writing history, ib. he promises other works, i. 13, and a book of Jewish customs, and their reasons, i. 244, when he finished the Antiquities, iii. 303.
 Joshua, son of Nun, made general of the Hebrews, against the Amalekites, i. 15, appointed to succeed Moses, 238, sends spies to Jericho, 270, leads the Hebrews through the river Jordan, 274, divides the conquered lands by lot, 289, his speech to the two tribes and a half, 291, his death, 295.
 Josiah, king of Judah, prophecy concerning, upwards of three hundred years before his birth, ii. 59, his piety, 181, his death, 187.

- Jotapata, besieged, taken and demolished, iv. 50—72.
 Jotham, son of Gideon, his parable to the Shechemites, i. 32f.
 ———, king of Judah, ii. 154, his death, 156.
 ———, high priest, ii. 201.
 Iron harder than gold, silver, or brass, ii. 214, blunted by slaughter, 424.
 Isaac, son of Abraham and Sarah, i. 48, his behaviour when about to be sacrificed, 52, his marriage with Rebekah, 54, removed to Gerar, 59, blesses Jacob and Esau, 62, his death and interment, 75.
 Isaiah, the prophet, ii. 175, 176, his character, 178, his prophecy concerning the Babylonians, 177, concerning Cyrus, two hundred and ten years before his reign, 231, the same read by Cyrus, ib. his prophecy concerning the temple of Onias, iv. 359.
 Ishbosheth, son of Saul, is made king, i. 435, is murdered by treachery, 443.
 Ishmael, son of Nathaniah, murders Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, ii. 205.
 Ishmael, son of Abraham and Hagar, i. 44, his posterity, 50.
 Isis, her temple polluted and demolished, iii. 145—146.
 Israel. See Jacob.
 Israelites numbered, i. 199, their religious zeal slackened, 298, they are carried captive into Media and Persia, 164—165.
 Issacher, son of Jacob and Lea, i. 68.
 Issari, son of Naphtali, i. 108.
 Isouri, son of Aser, i. 108.
 Isus, high-priest, ii. 201.
 ———, son of Aser, i. 109.
 Ithamar, son of Aaron, i. 182, his family loses the high-priesthood, ii. 5.
 Jubal, i. 22, supposed to have given name to the trumpet of Jubilee, ib. note (†).
 Jubilee, year of, i. 199, slaves to be emancipated at the, 258.
 Judadas, founder of the Judadeans, i. 35.
 Judah, son of Jacob and Lea, i. 68.
 Judas, the Essene, a prophet, ii. 419.
 ———, a Galilean, or Gaulonite, the author of a fourth sect among the Jews, iii. 134.
 ———, son of Jairus, is slain, iv. 334.
 ———, son of Aminadab, ii. 244.
 ———, the Maccabee, ii. 334, succeeds Matthias his father, 338, he is victor, 338—345, he comes to Jerusalem, and restores the temple worship, 334, takes vengeance on the Idumeans and others, 345, besieges the citadel at Jerusalem, 351, is made high-priest, 359, makes an alliance with the Romans, ib. fights Bacchides, 360, is killed in the battle, 362.
 ———, son of Eliashib, high-priest, ii. 284.
 ———, son of Ezekias, ringleader of the robbers, iii. 116.
 ———, son of Saripheus, or Sepphoreus, iii. 94.
 Judea begins at Coreza, ii. 449, a great earthquake in Judea, 539, its description, iv. 39—40, length, breadth and limits, 40, when first so called, ii. 259, abounding with pasture, iv. 40, taken from Archelaus, and annexed to Syria, iii. 131, parted by Gabinius into five jurisdictions, ii. 457, entirely subdued by Titus, iv. 356, made tributary to the Romans, ii. 457.
 Judges, seven, appointed for every city, i. 247.
 Judges of the Hebrews, ii. 249.
 ———, at Jerusalem, the Sanhedrim, ii. 104.
 ———, of the council in Syria, and Phoenicia, ii. 235, seven inferior judges in every city, but an appeal from them to the great Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, i. 247.
 Juelus, high-priest, ii. 201.
 Julia, or Livia, Augustus Cæsar's wife, iii. 25.
 Julius Cæsar's letter to the Sidonians, with his and other decrees in favour of the Jews. See Decree.
 Jupiter Hellenius's temple on mount Gerizzim, ii. 333.
 ———, the conqueror's temple, iii. 240.
 ———, Olympius's statue, iii. 202.
 Justus, of Tiberias, the historian, iv. 515, when he published his history, 516, he is condemned by Vespasian, but saved by king Agrippa, 518.
 ———, son of Pistus, stirs up sedition, iv. 522, his character, 523.
 Ivory first mentioned in history about the time of king Solomon, ii. 46, note (*).

Ixion, punishment of, iii. 476.

Izates, son of queen Helena, embraces the Jewish religion, iii. 296—297, is circumcised, 297, under the immediate protection of God, ib. desires Monobazus to succeed him, 274, he dies, ib. his children and brethren are besieged in Jerusalem, iv. 296.

K.

Kadman, one of the twelve sons of Esau, i. 50.

Kadar, one of the twelve sons of Esau, i. 50.

Kammel, son of Nahor, i. 37.

Keturah, Abraham's second wife, i. 54, his posterity, ib.

Kilbreth Hattavah, or the graves of lust, i. 202.

King, his principal qualifications, i. 519—520, three duties of a good king, piety towards God, justice towards his subjects, and care of the public welfare, ii. 155, need not give account of his actions, in the opinion of Antony, 532, should be truly courageous, i. 427.

—, Solomon's palace, ii. 34.

Kings of David's race, how many, ii. 200.

Kingdom, a reward of virtue, i. 385.

Korah, or Corah, raises a sedition, i. 209, perishes with his followers, 217.

Kose, an idol of the Idumeans, ii. 559.

L.

Laban, son of Bethuel, i. 37, his deception of Jacob respecting Rachel, 68.

Labin, an ancient people of Libya, i. 35.

Labour, nothing gotten without, i. 159.

Laborscarhed, or Labordacous, ii. 219.

Lacedemonians derived from Abraham, as well as the Jews, ii. 327.

Lamech, the son of Methuselah, i. 22, skilled in revelation, 23.

Land, distribution of, to the Israelites, i. 299.

Language, abusive, not to be punished with death, ii. 416.

Languages, confusion of, at Babel, i. 32, testimony of the Sibyl respecting it, ib. confirmed by M. Chorenensis, ib. note.

Laodice, queen of the Gileadites, ii. 428.

Larthenes, a Cretan, ii. 377.

Laws given to the Israelites by Moses upon mount Sinai, i. 165—243, to be read on the feast of tabernacles, 246, to be learned by children before all things, 246, to be written in the mind and memory, ib. forbid the punishment of children for their parents' crimes, ii. 143, order a rebellious son to be stoned, iii. 61, the tables of the law, or Ten Commandments, i. 165, laws of Moses translated into Greek, under Ptolemy Philadelphus, ii. 309, law made by Herod to sell thieves to foreigners, iii. 3. law carried in triumph at Rome, iv. 327.

—, among the Persians left to the interpretation of seven persons, ii. 263.

Lea, wife of Jacob, i. 68, her children, ib.

Lepidus killed by Caius, iii. 209.

Leprous persons obtain places of honour among several nations, i. 196, are to live out of cities by the Samaritan and Jewish laws, ii. 120, they resolve in a famine to go over to the enemy, 121.

Letters of Solomon and Hiram, and the Tyrians, ii. 14—15, of Xerxes, king of the Persians, to Ezra, 251, of Artaxerxes, to the governors near Judea, 278, of Antiochus the Great, to Ptolemy Epiphanes, 314, of the Samaritans to Antiochus Theos, 332, of Alexander Balas, to Jonathan, 369, of Onias to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, 373, of Ptolemy and Cleopatra to Onias, 374, of Demetrius to Jonathan and the Jews, 384, of Julius Cæsar, to the Roman magistrates, 474, of Mark Antony to the Tyrians, 494.

Levi, son of Jacob and Lea, i. 68.

—, tribe of, consecrated by Moses, i. 195.

Levites exempted from military functions, i. 199.

Layite's concubine abused by the inhabitants of Gibeah, i. 299—309.

- Levitical tribe consecrated by Moses, i. 195, their allowance, 219, how many cities belonged to them, *ib.*
 Labanus anciently possessed by the posterity of Ham, i. 34.
 Liberius Maximus, governor of Judea, iv. 334.
 Liberty granted the Jews by Demetrius, ii. 370.
 Libya, i. 34.
 Lice, plague of, in Egypt, i. 133.
 Lights, a festival among the Jews, ii. 344.
 Locusts, plague of, in Egypt, i. 135.
 Longevity of the Antediluvians, i. 30, testimonies of the Greek ancient writers respecting their living about a thousand years, *ib.*
 Longus, a valiant Roman, kills himself, iv. 274.
 Lot, adopted by his uncle Abram, i. 37, separates from his kinsman, and fixes his residence near Sodom, 40, is taken captive by the Assyrians, and rescued by Abram, 42, entertains two angels, who warn him of the destruction of Sodom, and hasten him from the city, 46, retires with his daughter to Zoar, 47, how he became the progenitor of the Moabites and Ammonites, *ib.*
 Lot's wife turned into a pillar of salt, i. 47, to be seen in the days of Josephus, *ib.*
 Lucilius Bassus takes Macherus, iv. 328.
 Lud, founder of the Lydians, i. 36.
 Ludieim, an ancient people of Libya, i. 35.
 Lupus, Julius, kills the wife and daughter of the emperor Caius, iii. 231, is put to death, 243.
 ———, governor of Alexandria, iv. 359, his death, *ib.*
 Lydda burnt, iii. 11.
 Lysanias, son of Ptolemy, is put to death, ii. 534.
 Lysias, commander of Antiochus's army, ii. 339.
 Lysimachus obtains the government of the Hellespont, after the death of Alexander, ii. 293.

M.

- Maachah, Rehoboam's wife, ii. 63.
 Maaca, son of Nahor, by his concubine Reuma, i. 37.
 Maaseiah, governor of Jerusalem, ii. 181.
 Mabsam, one of the twelve sons of Esau, i. 50.
 Maccabees, their history, ii. 334.
 Macedonians governed by a Roman proconsul, iii. 512.
 Macherus is sent to the assistance of Herod, ii. 511.
 Macherus surrenders to Bassus, in order to set Eleazar at liberty, iv. 533.
 Machines, or engines of the Romans, iv. 208, for casting stones of great force, 62.
 Machir, i. 459.
 Madai, founder of the Madians, or Medes, i. 33.
 Madianites, or Midianites, bring Israel into subjection, i. 315, Moses makes war upon them, and beats them, 237, their women seduce the Israelites, 232.
 Magog, founder of the Magogites or Scythians, i. 33.
 Mahlon, son of Elimelech, i. 340.
 Maiming any one, how to be punished, i. 259.
 Malaleel, i. 26.
 Malchishua, son of Saul, i. 430.
 Malchus, or Malichus, king of the Arabians, ii. 385.
 ———, a Jewish commander, ii. 457, poisons Antipater, 488, is a great dissembler, *ib.* is killed by a device of Herod's, 490.
 Mambres, or Mamre, i. 45.
 Man, creation of, i. 16, supposed to be compounded of spirit, soul, and body, *ib.* note (f.)
 Man-stealing, to be punished with death, i. 258.
 Munaem, or Manahem, ii. 153.
 Manahem, an Essene, ii. 578.
 Manasseh, king of Judah, ii. 178, is carried into captivity, 179, is sent back to his kingdom, and dies, 180.

- Manasseh**, brother of Jaddus, marries the daughter of Sanballat, ii. 285, is made high-priest among the Samaritans, 317.
- Manasseh**, son of Joseph, birth of, i. 94.
- Maneh**, the meaning of, ascertained in the Greek and English languages, ii. 223.
- Manna** rained down from heaven, i. 153, a sort of Manna fell in Arabia in the days of Josephus, 154, the signification of the word, ib.
- Manoah**, i. 330.
- Manlaughter** suspected, how purged among the Jews, i. 248.
- Marcus**, or **Murcus**, president of Syria, after Sextus Cæsar, ii. 487.
- Mariamne**, Agrippa senior's daughter by Cypros, iii. 156.
- , grand-daughter of Hyrcanus, is married to Herod, iii. 156, she grows angry with Herod, ii. 551, her temper, 552, she is put to death, 556, her eulogium, ib. her sons strangled, iii. 64.
- , daughter of Agrippa senior, married to Archelaus, iii. 282, divorced, 469, afterward married to Demetrius, 283.
- Marion**, tyrant of the Tyrians, ii. 491.
- Marriage**, laws respecting, i. 253—254.
- , of free men with slaves unlawful among the Jews, i. 253.
- , contracts altered by Herod, at Antipater's desire, iii. 70.
- Mary**, a noble woman, eats her own child in the siege of Jerusalem, iv. 276.
- Masmas**, one of the twelve sons of Esau, i. 50.
- Massao**, one of the twelve sons of Esau, i. 50.
- Matthias**, great grandson of Asmoneus, the father of the Maccabees, ii. 334, refuses to sacrifice to an idol, 335, persuades the Jews to fight on the sabbath day, 336, exhorts his sons to defend the law, 337, dies, 338.
- Matthias**, son of Margalothus, or Margalus, iii. 94, he and his partners are burnt alive, 97.
- , Josephus's father, iv. 468.
- , son of Boethus, calls in Simon to his assistance, and is afterward put to death by him, iv. 249.
- Methusela**, the son of Melaliel, i. 32.
- Maximus Liberius**, governor of Judea, iv. 334.
- Mazacar**, an ancient city of Cappadocia, i. 33.
- Meal**, the purest used in the Jewish oblations, i. 191.
- Mechoneth**, ten bases so called, ii. 23.
- Medes**, whence descended, i. 33.
- Melchisedec** entertains Abram, i. 42.
- Melchiel**, son of Aser, i. 109.
- Memucan**, one of the seven princes of Persia, ii. 263.
- Menehem**, king of Israel, ii. 154.
- Menelemus**, the philosopher, ii. 308.
- Menelaus**, or **Onias**, ii. 354.
- Menes**, built Memphis, ii. 40.
- Men's** lives had been happy, if Adam had not sinned, i. 19.
- Mephibosheth**, son of Jonathan, is highly favoured by David, i. 459.
- Meraioth**, son of Joatham, ii. 5.
- Merari**, son of Levi, i. 108.
- Mesa**, i. 36.
- Mesha**, king of Moab, ii. 111.
- Meshech**, one of the three holy children, ii. 208.
- Mestrai**, or **Mitzraim**, Egyptians, i. 34.
- Methusela**, or **Mathusela**, son of Enoch, i. 22.
- Micah** the prophet, quoted in Jeremiah, ii. 190.
- Micaiah** the prophet, ii. 98, is put in prison, 100.
- Mice** spoil the country of Ashdod, i. 350, five golden mice, 351.
- Micha**, son of Miphibosheth, i. 459.
- Michal**, Saul's daughter, i. 379, married to David, 396, saves David's life, 398.
- Midianites**. See **Madianites**.
- Milcah**, wife of Nahor, i. 36.
- Milk**, with the firstlings of the flock, offered by Abel, i. 20.
- Miracles**, a foundation of credibility, ii. 175.
- Miriam**, sister of Moses, i. 119, dies, 221.

- Misael, one of the three holy children, ii. 208.
 Mithridates, ii. 233.
 ———, king of Pergamus, ii. 463, brings succours to Cæsar in Egypt, 464.
 ———, king of Pontus, dies, ii. 450.
 ———, a Parthian, marries king Artabanus's daughter, iii. 196, is taken prisoner by Anileus and set at liberty, 197, his expedition against the Jews, ib. he routs Anileus, 198.
 Mitre of the high-priest, i. 175, its signification, 180.
 Moab, father of the Moabites, i. 47.
 Momphis, son of Benjamin, i. 108.
 Monobazus, brother of Izates, is king after his brother's death, iii. 274.
 Moon eclipsed, iii. 97.
 Mordecai, ii. 250, honoured by Artaxerxes, 275.
 Moses, his birth predicted by an Egyptian scribe, i. 115, God's declaration concerning him, 117, is exposed in an ark of bulrushes, 118, adopted by Pharaoh's daughter, 119, tramples the crown under his feet, 120, his war with the Ethiopians, 121, marries the king of Ethiopia's daughter, 124, flies into Midian, ib. marries one of Raguel's daughters, 126, sees the burning bush at Sinai, and is appointed to be the deliverer of the Israelites, 127, returns with Aaron to Egypt, 129, works miracles before Pharaoh, 131, et seq. leads the Israelites out of Egypt, 138, conducts them through the Red Sea, 142, makes the bitter water sweet, 149, procures the people quails and manna, 153, brings water out of the rock, 155, defeats the Amalekites, 156, receives a visit from Raguel, and adopts his suggestions relative to the government of the Israelites, 160, ascends Mount Sinai, and receives the Divine laws, 162, stays forty days upon the mountain, and shows the people the tables of the covenant, 165, builds a tabernacle in the wilderness, 167, sets apart the tribe of Levi, 195, numbers the people, 200, sends spies into the land of Canaan, 202, celebrates the Passover, and removes towards the borders of the Canaanites, 201, quells the sedition of Corah, 217, appoints a successor, takes the land of the Amorites, and builds certain cities, 238—239, reads to the Hebrews a poetic song composed in hexameter verse, 264, blesses Joshua, and exhorts him to lead the Israelites courageously into the land of Canaan, 266, is surrounded with a cloud, and disappears, 268, his death greatly lamented by the people, 269, he is scandalized, as afflicted with the leprosy, 196, his great authority, 204—205, his books laid up in the temple, ii. 182, his posterity honoured by David, i. 516.
 Mosoph, founder of the Mosopheris, or Cappadocians, i. 33.
 Mucianus, president of Syria, ii. 312.
 Mule, the king's, i. 514.
 Murder, laws respecting, i. 248.
 Musical instruments of the Jews described, i. 503.
 Mysian war, iv. 321.

N.

- Naamah, an Ammonitess, the mother of Rehoboam, ii. 54.
 ———, daughter of Lamech, i. 22.
 Naaman, son of Benjamin, i. 108.
 Naash, or Nahash, king of the Ammonites, i. 459, his war against the Israelites, 365.
 Nabal, a foolish man, i. 416.
 Nabioth, one of the sons of Esau, i. 50.
 Nablæ, a kind of musical instruments, ii. 25.
 Naboandelus, or Nabonadius, king of Babylon, ii. 219.
 Naboth, ii. 87.
 Nabuchodonosor, or Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, conquers a great part of Syria, ii. 189, lays a tax upon the Jews, ib. takes and sacks Jerusalem, 191, his famous dream or vision, 210, his golden image, 214, he lives among the beasts of the field, 216, dies, 217.
 Nabuzaradan, or Nebuzaradan, plunders and burns the temple ii. 200, his other memorable actions, 202.
 Nadab, son of Aaron, destroyed by fire, i. 184.
 ———, king of Israel after Jeroboam, ii. 72.
 Nahor, son of Serug, i. 36, his posterity, ib.

- Nahum the prophet, ii. 155, his prophecy concerning Nineveh, *ib.*
 Naomi, Elimelech's wife, i. 340.
 Naphesia, one of the sons of Esau, i. 50.
 Nathan, David's son, i. 448.
 ———, the prophet, i. 453—467.
 Nations dispersed, i. 33, called by new names among the Greeks, *ib.*
 Nazarites, i. 220.
 Necho, or Necho, king of Egypt, ii. 180, is conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, *ib.*
 Nehemiah, ii. 256, his love to his country, 257, he exhorts the people to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, 258, his death and character, 260.
 Nehusta, mother of Jehoiachin, ii. 191.
 Nedim, an ancient people of Libya, i. 33.
 Nephthalim, son of Jacob and Bilha, i. 68.
 Nerias, high-priest, ii. 201.
 Nero, made emperor, iii. 284, a most cruel tyrant, 285, his violent death, *iv.* 155.
 Nicanor, ii. 307, sent by Demetrius against Judas, 356, defeated and killed, 357—358.
 ———, a friend of Titus's, wounded with an arrow, *iv.* 20.
 Nicaso, married to Manasseh, ii. 235.
 Nicaule, or Nitocris, queen of Egypt, ii. 41.
 Niceteris, or festival of the victory over Nicanor, ii. 358.
 Nico, the name of the principal Roman battering ram, *iv.* 213.
 Nicolaus of Damascus, his testimony concerning the deluge, i. 30.
 Nicolaus of Damascus, the Jews' advocate, ii. 313, is sent by Herod to Augustus, *iii.* 51, his speech before Augustus, in favour of Archelaus, 111, he exaggerates Antipater's crimes, 85.
 Niger, of Perea, *iv.* 19, his wonderful escape, 38.
 Niglissar, ii. 219.
 Nile, river, abundant in frogs, i. 132, note (†.)
 Nimrod, grandson of Ham, i. 31, excites the multitude to build the tower of Babel, *ib.*
 Nineveh, destruction of, ii. 156.
 Nisroch, or Araske, a temple built at Nineveh, ii. 174.
 Noah, beloved of God for his piety, i. 24, preserved with his family in the ark, 25, invokes God after the deluge, 29, God answers his prayer, and gives him certain laws, *ib.* is overtaken with inebriation, 25, his genealogy, 45, his death, 30.
 Nomus of Heliopolis, a hundred and eighty furlongs from Memphis, *iv.* 358.
 Nod, land of, i. 22.
 Norbanus Flaccus's letter to the Sardians, in behalf of the Jews, *iii.* 31.

O.

- Oath, prevails with Saul above natural affection, i. 397.
 Obadiah, a protector of the true prophets, ii. 82.
 Obed, the grandfather of David, i. 343, the prophet, ii. 157.
 Obedience to be learned, before men undertake government, i. 241.
 Octavia, daughter of Claudius, *iii.* 493.
 Odd numbers, supposed to be the delight of the gods, i. 228, note (*.)
 Odeas, high-priest, ii. 201.
 Og, king of Gilead and Gaulanitis, slain by the Hebrews, i. 224, his iron bed, 225.
 Ogyges, an oak so called, i. 44.
 Oil, used in the Jewish oblations, i. 191, consumed by the seditious, *iv.* 249, prepared by foreigners, not used by the Jews, ii. 311.
 Olympius, Jupiter, his image, *iii.* 202.
 Omri, king of Israel, ii. 76.
 On, son of Peleth, i. 210.
 One, the number, put for the first, i. 15.
 Onias, son of Jaddus, succeeds in the high-priesthood, ii. 292.
 ———, son of Simon, made high-priest, ii. 317, causes great troubles, *ib.*
 ———, brother of Jesus, or Jason, made high-priest, ii. 317.
 ———, son of Onias, flies into Egypt, and there desires to build a Jewish temple, *ii.* 373, his letter to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, 373—374, their answer, 374, he builds the temple Onion, 375, that temple is shut up, *iv.* 359.
 ———, a just man, procures rain in a famine by his prayers, ii. 145, is stoned to death, *ib.*

- Opphis, son of Benjamin, i. 103.
 Opobalsamum, ii. 104.
 Oracles of the prophets, concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, iv. 142—169, concerning a great prince to arise in Judea, 290.
 Orpah, i. 340.
 Othniel, delivers the Israelites from the tyranny of the Assyrians, i. 309, appointed judge over the people, ib.
 Otho, made emperor, iv. 155, kills himself, 160.
 Ox, mischievous, laws respecting a, i. 259.
 Oxen, brazen, the Jews forbidden to make them, ii. 50.

P.

- Pacorus, king of Media, iii. 271, redeems his wife and concubines from the Alans, iv. 337.
 —, the king of Parthia's son, gets possession of Syria, ii. 496, lays a plot to catch Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, ib. marches against the Jews, iii. 359, is admitted into Jerusalem, 360, is slain in battle, ii. 511.
 Pageants, at Titus's triumph, iv. 325.
 Palace at Rome, iii. 235.
 Palestine, a part of the dominions of the ancient Philistines, i. 35.
 Palm-trees at Jericho, very famous, ii. 104.
 Paphlagonians, whence descended, i. 33.
 Parable of Jotham, i. 321, of king Joash, ii. 145.
 Paradise, described, i. 17.
 Parents' bad deeds are disadvantageous to their children, ii. 72.
 Parthians possess themselves of Syria, and endeavour to settle Antigonus in Judea, iii. 359, their expedition into Judea, 360, they besiege Jerusalem, ii. 496, they take the city 497, their perfidiousness, ib.
 Passover, a Jewish festival, i. 139, the manner of its celebration, iv. 305, called the feast of unleavened bread, on the fourteenth day of Nisan, i. 139, very numerous sacrifices then offered, and vast numbers come up to it, iii. 107, from the ninth hour to the eleventh, and not less than ten to one paschal lamb, iv. 305, number of paschal lambs in the days of Cestius, ib.
 Paulinus, succeeds Lupus, as governor of Alexandria, iv. 359, plunders and shuts up the temple of Onion, ib.
 Pausanias, son of Cerastes, murders Philip, the king of Macedon, ii. 286.
 Peace and good laws, the greatest blessings, i. 511.
 —, as a goddess, has a temple at Rome, iv. 328.
 Pedanius, iv. 421.
 Pekah, slays Pekahiah, and succeeds him, ii. 154, defeats the king of Judah, 157, is slain by Hoshea, 160.
 Pekahiah, king of Israel, ii. 154.
 Peleg, i. 37.
 Pella, laid waste by the Jews, iv. 3.
 Peninnah, i. 344.
 Pentecost, a Jewish festival, i. 193, whence it had that name, iii. 457, vast numbers come to it, ib. the Jews did not then take journeys, ii. 407.
 Perea, entirely subdued by the Romans, iv. 149.
 Pergamus's decree, in favour of the Jews, ii. 432.
 Perjury, supposed by some not dangerous, if done by necessity, i. 306, dreaded by Joshua and the elders, 283, dreaded by the people, i. 306.
 Persians, their seven principal families, ii. 236, their king is watched during his sleep, 237, their law forbade strangers to see their king's wives, 263, seven men were the interpreters of their laws, ib.
 Pestilence. See Plague.
 Petephres, a priest of Heliopolis, i. 94.
 Pelina, wife of Claudius, iii. 284.
 Petronius, governor of Egypt, ii. 568, supplies Herod with corn in time of famine, ib.
 —, Publius, made president of Syria, iii. 178, sent with an army to Jerusalem by Caius, to set up his statue in the temple, 482, endeavours to prevent it, and to save the Jews, 483, his and their wonderful deliverance, 484, his edict against the Dorites, 243.

- Phædra, Herod's wife, iii. 70.
 Phaleg, son of Heber, i. 36.
 Phalio, Antipater's brother, iii. 34.
 Phallu son of Reubel, i. 108.
 Phalna, David's son, i. 448.
 Pharez, son of Judas, i. 108.
 Pharez, the meaning of, ascertained in the Greek and English languages, ii. 223.
 Pharaoh, denoted king, in the Egyptian tongue, ii. 40.
 Pharisees, a sect among the Jews, ii. 413, they envy Hyrcanus, ib. opposite to the Sadducees in their principles, 414, their great authority, iii. 75, especially in the reign of queen Alexandra, ii. 436, which lasted nine years, iii. 330, they refuse the oaths of allegiance to Cæsar and Herod, 75, they are fined for it, ib. their unwritten traditions, ii. 417, their moderation in inflicting punishments, ib. the common people side with them, ib.
 Phasaelus, son of Antipater, ii. 462, his death, 501.
 ———, son of Herod, iii. 70.
 Pheroras, Antipater's son, by Cypros, ii. 462, hates Salome's children, iii. 35, makes Alexander jealous of his wife Glaphyra, with Herod his father, 37, provokes Herod to anger, 35, lays the blame upon Salome, 39, enters into friendship with Antipater, iii. 73, 74, is hated by Herod, 76, is ordered to retire to his tetrarchy, 78.
 Pheroras's wife pays the fine laid upon the Pharisees, iii. 75, associates with the other court ladies, ib. Pheroras's freedmen charge her with getting poison, 79, she throws herself down stairs, 80, her confession, 81.
 Phethrosim, an ancient people of Libya, i. 34.
 Phideas, the high-priest, ii. 201.
 Philadelphia wasted by the Jews, iv. 3.
 Philadelphus, Ptolemy, his skill and industry about mechanic arts, ii. 302, he proposes questions to the seventy-two interpreters, 306, he procures the seventy-two interpreters to translate the law, ib.
 Philip, Herod's son by Cleopatra, iii. 70, brother of Archelaus, 426, what Herod left him by his will, 102, what Cæsar gave him, 124, tetrarch of Gaulanitis, Trachonitis, and Paneas, 102, he dies, 152, his character, ib.
 ———, king of Macedon, is slain, i. 256.
 Philippon, son of Ptolemy, marries Alexandra, the daughter of Aristobulus, ii. 403, is killed by his father, ib.
 Philistines, their chief towns Gaza, Ekron, Askelon, Gath, and Ashdod, i. 350.
 Phineas, son of Eleazar, slays Zimri and Cosbi, i. 235, leads the Israelites against the Midianites, 237, his speech to the Jews beyond Jordan, 291, he is made high-priest, 296, the high-priesthood returns to the family, ii. 5.
 ———, son of Eli, i. 344, officiates as high-priest, 347, is slain, ib.
 Phison, or Ganges, the river, i. 18.
 Phrath, the same with the Euphrates, i. 18.
 Phraates, king of the Parthians, ii. 522, his death, iii. 139.
 Phrygians, whence descended, i. 33.
 Phua, son of Issachar, i. 108.
 Phraataces, son of Phraates, iii. 139.
 Phul, or Pul, king of Assyria, ii. 154.
 Phurim, or Purim, a Jewish festival, ii. 283.
 Phut, the planter of Libya, i. 34.
 Pilate, Pontius, procurator of Judea, occasions tumults among the Jews, iii. 142, causes a great slaughter of them, ib. and of the Samaritans, 147, 148, he is accused for it, and sent to Rome, 148.
 Pillars erected by the children of Seth, in the land of Siriad, i. 23, pillars of the Corinthian order in Solomon's palace, ii. 35, in Herod's temple, iv. 199.
 Pits, or wells, to be covered, i. 260.
 Plague, inflicted upon the Hebrews for their transgression with the Midianitish women, i. 236, occasioned by David's numbering the people, 507, it ceases upon David's repentance, 508.
 Plagues, the ten, which came upon the Egyptians, i. 132.
 Pledge of the poor not to be retained after sunset, i. 257.
 Poison not to be kept by a Hebrew, i. 259.
 Polemo, king of Cilicia, iii. 283.
 ———, king of Pontus, ib. 284.

INDEX.

563

- Polity of the Jews after the captivity, ii. 248.
 Pollio, a Pharisee, ii. 520.
 Pompeius, iii. 207.
 Pompey the Great, goes through Syria to Damascus, ii. 448, and to Jerusalem, 450, the city delivered up to him, 451, he takes the temple by force, and kills abundance of the Jews, 453, the Jews send him a golden vine, 447, he goes into the holy of holies, 454, meddles with nothing in the temple, ib. hears the causes between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, 447, determines it in favour of Hyrcanus, and makes war upon Aristobulus, 449, flies into Epirus, iii. 345.
 Pontius Pilate. See Pilate.
 Posture, ancient, in solemn prayer, i. 158, note.
 Potiphar, chief cook to the king of Egypt, i. 83, is deceived by his wife, and throws Joseph into prison, 87.
 Prediction, Adam's, of the destruction of the world, i. 23.
 Present things queen Alexandra's care, more than future, ii. 440.
 Presents sent to Joseph in Egypt, i. 99.
 —, made to the Israelites on their leaving Egypt, i. 138.
 Priests, if maimed, are excluded from the altar and temple, i. 193, are not to marry several sorts of women, ib. washed their hands and feet before they went to minister, 169, their allowances, 219, their courses, in number twenty-four, 576, two families from Aaron's two sons, 348, their sacred garments, 176, priests and Levites exempted from taxes by Xerxes, ii. 252, none but priests, of the posterity of Aaron, might burn incense in the temple, 152, not to drink wine in their sacred garments, i. 193, priesthood, a mark of nobility among the Jews, iv. 467.
 — among the Egyptians, only kept their lands, in the days of Joseph, i. 110.
 Priest, high, not to be son of a captive woman, ii. 414, to marry a virgin, and not to touch a dead body, i. 193, the high priest desired by Saul to prophecy for him, 278, high priests, with the prophets, and Sanhedrim, were to determine difficult causes, 248, several high priests at the same time in later ages, iv. 113, elected by lot among the seditious, 114, they abolish the regular succession, ib. Herod, king of Chalcis, made the high priest, till his death, iii. 262, a series of the high priests, from Aaron, to the destruction of the temple by Titus, 297, another series, from the building of the temple, to the captivity, ii. 201, high priests' robes kept by the Romans, ii. 267, where they were laid up, ib. high priests' ornaments described, i. 176.
 Priesthood, high, translated from one family to another, i. 348, of Onias, at Heliopolis, ii. 354, vacant at Jerusalem for four years, 370, during life, excepting under Antiochus Epiphanes, Aristobulus, and Herod, 527, taken from Jesus, and given to Simon, by Herod, 570, settled upon the family of Aaron originally, iii. 297.
 Primogeniture, its privileges sold by Esau, i. 77.
 Primus, Antonius, iii. 155, he marches against Vitellius, ib.
 Priscus, Tyrannius, iv. 14.
 —, shoots Jonathan dead with a dart, iv. 272.
 Problems or riddles proposed by Sampson at his wedding, i. 332.
 Prophecies concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, iv. 142, 288, of the high priests, how to be understood, i. 296, note, of Jeremiah and Ezekiel reconciled, ii. 187, could not agree to the events, if the world were governed by chance, 222.
 Prophecy of Isaiah accomplished, ii. 373.
 Prophets, excepting Daniel, chiefly foretold calamities, ii. 227, how greatly to be esteemed, ii. 98.
 —, false, suborned by the Jewish tyrants, iv. 287.
 Proseuchæ, or houses of prayer, among the Jews, iv. 508.
 Prostitution, a most heinous crime, i. 245.
 Providence asserted against the Epicureans, ii. 229.
 Prudence requires us to prevent the growing power of an enemy, i. 156.
 Psothom Phanech, a king of Egypt, i. 93.
 Ptolemies, why the Egyptian kings were so called, ii. 41.
 Ptolemy, the administrator of Herod's kingdom, iii. 35.
 —, brother of Cleopatra, poisoned by her, ii. 334.
 —, brother of Nicolaus of Damascus, iii. 108.
 —, Epiphanes, ii. 313, he dies, 328.
 —, Euergetes, Philopator, or Eupator, ii. 313, 314.
 —, son of Jamblicus, ii. 463.

Ptolemy, son of Dorymenes, ii. 346.

——, Lathyrus, ii. 413, he is driven out of his kingdom, 422, makes an alliance with Alexander, and breaks it, 423, his bold soldiers called Hecatontomachi, 424, he defeats Alexander's army, ib. his barbarous cruelty, 425.

——, son of Lagus, called Soter, obtains Egypt, after the death of Alexander the Great, ii. 283, takes Jerusalem, and carries many Jews into Egypt, ib.

——, Philadelphus, the second king of Egypt of that race, ii. 295, procures a translation of the law of Moses, by the advice of Demetrius Phalereus, 295, et. seq. sets a vast number of the Jews free, 297, sends a letter to Eleazar the high-priest, 300, his liberal oblations, and presents, 302.

——, Philometer, and his queen Cleopatra permit Onias to build the temple Onion, ii. 373, he makes an expedition into Syria, 380, discovers Alexander's and Ammonius's plot against him, 381, takes his daughter from Alexander, and gives her to Demetrius, ib. he might have put two crowns upon his head, that of Asia, and that of Egypt, 382, he is wounded, and dies of his wounds, 383.

——, the murderer of Simon, the Maccabee, ii. 402, he murders John Hyrcanus's mother and brother, ib.

——, Physcon, ii. 328.

——, the Sixth, iii. 315.

Pudens, engages in a duel with Jonathan, and is killed, iv. 272.

Punishment of the wicked, a joyful sight to good men, ii. 133.

Purifications, Jewish, i. 195, 196.

Purim, institution of the feast of, ii. 283.

Purple robes, worn by the Chaldean kings, ii. 221, by the Persian kings, 237, Joseph is clothed in purple by Pharaoh, i. 93.

Pyramids said to have been built by the Hebrews in Egypt, i. 114.

Pythian, or Apollo's temple, built by Herod, iii. 27.

Q.

Quails, given to the Hebrews at Kibroth Hattaavah, i. 202.

Qualifications, two principal, for the constitution of the first high priest, i. 182, note.

Queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, visits king Solomon, ii. 43, returns to her own country, 43.

R.

Rabsaces, Themasisus, ii. 239.

Rachel, daughter of Laban, her first interview with Jacob, 65, marries Jacob, 68, her children, 69, steals her father's idols, ib. her death and burial, 75.

Ragau, or Reu, son of Phaleg, or Peleg, i. 36.

Ragmus, founder of the Ragmians, i. 35.

Raguel, a priest of Midian, gives one of his daughters to Moses, i. 126, visits his son-in-law at Mount Sinai, 160, his friendly suggestions respecting the government of the Hebrews, 160, 161.

Rahab conceals the spies sent by Joshua to Jericho, i. 272, remarks on her conduct, ib. note, rewarded for her kindness, 276.

Rainbow, i. 29.

Rape of the Levite's wife at Gibeah, i. 299, 300.

Rapsaces, or Rabshakeh, captain of the Assyrian army, ii. 169, his speech to the people of Jerusalem, 169, 170.

Rathumus, or Rehum, ii. 236.

Rationale, or breast-plate of judgment of the high-priest, i. 188.

Raven, sent out of the ark, i. 27.

Reba, a king of the Midianites, i. 237.

Rebecca, daughter of Bethuel, i. 37, demanded for a wife to Isaac, 52, bears twins, ib. obtains, by an artifice, the paternal blessing for Jacob, 62.

Recem, or Rekem, king of the Midianites, i. 237.

Red Sea, miraculously divided, i. 142, objections answered on this subject, 145, note.

Rehoboam succeeds Solomon, ii. 54, gives the people a rough answer, 55, ten tribes revolt from him, 56, he builds and fortifies several towns, 63, he has eighteen wives and thirty concubines, ib. he dies, 66.

Rephidim, i. 154.

Reu, or Ragau, the son of Phaleg, or Peleg, i. 36.

- Reubel, one of the sons of Jacob, i. 68, his attempt to rescue Joseph from the hands of his brethren, 81, reminds his brethren of their cruelty to Joseph, 97.
 Revenues of Coelesyria, Phœnicia, Judea and Samaria, amounted to eight thousand talents, ii. 320.
 Rezin, king of Syria, ii. 146.
 Rheginians, whence descended, i. 33.
 Rhodes, relieved by Herod, ii. 503.
 Riches, great, laid up in David's monument, i. 521.
 Riddles, or problems, between Solomon and Hiram, ii. 37, riddle proposed by Samson, at his wedding, 332.
 Riphath, founder of the Rapheans, or Paphlagonians, i. 33.
 River, Egyptian, turned into blood, i. 132.
 Roads, to be shown to strangers, i. 258.
 Rod, Moses's, turned into a serpent, i. 128, Aaron's rod blossoms and bears almonds, 219.
 Roman army described, iv. 43, 47.
 Roman senate's decree, in favour of the Jews. See Decree.
 Ros, son of Benjamin, i. 108.
 Roxana, Herod's daughter, by Phœdra, iii. 72.
 Rue, of a prodigious magnitude, iv. 330.
 Rufus Terentius, takes Simon the son of Gioras, iv. 313, is left with an army at Jerusalem, after it was taken, ib.
 Rumah, or Reumah, Nahor's concubine, i. 37.
 Ruth gleanes in Boaz's field, i. 341, is married to Boaz, and becomes the mother of Obed, the father of Jesse, 343.

S.

- Sabactas, founder of the Sabactens, i. 34.
 Sabas, founder of the Sabeans, i. 34.
 Sabathes, founder of the Sabathens or Astaborans, i. 34.
 Sabbath-day kept very strictly by the Essenes, iii. 475, so superstitiously observed by the Jews, that they came to great mischiefs thereby, ii. 336, they are advised by Matthias to defend themselves on the Sabbath-day, ib. and by Jonathan, 365, allowed to repel, but not attack, an enemy on that day, ii. 452, Antiochus, a Jew, forces the Jews to break the Sabbath-day at Antioch, iv. 316, Sabbath-day spent in reading the law, iii. 10, ushered in, and ended with the sound of a trumpet, iv. 164, the seditious kill the Romans on the Sabbath-day, iii. 526, not allowed by some, even in case of necessity, to take arms either on the Sabbath-day, or the evening before, iv. 491.
 Sabbatic river, iv. 321.
 Sabbeus, ii. 375.
 Sabeans, descended from Sabas, i. 34.
 Sabinus, Caesar's steward in Judea, iii. 108, accuses Archelaus, 109, oppresses the Jews, 113, 114.
 ———, one of the murderers of Caius, iii. 242, kills himself, 243.
 ———, brother to Vespasian, takes the capitol, iv. 172, is killed by Vitellius, 173.
 Saccharus, description of the herb so called, i. 178.
 Sacrifice of Abel was milk, and the firstlings of the flock, i. 20, manner of offering the Jewish, 189, either all or part only burnt, ib. how the former were offered, ib. how the latter, ib. how sin offerings were offered, 190, those of swine forbidden, ii. 332, of those that were for recovering health, i. 191, Titus desires John not to leave off the Jewish sacrifices, iv. 263, daily sacrifices, ii. 244, sacrifices offered for Caesar's prosperity, iii. 484, omission thereof the beginning of the Jewish war, iii. 520, offerings of foreigners usually received by the Jews, ib. the same prohibited by the seditious, ib. what parts of sacrifices were due to the priests, i. 219, none but Jews to overlook the sacrifices in the temple, iii. 338, sacrifices not to be bought by the hire of a harlot, i. 245, sacrifices not to be tasted till the oblation is over, ii. 324, meat offerings joined to bloody sacrifices, i. 190, ought to be entire, and without blemish, 193, of what were burnt offerings, 189, animals not offered till the eighth day after their birth, 191, wine and oil reserved for sacrifices, consumed by the seditious, iv. 249.
 Saddouk, a Pharisee, stirs up sedition, iii. 133.
 Sadducees deny the doctrine of fate, ii. 391, are contrary to the Pharisees, 414.

- serve only the precepts of the written law, 417, their opinions, iii. 134, 476, have the rich men on their side, ii. 417.
 Sages, or wise men among the Israelites, ii. 12.
 Sala, son of Arphaxad, i. 36.
 —, son of Judas, i. 108.
 Salampaio, daughter of Herod, married to Phasael, iii. 156.
 Salathiel, Zorobabel's father, ii. 243.
 Sallumus, high priest, ii. 201.
 Salmanassar, or Shalmanezzer, king of Assyria, ii. 164, invades Syria and Phœnicia, ib. carries the ten tribes away into Media and Persia, 165.
 Salome, Antipater's daughter, Herod's sister, charges her husband Joseph with adultery, ii. 532, sends a bill of divorce to her second husband Costobarus, 558, accuses Herod's sons, and their wives, iii. 4, her crimes laid before Herod, 37, Herod forces her to be married to Alexas, 60, she discovers to Herod the conspiracy of Antipater and Pheroras, 75, what Herod left her by his will, 102, what Caesar gave her, 125.
 —, Herod's daughter by Elphis, iii. 72.
 —, granddaughter of Herod the Great, and daughter of Herod-Philip by Herodias, iii. 157, is married to Philip the tetrarch, and afterward to Aristobalus, the grandson of Herod, and brother of Agrippa, sen. ib.
 Salt, sown upon the ruins of a demolished town, i. 324.
 Salt-tax and crown-tax remitted to the Jews by Demetrius, ii. 370.
 Samacha, Abennerig's daughter, iii. 264.
 Samaria built, ii. 77, whence its name was derived, ib. besieged by the Syrians, and wonderfully relieved, 121, 122, a mother there eats her own son, in a famine, 119, is besieged by Hyrcanus, suffers famine, is taken, and levelled with the ground, 412.
 Samaritans, a colony from Cutha in Persia, ii. 166, pretend to be the posterity of Joseph, 291, sometimes deny and sometimes profess themselves Jews, 167, they harass the Jews under Onias the high-priest, 317, pretend to be Sidonians, 333, their temple upon mount Gerizzim, ib. they pollute the temple of Jerusalem, iii. 138, are enemies to the Jews, ii. 249, they dispute with the Jews in Egypt, about their temple, 375, give Antiochus the title of a god, 332.
 Samaron, son of Issachar, i. 106.
 Sambabas, ii. 249.
 Sameas, Pollio's disciple, ii. 471, his speech against Herod, ib. he is honoured by Herod, ib.
 Sampson's birth, i. 332, he marries a woman of the Philistines, ib. kills a lion, ib. proposes a riddle at his wedding, ib. burns the Philistine's corn, 334, is delivered up to the Philistines, 335, slays them with the jaw bone of an ass, 336, carries the gates of Gaza away upon his shoulders, 337, falls in love with Delilah, ib. is betrayed by her, bound, and his eyes put out, 338, pulls a house down upon the Philistines, and slays three thousand of them, 340.
 Samuel is born, and consecrated to God, i. 345, God calls to him, ib. he conquers the Philistines, 355, his sons prove wicked judges, 357, he is offended at the people's demanding a king, ib. tells the people the manners of a king, 358, threatens Saul with the loss of his kingdom, 373, anoints David to be king, 386, he dies, 414, is raised out of Hades, and foretells Saul's death, 425.
 Sanabasser, governor of Syria and Phœnicia, ii. 232.
 Sanballat, one of Darius's ambassadors, ii. 285.
 Sanctum Sanctorum, or holy of holies, i. 170.
 Sanhedrim, at Jerusalem, iv. 477, none could be put to death but by the Sanhedrim, ii. 470.
 Saphoniah, son of Gad, i. 108.
 Sarad, son of Zabulon, i. 108.
 Sarai, or Sarah, Abraham's wife, i. 39, goes with her husband into Egypt and passes for his sister, ib. the king falls in love with her, but restores her at the suggestion of the priests, ib. gives one of her hand-maidens to Abram, 44, her disbelief of God's promise, 46, removes to Gerar, where Abimelech becomes enamoured of her, but is restrained from injuring her, 47, 48, gives birth to Isaac, and casts out Hagar and Ishmael, 48, 49, her death and burial, 53.
 Sarah, daughter of Aser, i. 109.
 Sardians, their decree in favour of the Jews, ii. 484.

- Sareas, or Seraiah, high priest, ii. 201.
 Sarepta, or Zarephath, the widow of, sustains the prophet Elijah, ii. 80.
 Sathrabuzanes, ii. 233.
 Saul, son of Kish, i. 360, seeks his father's asses, and comes to Samuel, 361, dines with Samuel, and seventy others, ib. Samuel anoints him king, 362, he is actually made king, 364, promises to assist the Gileadites, 367, is inaugurated again, 368, conquers the Philistines, 377, his wars, and family, 379, he makes war on the Amalekites, 380, spares Agag against God's command, 381, for which Samuel threatens the loss of his kingdom, 383, his cruel order for murdering Ahimelech, and the priests, 407, being forsaken of God, he consults with a necromantic woman, 423, his death, 431.
 Saulus, a ringleader of the robbers, iii. 295.
 Scape-goat, i. 192.
 Scaurus, president of Syria, iii. 303, returns into Syria, ii. 446, raises the siege of Jerusalem, ib. his expedition into Arabia, 456.
 Scopus, general of Ptolemy's army, defeated by Antiochus the Great, ii. 313.
 Scythians, whence descended, i. 33.
 Sea, the seventy interpreters wash their hands in the, before they begin their translation, ii. 309.
 —, divided for the Israelites, i. 143.
 Sebonitis washed by the Jews, iv. 3.
 Sects of the Jews, iii. 134.
 Sedition among the priests, iii. 289, sedition of Corah and his followers, i. 209, of the Israelites, 203, sedition at Cæsarea, between the Jews and Syrians, iii. 288.
 Sejanus, put to death, iii. 165.
 Seisan the scribe, i. 458.
 Seleucus, possesses Syria after the death of Alexander the Great, ii. 293, is called Nicator, the conqueror, 311, his bounty towards the Jews, 311, 312.
 Sellim, son of Naphthali, i. 108.
 Semellius, ii. 235.
 Sennacherib makes war on Hezekiah, ii. 168, his death, 173.
 Senate of Rome's decree concerning the Jews, ii. 359, they renew their league with the Jews, 466, another decree of theirs concerning the Jews, 478, 479.
 Seraiah, high-priest, ii. 201.
 Seron, general of the army of Coele Syria, ii. 338.
 Serpent, the, tempts Adam and Eve in Paradise, i. 18, is deprived of his speech and feet, 20.
 Servants, not to be admitted as witnesses, i. 248.
 Serug, the son of Ragau, i. 37.
 Servilius, Publius, his letter to the Milesians, in favour of the Jews, ii. 482.
 Seth, son of Adam, i. 23, character of his posterity, 24.
 Seventh day. See Sabbath-day.
 Seventy-two interpreters sent by Eleazar, the high-priest, with the books of the law, ii. 302, they bring with them the law written upon parchment, in golden letters, 306, they wash in the sea before they commence their work, 309, finish the translation in seventy-two days, ib.
 Shadrach, ii. 204.
 Shallum, ii. 153.
 Shalmanezer. See Salmanassar.
 Shamgar, son of Anath, succeeds Ehud as judge, i. 311.
 Shaphat, one of Solomon's governors, ii. 11.
 Shechem, i. 290.
 Shechemites, massacre of the, by Simeon and Levi, i. 74, by Abimelech, 324, meet Alexander the Great, ii. 290, their kindred with Raguel, Moses's father-in-law, i. 382.
 Shekel, a coin equal to four Attic drachmæ, i. 192.
 Shem, i. 30, his posterity and the country they inhabit, 36.
 Shewbread, unleavened loaves so called, i. 173.
 Shield, covered the left eye in war, i. 366.
 —, a token of a league between the Jews and Romans, ii. 466.
 Shimei, son of Gera, his cruel conduct towards David, i. 481, put to death by Solomon, ii. 7.
 Shinar, the plain of, i. 30, mentioned by Hestæus, 32.

- Shining of the stones in the high-priest's breast-plate, i. 186.
 Ships, sent to Pontus and Thrace under Ahaziah, son of Ahab, i. 106.
 Shishack, or Sesac, king of Egypt, i. 457.
 Sheodagan, temple of, i. 65.
 Sicarii, or banditti, flee to Alexandria, iv. 356, cannot be forced to own Caesar for their lord, ib.
 Sidonius, founder of the city Sidon, i. 36.
 Sier, or Esau, i. 59.
 Signs that appeared before the destruction of Jerusalem, iv. 287, 288.
 Sihon, king of the Amorites, defeated and slain by the Hebrews, i. 224.
 Silanus, president of Syria, iii. 141.
 Silas, an attendant on king Agrippa senior, in his adversities, iii. 168, he becomes troublesome to the king, 251, is killed, 257.
 Silla, one of the wives of Lamech, i. 22.
 Silver, of little value in the days of Solomon, ii. 46.
 Simeon, son of Jacob and Lea, i. 68, imprisoned by Joseph, 97.
 Simon, the just, Eleazar's brother, high-priest, ii. 300.
 ———, son of Gioras, iii. 12, fights with the zealots, iv. 157, conquers Idumea, 158, is made a prisoner, and reserved for the triumph, 313, put to death at the triumph, 327.
 ———, brother of Judas, and Jonathan the Maccabee, beats the enemy in Galilee, ii. 346, is made captain of the Jews, 360, he makes a speech to them, 396, is made their prince, ib. is made high-priest, iii. 319, is killed, by Ptolemy his son-in-law, ib.
 ———, captain of the Idumeans, at Jerusalem, iv. 124.
 ———, a magician, iii. 232.
 ———, Psellus, Josephus's grandfather, iv. 468.
 ———, an Essene, interprets Archelau's dream, iii. 130.
 ———, persuades the people to exclude Agrippa from the temple, iii. 253.
 Simonides Agrippa, Josephus's son, iv. 528.
 Sinai, mount, observations on, i. 140, note (*).
 Siphar, the Ammonite, i. 436.
 Siriad, land of, i. 24.
 Sisera, oppresses the Israelites, i. 313, is killed by Jael, 314.
 Sisinnus, governor of Syria and Phoenicia, ii. 233.
 Sisyphus, punishment of, iii. 476.
 Slaves to be liberated at the year of Jubilee, i. 258.
 Slaughter, the greatest that ever was in one battle, ii. 71.
 Smiting, law of, i. 259.
 Sodonites, and their associates, conquered by the Assyrians, i. 40, so wicked, that they are burnt with fire from heaven, 45, 46.
 Sohemus, iii. 77.
 ———, of Iturea, ii. 549, betrays Herod's secret order for killing Mariamne, 552, is put to death by Herod, 555.
 Solomon, son of David, i. 448, promised to David, 453, born, 470, anointed and proclaimed king, 514, anointed and proclaimed a second time, 519, marries Pharaoh's daughter, ii. 7, determines the cause of two harlots, 9, his power, grandeur, and wisdom, 12, 13, the books he wrote, 12, his letter to Hiram king of Tyre, 14, he builds the temple 17, his addresses to God, and the people, after it was built, 30, he offers abundance of sacrifices, 32, builds himself a royal palace, 34, solves the problems proposed by the king of Tyre, 37, Darius says, Solomon could not solve them all, 39, he fortifies Jerusalem, and builds several towns, 39, lays a tax on the remaining Canaanites, 41, fits out a fleet, 42, his great riches, 45, his immoderate love of women, 48, his death, 53.
 Solyma, or Salem, the old name of Jerusalem, i. 447.
 Song, a poetic, left by Moses, i. 264.
 Sophacians, a people so called from Sophon, i. 54.
 Sosibus of Tarentum, ii. 296.
 Souls of heroes, slain in war, supposed to be placed among the stars, iv. 257.
 Speech of Judas to Joseph in behalf of his brethren, i. 102, 105.
 ———, of Moses to the Israelites at the Red Sea, i. 141.
 ———, of Moses to the Hebrews previous to his death, i. 240, 241.
 ——— of Joshua to the Hebrews, i. 288.

- Speech of Moses to Corah, and the people, i. 211, 212.
 — of Herod to his army, ii. 540, to the people, 580.
 Spies sent by Moses into the land of Canaan, i. 202, they intimidate the Hebrews by their report, 203, 204, by Joshua to Jericho, 270, they bring back a faithful account, 272.
 Spoils in war, to be equally divided between those that fight, and those that guard the baggage, i. 430.
 Stars supposed to derive their virtue from the sun and moon, i. 79.
 Sterility of a country, one of the punishments for the king's doing ill, i. 454.
 Stones, precious, in the high-priest's breast-plate, i. 177. their signification, ib.
 Subjects follow the manners of their princes, ii. 64.
 Sudeas, high-priest, ii. 201.
 Sunis, son of Gad, i. 108.
 Supplicants in Syria, used to come with halters about their heads, ii. 94.
 Sylleus, an Arabian, first minister to king Obodas, iii. 38. demands Salome in marriage, 39, is refused because he would not turn Jew, ib. is accused before Augustus by Nicolaus of Damascus, 56, receives sentence of death, 59.
 Synedrion. See Sanhedrim.
 Syrians' hatred to the Jews, iii. 326.
 Syrians, the posterity of the Aramites, i. 36.

T.

- Tabernacle, building of the, i. 169, its description, ib. divided into three parts, 179, signification of that division, ib. its purification, 183, filled with the Divine presence, 186, placed in Shiloh, 237.
 Tabernacles, feast of, ii. 27, celebrated in war, by the leave of king Antiochus, 405, celebrated for fourteen days, upon the dedication of Solomon's temple, 83, Jews then carry boughs with fruit, whereby Alexander, the high-priest, was pelted, 429, Jews then fixed tabernacles in the temple, iv. 238, is celebrated after the Babylonian captivity, ii. 224.
 Table of shew-bread, i. 173, a golden one made by command of Ptolemy, ii. 302.
 —, Delphic, i. 173.
 Tadmor, the Syrian name of the city called by the Greeks Palmyra, ii. 40.
 Tanganos, ii. 249.
 Tantalus, punishment of, iii. 476.
 Tausus, a city of the Tharsians, i. 33.
 Temple promised to be built upon Mount Gerizzim, like to that at Jerusalem, ii. 237.
 — of Hercules and Astarte, at Tyre, ii. 38.
 — of Demus and the Graces, at Athens, ii. 467.
 — of Belus, at Babylon, ii. 216.
 — Diana, at Elymais, ii. 349.
 — of Dagon, at Ashdod, ii. 380.
 — of Apollo, at Gaza, ii. 427.
 — of Solomon described, ii. 18, dedicated by Solomon, 30, burnt by the Babylonians, 200, foreigners could go but to a certain partition wall in Herod's temple, 585, women excluded the two inner courts, ib. open to Samaritans and other nations for prayer, 182, David's armoury in the temple, 135, tax out of the temple treasure remitted by Demetrius, 371, Daniel's prophecy for Antiochus's profanation of the temple fulfilled, 343.
 — of Jerusalem, rebuilt by Zorobabel, ii. 243, the Jews hindered in building it, 234, they go on by order of Darius, 249—250, it is finished in seven years, 248, sixty cubits lower than Solomon's temple, 580, it is plundered by Antiochus Epiphanes, 331, taken by Pompey, and its most holy place seen by him, but without detriment thereto, 454, new built by Herod, 579—580, burnt by Titus, iv. 286, Titus endeavours, but in vain, to prevent the complete destruction of the temple, 280—281.
 Temples of the Canaanites to be destroyed, i. 244, of other nations not to be plundered, nor their donations taken away, 246, Egyptian temples many and various, ii. 373.
 Terah, father of Abraham, i. 37.
 Terebinth, or Turpentine tree, near Hebron, supposed as old as the world, iv. 159.

- Tereah**, ii. 280.
Tero, an old soldier, iii. 62, charged with treason by Trypho, Herod's barber, 63.
Thamar, or **Tamar**, David's daughter, i. 448.
 ———, Absalom's daughter, married to Rehoboam, i. 490.
Thank-offerings, i. 190.
Tharbis, daughter of the king of Ethiopia, falls in love with Moses, and delivers up the royal city, i. 124.
Tharsus, founder of the Tharsians, or Cilicians, i. 33.
Theatres erected at Jerusalem by Herod, iii. 306, at Casarea, ii. 573.
Theft, how punished by the law of Moses, i. 258.
Theman, one of the sons of Esau, i. 50.
Thekel, the meaning of this word ascertained in the Greek and English languages, ii. 223.
Theodosius, ii. 375.
Thermiothis, daughter of Pharaoh, discovers Moses in the bulrushes, i. 119, adopts him as her son, 120.
The son cometh, the meaning of this phrase, iv. 209.
Theudas, an impostor, iii. 275.
Thobel, founder of the Thobelites, or Iberes, i. 33.
Thola, son of Issachar, i. 108.
Thrugramma, founder of the Thrugrammeans, or Phrygians, i. 33.
Tiberias Alexander, procurator of Judea, iii. 276.
 ———, governor of Alexandria, iv. 8, brings Egypt over to Vespasian, 168.
 ———, the emperor, iii. 141, his dilatory proceedings, 162, his skill in astrology, 170, his prognostic of a successor, ib. his death, 171.
Tibni, ii. 77.
Tidal, i. 41.
Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, ii. 158.
Tillage, laws respecting, i. 250—251.
Timotheus, ii. 347, is put to flight by Judas, ib.
Tithes and first-fruits given to the Levites, i. 252, their tithes, or tenth parts, given to the priests, 219, this law restored by Hezekiah, 164.
Titus Caesar, son of Vespasian, sent to Alexandria, iv. 35, brings a great number of troops to Vespasian, 42, his piety towards his father, 62, he, and Vespasian, take Jotapata, 72, he is sent against Taricheæ, 87, his valour in this expedition, 88—89, his speech to his soldiers, ib. he takes Taricheæ, 90, he is sent to Rome, with king Agrippa, to compliment Galba, 155, the order of his army, 181—182, he arrives at Jerusalem, and is exposed to great danger, 182, his great valour, 183, his great concern to save Jerusalem, 229, and the temple, 267, his speech to his soldiers, 255, he receives acclamations from the army, 291, his speeches to the Jewish tyrants, 292, he ascribes the conquest of the city to God, 303, he thanks the army, and distributes rewards, 311, celebrates his father's and brother's birth-days, 314, is greatly moved at the sight of the ruins of Jerusalem, 323, he makes great shows, 321, comes to Antioch, 322, and to Rome, 324, what persons he carried with him for triumph, ib. his approbation of Josephus's history, 519, his generosity to Josephus, 528.
Tityus, punishment of, iii. 476.
Tobias's sons expelled Jerusalem, iii. 315.
Toparchites, or **Prefectures**, three, added to Judea, ii. 334.
Tower of Babel, and the Sibyl's testimony concerning it, i. 32.
Trachonitis, founded by Uz, i. 36.
Trachonites, rebellion of the, i. 40—41.
Trajan, captain of the tenth legion, iv. 67.
Translation of the law, made by seventy-two elders, ii. 309.
Treasure, sacred, kept in the temple by some of the priests, ii. 253.
Tribute, paid out of Judea to Antiochus Pius, ii. 406, great men farm such tributes, 319—320, poll money paid the kings of Syria by the Jews, 371, ten thousand drachmæ paid out of the temple to them, 371—372, three hundred talents paid by Jonathan, to Demetrius, for tribute, 363, Jews freed from paying such tribute by Simon the Maccabee, 399, high-priests used to pay twenty talents tribute to the kings of Egypt, out of their own revenues, 317, poll-money, crown tax, &c. forgiven the principal orders of the Jews by Antiochus the Great, 315.

- Tribes of Israel, and their proportions of the land determined by lot, i. 239.
 Triumphal gate, at Rome, iv. 325.
 ——— pump described, iv. 325—326.
 Troglodytes, nation of the, derived from Abraham by Keturah, i. 54.
 Trophies give offence to the Jews, ii. 561—562.
 Trumpet, Hebrew, invented by Moses, i. 200.
 Trust, things received in, to be kept sacred, i. 260.
 Truth and justice, complained to be gone out of the world, iii. 62.
 Trypho, the tyrant, brings young Antiochus back to Syria, ii. 335, his perfidious behaviour to the same Antiochus, 394, he draws Jonathan into a snare, ib. he makes an irruption into Judea, 397, imposes upon Simon, 398, kills Jonathan, ib. causes Antiochus, whose guardian he was, to be killed, 400, is made king by the army, ib. is killed at Apamia, 402.
 Tubal, son of Lamech, i. 22.
 Tyrannus's deposition against Alexander, iii. 53.
 Tyre, when built, ii. 18, oppressed by Marion, 491, besieged thirteen years by Nebuchadnezzar, 219, besieged seven months by Alexander the Great, 238.
 Tyrians, their god Baal, ii. 133, they beat the Assyrians at sea, 166, their temple of Jupiter Olympiis, 38, of Hercules, ib. of Astarte, ib.

V.

- Varus, Quintilius, president of Syria, iii. 83—108, comes to succour Sabinaus, 119, punishes the mutineers, 113.
 Vashti, wife of king Artaxerxes, ii. 263.
 Veils of the tabernacle, i. 180, their signification, ib.
 Ventidius Bassus, bribed by Antigonus, ii. 505, sent to repel the Parthians, iii. 367, kills Pacorus in battle, and defeats the Parthians, ii. 511.
 Vespasian's and Titus's generosity toward the Jews, ii. 313, his wars in Judea, iv. 34, et seq.
 Vestments of the high-priest, i. 180, their signification, ib.
 Victory does not depend on numbers, but on valour, i. 42.
 Vine, golden, in Herod's temple, ii. 582, another sent to Rome, 447.
 Vineyards not to be sown with seed, i. 250.
 Virgins of Jabesh Gilead given to the Benjamites, i. 306.
 ——— of Shiloh, seized by the Benjamites, i. 307.
 Virtue, its own reward, i. 229.
 Virtues, Royal, i. 521.
 Vitellius, president of Syria, ii. 583, is highly treated by the Jews, iii. 155, his expedition against Aretas, ib. is ordered by Tiberius to enter into an alliance with Artabanus, 150.
 ———, emperor after Otho, iv. 160, he is slain, 173.
 Voice heard in the temple, iv. 238.
 Vow of Jephtha to sacrifice his daughter, neither lawful, nor acceptable to God, i. 326.

U.

- Ul, the founder of Armenia, i. 36.
 Unleavened bread, the feast of, i. 139.
 Ures, an officer under Solomon, ii. 11.
 Uriah, slain by the contrivance of David, i. 465.
 Urias, the high-priest, ii. 204.
 Urim and Thummim, the oracle of, i. 185, note (*).
 Usi, son of Dan, i. 108.
 Usury prohibited, i. 257.
 Uz, founder of Trachonitis, and Damascus, i. 36.
 Uzzah smitten by God, for touching the ark, i. 450.
 Uzziah succeeds to the throne of Judah, ii. 146, his acts and character, 150, he burns incense in the temple, and is smitten with the leprosy, 152, dies of grief, 153.

W.

- War not to be begun with foreign nations till ambassadors are sent, i. 262, laws of war among the Jews, ib. Jewish war, whence begun, iii. 493—509.
 Water of Bethlehem offered to God by David, i. 505.

Water, bitter, made sweet by Moses, i. 148, brought out of the rock at Rephaid; 155.

Witch, or necromantic woman, of Endor, comforts Saul, i. 423, encomium on her conduct, ib.

Witness, a single, not to be accredited, i. 248.

Woman, creation of, i. 17.

Women, purification of, i. 196, their power, 239—240, cunning in preventing accusations, 86, their dress forbidden men, 263, foreign women not to be meddled with by the Jews, ii. 321, when divorced, cannot marry another without their former husband's consent, 560, Persian women or wives not to be seen by strangers, 263, not allowed to be witnesses, i. 248.

X.

Xanthicus, the Syro-Macedonian name of the Jewish month Nisan, i. 26, the same with the Egyptian month Pharmuth, i. 137.

Xerxes succeeds Darius, ii. 250, his letter to Ezra, 251.

Xylophory, a Jewish festival, when they carried wood to the temple, for the sacrifices, iii. 522.

Y.

Year, two beginnings of the Jewish, i. 26.

—, great, a period of six hundred common years, i. 30.

Z.

Zabdiel, a prince of the Arabians, ii. 382.

Zabulon, son of Jacob and Lea, i. 69.

Zachariah, king of Israel, ii. 150, his death, 153.

—, son of Jehoiada, a prophet, is stoned, ii. 139.

—, the prophet, ii. 247.

—, son of Ahas, is slain by Maaseiah, ii. 157.

Zacharias, son of Baruch, iv. 136, is murdered in the temple, 137.

Zadoc, high-priest, i. 519, ii. 201.

Zalmunna, captain of the Midianites, i. 319.

Zarephath, or Sarepta, the widow's habitation, ii. 69.

Zealots, iv. 115—133.

Zebul, a magistrate of the Shechemites, i. 323.

Zedekiah, a false prophet, ii. 99.

—, king of Judea, ii. 192, revolts from the Babylonians, 194, calls for Jeremiah's advice, ib. carried captive to Babylon, 199, his death, ib.

Zeeb, a king of the Midianites, i. 319.

Zerah, an Ethiopian king, ii. 73, defeated by Asa, ib.

Zeruiah, i. 419.

Zeuxis, ii. 316.

Ziba, Saul's freedman, i. 494.

Zillah, Lamech's wife, i. 22.

Zimri, chief of the Simeonites, his speech against Moses, i. 235, slain by Phineas, ib.

—, king of Israel, ii. 76, slain, 77.

Zorobabel, ii. 233.

Zur, king of the Midianites, i. 237.

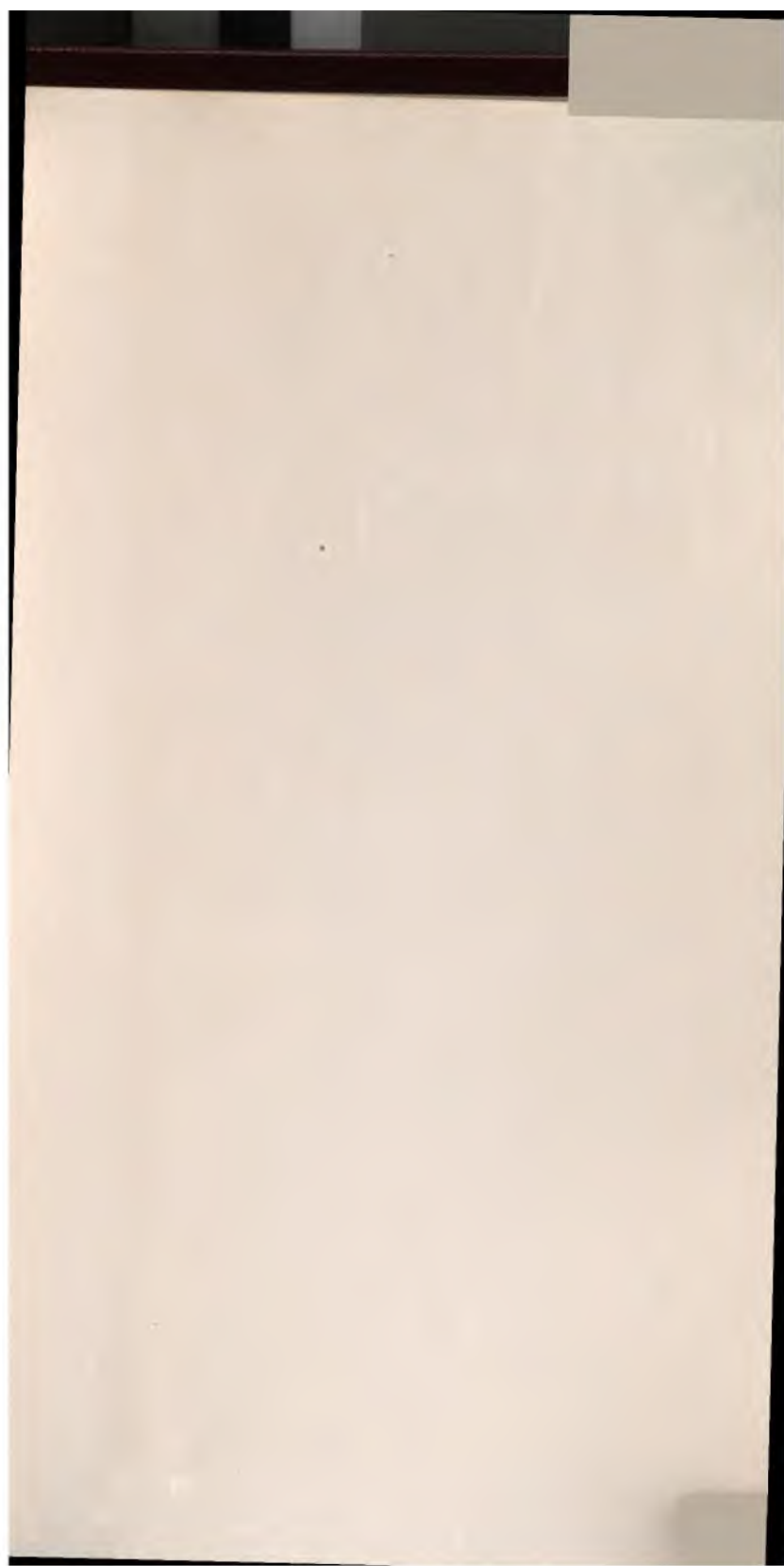
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VOL. III.

1. Agrippa's Speech, to face,
2. View of Jerusalem,
3. Herod in search of treasure, 33
4. Tero vindicating Herod's sons, 163
5. Murder of Cesonia, 231
6. Cleopatra receiving the presents, 383

VOL. IV.

1. Josephus before Vespasian, to face,
2. Triumph of Titus,
3. Siege of Jotapata, 51
4. Josephus in the Cave, 76
5. Famine in Jerusalem, 277
6. Men of Masada, 254





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